

2002

No place to die: the poetics of roadside sacred places in Mexico

Daniel Raymond Weir

Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, dweir1@lsu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations



Part of the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Weir, Daniel Raymond, "No place to die: the poetics of roadside sacred places in Mexico" (2002). *LSU Doctoral Dissertations*. 310.
https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/310

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized graduate school editor of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.

**NO PLACE TO DIE:
THE POETICS OF ROADSIDE SACRED PLACES IN MEXICO**

VOLUME I

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by

Daniel Raymond Weir
B.A., San Diego State University, 1995
M.A., San Diego State University, 1997
May 2002

© Copyright 2002
Daniel Raymond Weir
All rights reserved

To
Those who wept,
and to
María, Virgen de Guadalupe,
Madre de Dios, y Reina de México.
Petition granted,
promise kept.
¡Gracias!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
ABSTRACT.....	
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Maneuvering Through the Text.....	2
1.2 The Place of this Work.....	4
1.3 Scale, Scope, and Method.....	7
1.4 A Note on Human Geography.....	10
CHAPTER 2. CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: MOTION, EMOTION, AND METAPHOR	11
CHAPTER 3. NARRATIVE CONTEXT: A ROSE PETAL ON DAD’S CASKET	22
CHAPTER 4. TEXT: ARID, NORTHERN MEXICO.....	26
4.1 Baja California Norte.....	27
4.2 Baja California Sur.....	32
4.3 Sonora.....	38
4.4. Sinaloa.....	47
4.5 Nayarit.....	52
4.6 Chihuahua.....	53
4.7 Durango.....	59
4.8 Zacatecas.....	65
4.9 Coahuila.....	70
4.10 Nuevo León.....	73
4.11 Tamaulipas.....	75
4.12 San Luis Potosí.....	77
CHAPTER 5. CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: MODERN LIFE, MEDIEVAL DEATH	80
CHAPTER 6. NARRATIVE CONTEXT: “JUST GET ME THROUGH THIS...”	94
CHAPTER 7. TEXT: TEMPERATE, CENTRAL MEXICO.....	99
7.1 Jalisco.....	99
7.2 Michoacán.....	101
7.3 Aguascalientes.....	106
7.4 Guanajuato.....	108
7.5 Querétaro.....	110
7.6 México.....	114
7.7 Morelos.....	115
7.8 Hidalgo.....	117
7.9 Tlaxcala.....	118
7.10 Puebla.....	120

CHAPTER 8. CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: (MESTIZO CULTURE) ^x	127
CHAPTER 9. NARRATIVE CONTEXT: “MY SON DIED HERE ON <i>NAVIDAD</i> ”	148
CHAPTER 10. TEXT: TROPICAL, SOUTHERN MEXICO.....	153
10.1 Colima.....	154
10.2 Guerrero.....	156
10.3 Oaxaca.....	160
10.4 Chiapas.....	171
10.5 Veracruz.....	184
10.6 Tabasco.....	188
10.7 Campeche.....	190
10.8 Qunitana Roo.....	192
10.9 Yucatán.....	195
CHAPTER 11. SYMBOLIC/POETIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE TEXT.....	198
11.1 Site and Situation of Artifacts.....	198
11.2 The Physical Attributes of Artifacts.....	201
11.3 Objects Associated with Roadside Artifacts.....	205
CHAPTER 12. CONCLUSION: MESTIZO CULTURE, PLACE, POETICS.....	212
12.1 Mestizo Culture: The Poetics of Place, in Particular.....	212
12.2 Mestizo Culture: The Poetics of Place, in General.....	221
12.3 Mestizo Place.....	223
12.4 Mestizo Poetics.....	225
12.5 A Final Note on Experiential Knowledge and Epistemic Humility.....	227
REFERENCES.....	228

VOLUME II

APPENDIX A: NORTHERN MEXICO DATA TABLES.....	249
APPENDIX B: CENTRAL MEXICO DATA TABLES.....	381
APPENDIX C: SOUTHERN MEXICO DATA TABLES.....	437
VITA.....	506

LIST OF TABLES

10.01.....	154
A4.1 Baja California Norte.....	250
A4.2 Baja California Sur.....	258
A4.3 Sonora.....	266
A4.4 Sinaloa.....	297
A4.5 Nayarit.....	313
A4.6 Chihuahua.....	319
A4.7 Durango.....	330
A4.8 Zacatecas.....	340
A4.9 Coahuila.....	355
A4.10 Nuevo León.....	362
A4.11 Tamaulipas.....	366
A4.12 San Luis Potosí.....	376
B7.1 Jalisco.....	382
B7.2 Michoacán.....	388
B7.3 Aguascalientes.....	398
B7.4 Guanajuato.....	400
B7.5 Querétaro.....	404
B7.6 México.....	410
B7.7 Morelos.....	414
B7.8 Hidalgo.....	419
B7.9 Tlaxcala.....	423
B7.10 Puebla.....	427
C10.1 Colima.....	438
C10.2 Guerrero.....	441

C10.3 Oaxaca.....	450
C10.4 Chiapas.....	465
C10.5 Veracruz.....	478
C10.6 Tabasco.....	496
C10.7 Campeche.....	500
C10.8 Qunitana Roo.....	503
C10.9 Yucatán.....	505

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1: Sixteenth century wayside “nichos” in Mexico.....	1
1.2: Map of survey transects, including transect numbers.....	4
1.3: Distribution of roadside sites, and site clusters, discussed in this text.....	9
4.01: State Location Map of Mexico.....	26
4.1.1: Map of Baja California (Norte), survey routes and places.....	28
4.1.2: Nichos showing regional style and change over time.....	28
4.1.3: BN84, multiple crosses.....	30
4.1.4: ‘Special’ roadside crosses.....	30
4.2.1: Map of Baja California Sur, survey routes and places.....	32
4.2.2: “Nicho-Shrines” as enduring sacred places and artistic expression.....	33
4.2.3: Religious and secular monuments.....	35
4.2.4: Site BS83, a grandiose memorial in a remote location.....	36
4.2.5: Two views of BS107, a cross and 14 broken pillars.....	37
4.2.6: Two views of BS108, an elaborate nicho complex.....	37
4.3.1: Map of Sonora, survey routes and places.....	39
4.3.2: A cross/monument 13 and 15 years after the man’s death.....	40
4.3.3: Sites with poems of word and action.....	41
4.3.4: Site SN508, where a mother, her six children, and others died in a bus wreck.....	43
4.3.5: Shrine to the popular ‘saint’ Juan Soldado.....	45
4.3.6: Shrines to Jesús Malverde, a Mexican ‘Robin Hood’.....	46
4.3.7: SN627, a shrine complex at a ‘miraculous’ spring.....	47
4.4.1: Map of Sinaloa, survey routes and places.....	48
4.4.2: Examples of diverse crosses in Sinaloa.....	49
4.4.3: Three Sinaloan nichos.....	50

4.4.4: A religious shrine and two views of a death shrine in Sinaloa.....	51
4.5.1: Map of Nayarit, survey routes and places.....	52
4.5.2: A cross in memory of a 31-year-old woman.....	53
4.6.1: Map of Chihuahua, survey routes and places.....	54
4.6.2: CH322, a true grotto.....	54
4.6.3: Various expressive, or poetic, attributes of nichos.....	56
4.7.1: Map of Durango, survey routes and places.....	59
4.7.2: Death memorials that create an “unruly” reality.....	60
4.7.3: Roadside crosses, examples of variation, materials and scale.....	61
4.7.4: A variety of nichos in Durango.....	63
4.8.1: Map of Zacatecas, survey routes and places.....	65
4.8.2: Memorials commemorating multiple deaths.....	65
4.8.3: Cross/monuments featuring four joined arcs.....	67
4.8.4: Handmade nichos.....	67
4.8.5: Sacred Heart monuments.....	68
4.8.6: ZT51, a grandiose cross.....	69
4.8.7: ZT278, nicho moved for roadwork.....	69
4.9.1: Map of Coahuila, survey routes and places.....	70
4.9.2: SiteCL53 and the surrounding landscape.....	71
4.9.3: Multiple death cross.....	71
4.9.4: CL17, nicho with 12 crosses.....	71
4.9.5: CL184, finely crafted wood cross.....	71
4.9.6: Two views of site CL200, “motor head” nicho.....	72
4.10.1: Map of Nuevo León, survey routes and places.....	73
4.10.2: Four metal crosses.....	74
4.10.3: Six granito crosses.....	74

4.10.4: Site NL32, 3 crosses and an angel.....	74
4.11.1: Map of Tamaulipas, survey routes and places.....	75
4.11.2: TM44, gender segregated crosses.....	76
4.11.3: TM94, a broken pillar.....	76
4.11.4: Site TM96.....	76
4.11.5: Double-decker shrine with color symbolism.....	76
4.12.1: Map of San Luis Potosí, survey routes and places.....	77
4.12.2: SL101, a truck driver monument.....	78
4.12.3: Panoramic and close-up views of bus driver nichos at site SL14.....	78
4.12.4: Site SL17, memorial to a “Green Angel.”.....	79
7.1.1: Map of Jalisco, survey routes and places.....	100
7.1.2: Nicho with visitation pebbles.....	100
7.2.1: Map of Michoacán, survey routes and places.....	102
7.2.2: Site MC27, a nicho on a cliff overlooking the Pacific Ocean.....	104
7.2.3: MC218, 4 crosses with wreaths.....	105
7.2.4: MC18, shrine with 2 wreaths.....	105
7.3.1: Map of Aguascalientes, survey routes and places.....	106
7.3.2: Crucifix on a wedge with 2 urns, enclosed within a wrought iron fence.....	107
7.4.1: Map of Guanajuato, survey routes and places.....	108
7.4.2: Sacred Heart death monument.....	109
7.4.3: Angel monument.....	109
7.5.1: Map of Querétaro, survey routes and places.....	110
7.5.2: Site QT103, a remote Marian shrine in the mountains of eastern Querétaro.....	111
7.5.3: Site QT147; nicho complex featuring a wooden nicho in a tree.....	112
7.5.4: QT108, nicho with a tree.....	112
7.5.5: QT162, nicho under construction.....	112

7.5.6: QT163, wooden cross in the eastern Sierra Gorda region.....	113
7.6.1: Map of México, survey routes and places.....	114
7.6.2: Sites MX41 and MX42, metal crosses with roofs above the inscription plates.....	115
7.6.3: Site MX49, nicho with a sun-shade.....	115
7.7.1: Map of Morelos, survey routes and places.....	116
7.7.2: Site MR 10; 23 crosses and 4 nichos arrayed about a large eucalyptus tree.....	117
7.7.3: Site MR10 within hours of the September 2, 1996 accident.....	117
7.8.1: Map of Hidalgo, survey routes and places.....	118
7.9.1: Map of Tlaxcala, survey routes and places.....	119
7.9.2: Site TX03; 10 crosses of various designs and materials.....	119
7.10.1: Map of Puebla, survey routes and places.....	121
7.10.2: Site PB73, nicho/shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe at a PEMEX station.....	121
7.10.3: PB89, nicho with steeples.....	122
7.10.4: PB94: brick, flat-roof nicho.....	122
7.10.5: PB82, nicho with a deck.....	123
7.10.6: PB40, tiled nicho.....	123
7.10.7: PB50, granito nicho and fancy cross.....	123
7.10.8: PB44, nicho with urn.....	123
7.10.9: PB51, double urn nicho.....	124
7.10.10: PB39, hybrid nicho.....	124
7.10.11: PB267, nicho constructed as nine crosses.....	126
8.1: “Cosmic” theme of mural in Chicano Park in San Diego, CA.....	128
8.2: Pilgrims afoot, with semi-truck overhead.....	147
10.1.1: Map of Colima, survey routes and places.....	155
10.1.2: Cross with retaining walls and wreath on a dangerous curve.....	155
10.2.1: Map of Guerrero, survey routes and places.....	156

10.2.2: Site GR250, roadside cross at a guardrail abutment.....	157
10.2.3: Site GR134, nicho near a curve.....	157
10.2.4: GR99, ‘backwards’ nicho.....	157
10.2.5: Site GR136, nicho with windbreaks.....	159
10.2.6: GR239, well protected nicho.....	159
10.2.7: Site GR133, pre-fabricated nicho.....	159
10.2.8: GR155, a puzzling cross.....	159
10.3.1: Map of Oaxaca, survey routes and places.....	161
10.3.2: Site OX249, 2 crosses among granite boulders.....	162
10.3.3: OX02, weathered wooden cross.....	162
10.3.4: OX07, the oldest known cross.....	162
10.3.5: OX179, memory of a trucker.....	162
10.3.6: OX244, memory of a professor.....	162
10.3.7: OX25, ‘young doctor’ nicho.....	164
10.3.8: OX22, nicho with beer bottle.....	164
10.3.9: OX272, metal pole nicho.....	164
10.3.10: OX86, nicho with a fine wooden cross.....	164
10.3.11: Various representations of multiple death events on the roadside landscape.....	165
10.3.12: Two views of a dangerous curve.....	167
10.3.13: Dangerous and ironic places; a) by a railroad track, b) by a monument vender.....	168
10.3.14: Roadside memorial nichos with flowers or planted flowering shrubs.....	168
10.3.15: A sampling of the various shapes of homemade nichos in Oaxaca.....	170
10.3.16: OX242, a rustic nicho/shrine to the Virgin of Juquilla.....	170
10.4.1: Map of Chiapas, survey routes and places.....	172
10.4.2: Colorful nichos.....	172
10.4.3: Nichos of Chiapas in shades of blue.....	174

10.4.4: Nichos in Chiapas, shades of pink.....	175
10.4.5: White nichos in Chiapas.....	176
10.4.6: Roadside memorials in a landscape of clouds.....	177
10.4.7: Sharing the roadway with non-motorists and animals.....	178
10.4.8: The road as a travel hazard.....	179
10.4.9: a) Nicho near an <i>arroyo seco</i> and, b) nicho moved to a new roadside.....	180
10.4.10: Apparently ‘old’ nichos.....	180
10.4.11: Nichos in the foreground, life/death in the background.....	181
10.4.12: Unique roadside memorials.....	182
10.4.13: Three treatments of multiple death sites.....	183
10.4.14: Exterior (a) and interior (b) of CP166, a Guadalupe shrine.....	184
10.5.1: Map of Veracruz, survey routes and places.....	185
10.5.2: Three nichos, one hidden in tall grass.....	186
10.5.3: Crosses attached to stakes.....	186
10.5.4: Artifacts situated in a way that “speaks”.....	187
10.5.5: Star nicho with Guadalupe statues.....	188
10.5.6: Boy ‘hanging out’ at a shrine.....	188
10.6.1: Map of Tabasco, survey routes and places.....	189
10.6.2: TB 65, a nicho in tall grass with an ornate cross.....	189
10.6.3: TB45 and TB51, nichos finished with glazed tiles.....	190
10.7.1: Map of Campeche, survey routes and places.....	191
10.7.2: CM52, a metal cross near the Bay of Campeche.....	191
10.7.3: Site CM22, four crosses, two small nichos and bougainvilleas.....	192
10.7.4: Crosses and shelter for four men, two who were professors.....	192
10.8.1: Map of Quintana Roo, survey routes and places.....	193
10.8.2: Site QR09, a side-by-side, double nicho.....	194

10.8.3: Site QR01, ‘identical’ nichos finished with glazed tiles.....	194
10.8.4: Site QR05, unusually shaped nicho along the Belize border.....	195
10.9.1: Map of Yucatán, survey routes and places.....	195
10.9.2: Broken pillar monument.....	196
10.9.3: Nicho with “soccer field” deck.....	196
11.2.1: Cross of the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer.....	202
12.1: Site SN387, an example of an <i>ofrenda</i> at a small nicho.....	216
12.2: Eclectic aspects of Site BS108.....	220

ABSTRACT

Roadside death memorials are a response to the sudden, tragic death of a loved one; and are appearing with increasing regularity in developed and developing countries across the globe. In Mexico, however, wayside memorials and shrines of religiosity are a centuries-old tradition. This work, an effort to understand why the exact location of a person's death is so important that a sacred place must be created where no place is intended, is basic and exploratory research.

A multi-method, and cross-disciplinary case study, based upon the author's fieldwork in Mexico, produces massive data and constitutes a robust explanatory triangulation. A geographic survey identifies 9102 artifacts at 6891 locations and answers the question: "what is where?" An ethnographic method, applied to place as the physical manifestation of culture, minutely describes individual artifacts at 14% of the sites. Together these methods produce an interpretation, or reading, of the 'landscape as text' at the state, regional, and national scales as well as for individual artifacts and sites.

The same concept of multi-scalar investigation is applied to the context in which this landscape appears. Context is addressed along two fronts: the conceptual or theoretical context, and the narrative context of the author's field experience. The former is divided into three topics: religion and the conceptualization of death, emotions as a force, and culture as a dynamic mixture of specific cultures. The minute details of conceptual context, personal experience, and empirical description form a tapestry of hybrid culture and place. These, uniquely Latin American, 'Mestizo Places' signify multiple and simultaneous concepts of be-ing in the world, exist within different realities at different analytic scales, and resist, selectively accept, and modify modernity.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Driving in North America one is increasingly confronted with the sight of a cross or some other memorial in the median or on the side of the road. We understand, almost automatically—without even needing to think about it, that this is a place where somebody died. We also intuit that this cross marks a spot that is sacred, or at least “special” in some vague way, to the person or persons who put it there.

Why is this place “special” or sacred? What makes it different from a hospital room or other places where death occurs much more frequently? This research is motivated by a desire to understand why these places exist and what they can reveal to us about ourselves.

In seeking answers to these questions this research takes place in Mexico where, what is otherwise a relatively recent phenomenon in Anglo-America (Haney, Leimer, et al. 1997), roadside memorials have a long history (see Figure 1.1, from Flores Marini 1966) that has



Figure 1.1: Sixteenth-century wayside “nichos” in Mexico.

fascinated the observant for some time (Steinbeck 1951, 68-71). Mexico, as a case study, fulfilled multiple requirements: first, prior experience of traveling and doing fieldwork in Mexico indicated that a large and relatively concentrated dataset could be obtained there; and second, the notion of ‘landscape as text,’ a means of communicating in a silent manner, seemed especially appropriate in the colorful and expressive landscapes of Mexico. Drawing upon the social and human sciences that concern themselves with texts, it became clear that the context of a text is of great significance (e.g. Basso 1984; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Barnes and Duncan 1992). And lastly, Mexico’s long engagement with wayside memorials (see

e.g.: De León 1963, 417; Hendricks 1998, 36; for seventeenth and eighteenth-century references to wayside crosses in Mexico) and consistency of religiosity over time and within one particular denomination, provides a context with a certain degree of clarity.

The case study of Mexico stands alone, there is only one Mexico; yet it may also be used as a model or heuristic in understanding what is now a global phenomenon (see, e.g. Rajkovic 1988; Köstlin 1992; Smith 1999). In this sense, this study lies within a global context, which it seeks to clarify through analysis of the specific case of Mexico. Simultaneously, each place within Mexico is unique; indeed there are “many Mexicos” (Simpson 1966), and each lies within its context. Each roadside memorial likewise has the context of its situation, usually between the pavement of a divided highway or between the pavement and the private property fence of a two-lane road. These layers of contextuality are imbedded within the text of this work, sometimes overtly- sometimes not; and are enveloped in a cocoon of poetics that seeks to mimic the reality of roadside death memorials.

1.1: Maneuvering Through the Text

This is a strategic text, one that has multiple targets or goals and seeks to achieve them through the use of words, as signifiers, as units and as parts of a whole. Changes in style and topic, the sequence and tone of the text, are intended to convey, or reproduce various aspects of this topic. The purpose of the text is to complicate rather than simplify; to blur rather than clarify. If it achieves these objectives then, I believe, it reflects the real world in which death complicates and blurs one’s thinking, and leads to the taking and making of place where no place is intended. This text is a window, a telescope, a magnifying glass and a mirror.

Chapters 2, 5, and 8 address the intellectual or conceptual context of roadside sacred places via emotion, medieval Christianity, and hybridity. Chapters 3, 6, and 9 are short narratives of and about the author’s experience in and around this research project. Chapters 4, 7, and 10 present the data about which the whole work revolves. The CD-ROM contains over 250 black-and-white and color images that correspond to maps and photographic images that are referred to

and presented in miniature in both versions of the text. In the PDF version these are ‘hot-linked’ (i.e. mouse-click the text image to access the full image), in the print version one must have a computer nearby and access the image through an intuitive directory. This may seem a nuisance to readers more accustomed to ‘traditional’ dissertations, but it is worth the effort.

These three sets of three chapters are held together by this introductory chapter and Chapters 11 and 12: Chapter 11, due to the massive nature of the data, summarizes the poetics of the landscape as text presented in Chapters 4, 7, and 10; and Chapter 12 concludes the study by pulling together the various strands from the text and conceptual and narrative contexts. Although it is obvious that the same author wrote each of the four sets of chapters, I have attempted to vary my voice to reflect different degrees of intimacy between you and I: in the textual or empirical chapters, with few lapses, the tone is more ‘scientific’ or formal; in the narrative chapters the voice is familiar, as if we are enjoying a coffee or drink together; the contextual and enveloping chapters occupy the middle ground and are more social scientific.

Each grouping has a perspective: the text chapters may be thought of as a view through a window, or at times a microscope, to encourage the reader to see what I have seen; the narrative context chapters are a mirror, offering the reader an opportunity to look into the experience of the participating observer; and the conceptual context and surrounding chapters are a telescope, an attempt to position oneself so as to view the scene from afar. As a whole, the work is a triangulation of viewpoints (see Stake 1998, 96-7) that seeks to place both you and I in a position to connect with ‘the other’ as an individual human being (see Planalp 1999, 216 for a description of the four levels of communicative connection, i.e.: contagion, empathy, sympathy, and understanding), gain a sense of ‘Mexican-ness,’ or a feel for how the world works when one crosses the border from here-to-there, and ultimately, to draw upon these ‘knowledges’ in reintegrating into our academic culture, an understanding of the cultural landscape of Mexico’s roadside sacred places that does no violence to it, does not impose upon it an alien *episteme*, or

communal presupposition about knowledge and its nature and limits (Foucault 1970), that judges or understands it from within its own system of knowing, while writing it from our own.

1.2: The Place of this Work

This work is placed at the junction of several strands of research and theory in geography and cognate disciplines. J.B. Jackson, the doyen of American landscape studies, stated that the future of the vernacular landscape lay not in the places where we live, but in the “auto-vernacular landscape.” (Jackson 1997, 152) He pointed out that a shift had taken place from the “agro-vernacular” (152) to a landscape devoted to mobility, reminiscent of medieval and nomadic cultures with habits “of sharing or borrowing public spaces.” (152) This work describes and analyzes exactly the sort of folk landscape that Jackson referred to.

I build upon several well-established traditions in geography. The basis of this work is the geographic survey method of fieldwork (Sauer 1924). Delimited by the network of roads in Mexico, the survey is organized along linear transects that effectively cover an entire nation (see Figure 1.2). This extensive method is balanced with intensive observation of individual sites that are selected based upon the viability of close



Figure 1.2: Map of survey transects, including transect numbers.

observation. This selection method is neither random, in a statistical sense, nor idiosyncratic; it is a pragmatic matter involving the safety of the researcher and other users of the roadway or its nearby environs.

As a regional study, I carry forward the ‘Berkeley-LSU’ school of geography’s long engagement with Mexico (e.g. Sauer 1941; West 1993) and Latin America (e.g. Davidson and

Parsons 1980; Mathewson 1984; Richardson 1986). The fundamentals of cultural geography in this tradition are: “a historical orientation; a focus on the role of human agency in environmental change, on material culture, and on rural areas; links with anthropology; an individual perspective; and fieldwork” (Johnston 1991, 91). My work lies firmly within this tradition on all counts, and follows the guidance that: “The geographer’s ultimate purpose is to understand cultural landscapes.” (Kniffen 1976, 52)

The effects of culture upon the landscape reaches deeply into the history of geography (Marsh 1865) and is a consistent topic within human and cultural geography (see e.g. Sauer 1925; Thomas 1956; Glacken 1967; Meinig 1979; Norton 1989) over time and theoretical perspectives, or ‘schools’ (see also; Cosgrove 1984; Jackson 1989; Duncan and Ley 1993; Barnes and Gregory 1997). This work draws upon and extends this tradition, and combines the traditional with the more theoretical, abstract or symbolic approach(es) in seeking a relevant and robust understanding of why culture (i.e. the actions of individual human agents) changes a landscape.

In this regard I follow the trait, referred to above, that cultural geography is linked to anthropology. More specifically, it is linked to cultural anthropology, which is nearly synonymous with ethnography; the cultural anthropologist’s written account of a culture. Paralleling this, I refer to my method as the ‘ethnography of place;’ if anthropologists produce ethnographies (and practice ethnographic methodology) by studying the people in a particular culture, then it is reasonable for a geographer, studying the places within a cultural landscape, to be practicing an ethnographic methodology of places.

This methodology is pointed out because of the advances made in anthropology in the past 75 years in regard to the study of culture(s). Geertz’s “Thick Description” (1973), which describes “a semiotic concept of culture and an interpretive approach to it” (29), is one such advance. Culture becomes a text with multiple layers of context. Its “analysis is intrinsically incomplete [and] ...the more deeply it goes the less complete it is.” (29) My work is attentive to several strands of this ‘literary’ approach toward ethnography (e.g. Turner 1974; Clifford and

Marcus 1986), and maintains that just as “culture is contested, temporal and emergent” (Clifford 1986, 19); the same is true of place.

Within the field of cultural geography, this work lies in the sub-field, or specialty, of geography and religion. This particular sub-field has its modern roots in French geography (Deffontaines 1948) and also carries the Berkeley imprint (Kong 1990). Several major works of general (Sopher 1981; Park 1994) and specific (e.g. Birks 1978; Nolan and Nolan 1989; Stoddard and Morinis 1997; Stump 2000) importance have helped define the field. The sustained efforts of numerous scholars (see: Fickeler 1962; Büttner 1980; Sopher 1981; Levine 1986; Stump 1986; Kong 1990; Cooper 1992; and Raivo 1997, for reviews of the field over time) have advanced a field, which nevertheless “... remains peripheral to modern academic geography.” (Park 1994, 1)

Within this periphery, substantial work has been done on landscapes of religion and death. Many of these focus on landscapes (e.g. Isaac 1959-60; Jordan 1976; Jackson 1978; Curtis 1980; Weightman 1993), or sacred places (e.g. Tuan 1978; Jackson and Henrie 1983; Manzo 1983; Yeoh 1991; Kong 1993; Phelps 1998). Those which focus on death are usually concerned with cemeteries (e.g. Pattison 1955; Young 1960; Jackson 1967; Jeane 1969; Hardwick, *et al* 1971; Francaviglia 1971; Howett 1977; Stilgoe 1978; Jordan 1982; Pawson 1991; Yeoh and Hui 1995), although roadside death memorials and sacred places have also received some attention from geographers.

Laatsch and Calkins (1986), for example, identified and mapped 24 roadside chapels in Wisconsin’s Door Peninsula region. Ethnographic evidence chronicles how and why the chapels were built, and by whom; detailed drawings and photographs further refine the type of structures they observed. Hartig and Dunn (1998), working in Australia, identify, describe, and analyze 39 roadside death memorials in the predominately working-class Newcastle region. A majority (76%) of these were memorializing the traffic-related death of young men, and the feminist interpretation of the authors seems logical, on the scale of their study. Henzel’s (1991) case study in northeastern Mexico (Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas) greatly

enlarged the scale of roadside memorial studies. She identified 316 roadside memorials along a 1500 mile route, and closely inspected 73 of them along a 200 mile section of the route; giving her a multi-scalar point of view on the project. Her in-depth classification of materials used to construct the memorials, and categorization of related features and artifacts serve as models for further studies in this area. My fieldwork overlaps 450 miles of Henzel's, and this text expands upon and further refines her classification of memorials.

Scholars from other disciplines have addressed roadside death memorials ranging from Austria (Köstlin 1992) to Australia (Smith 1999). Most of the literature, however, is centered in the United States and, as Haney, Leimer, et al. (1997) point out, dates from around 1990 (e.g. West 1988; Barrara 1991; Kozak 1991; Kozak and Lopez 1991; Vidaurri 1991; West 1991; Griffith 1992; Drury 1994; Griffith 1995; Walter 1996; Monger 1997; Kolinski 1998; Everett 2000; Reid and Reid 2001). Of notable exception is Rajkovic (1988), who reports that roadside memorials to traffic accident victims began to appear along the former Yugoslavia roadside in the 1960s. The author identifies five forms of memorial (wreaths, crosses, slabs, monuments, and pyramids and/or fountains), who erects the memorials (family, friends, co-workers, and employers), and relates the custom to medieval tradition in the region regarding sudden, tragic deaths. Rajkovic also treats roadside memorials as a symbolic communication on two levels (inherited, Christian symbols and poetic metaphor symbols), a method left untried by other scholars, up to this point.

My contribution to this literature builds upon its overall strength, refines and expands upon the more successful methods, and minimizes generalization errors due to small-scaled perspective.

1.3: Scale, Scope, and Method

As case studies, all previous works on this topic have suffered from a lack of multiple perspectives, i.e. they are small-scaled or of an unknown scale. My study addresses this problem by working at a range of scales from the micro- to the macro-scale, or nationwide perspective.

The smallest unit of investigation is the individual artifact; many of them, especially crosses, occupy only a square foot of the Earth's surface. Each artifact occurs at a site, the next larger unit, which may include other artifacts, plants, debris from the fatal accident, and a multitude of natural and humanly constructed objects that pre-date the occurrence of the memorial or religious artifact(s). Sites are aggregated into the 31 political subdivisions (i.e. states) of Mexico. As in the United States, these units are quite variable in size: Tlaxcala, the smallest state, corresponds roughly to Rhode Island or Delaware, Chihuahua, the largest, is about the size of Wyoming. What this scale lacks in areal equity is compensated for with empirical accuracy, the intersection of a highway and a state boundary is always noted in my fieldwork and, on a map, is always a specific point (i.e. the intersection of two lines). States are then aggregated into regions based upon three predominate types of landscape one would see in Mexico, i.e. arid, temperate, and tropical. As with the state level, the different size of the regions is compensated for by their similarity of climate, vegetation, and the resulting roadside landscape. The final perspective is the national scale. Mexico, the 13th largest country in the world, by area, the 11th by population; is an extremely large-scale case study. "The land is tumultuous. Mexico is more mountainous than Montana and rises far higher than Colorado. Though it is only a quarter the size of the continental U.S., the country is made up of so much crumpled land that it seems as if you could iron it out flat and wrap it around Asia." (Parfit 1996, 16) By enlarging the scale of the study, one may generalize about larger-scale perspectives and any theorizing (or speculation) beyond the largest scale has an increased validity.

Henzel (1991) provides a model of integrating intensive study into an extensive survey. She selected a micro study area, representing 13% of the total area surveyed, for detailed description. My study refines and expands upon that method by intensively describing 936 of 6891 sites (or 14%) on a more-or-less random basis. The result is more thoroughly integrated intensive/extensive study where the thickly described sites are representative of the total population, rather than a spatially distinct area. All of the 6891 sites appear in the tables that

supplement each state section, and 203 of them are described textually, and with 226 images, in Chapters 4, 7, and 10. Figure 1.3 (below) visually displays the sites discussed in the text; each cross represents a site or a cluster of very close sites.



Figure 1.3: Distribution of roadside sites, and site clusters, discussed in this text.

My interpretation of roadside sacred places is similar to Rajkovic's (1988) who views them as a symbolic interaction or communicative effort. Whereas Rajkovic limits the scope of interpretation to the interaction of the specific memorial to an individual passing motorist, I expand this into an intra-cultural dialog engaging in the self-reflective examination of its core values. In order to access this dialog, one must first attempt to gain a feel for the context in which the text appears. One cannot simply pretend to be Mexican, but others can relate to the universal experience of emotions (Chapter 2), the deep history of Christianity in Mexico (Chapter 5), and the theoretical context of how culture 'moves' or changes over time (Chapter 8).

This multi-method approach constitutes a synergistic triangulation (Huberman and Miles 1998, 199) or "crystallization" (Richardson 1998, 357-9). The empirical survey views 'what is where' on the Mexican roadside on a mile-by-mile basis. The ethnography of place(s) reports the minute details of sites and artifacts attempting, inch-by-inch, to tease meaning out of form. And the poetics, or interpretation, of place relates the expressive attributes of these places to their cultural context. The result offers a view of 'why' this type of landscape exists and what Mexican culture is about at this particular moment in time.

1.4: A Note on Human Geography

Long before this dissertation had any sort of organization, any defining structure, plan of action, or even a title; I was thinking and talking about it. In one of my early conversations about roadside memorials and death on the highway a non-academic friend responded to some of my thoughts by saying: “Gee, that’s no place to die.”

The text of this dissertation, and even the title, is (in my small way) a tribute to that naive, straightforward, and commonsensical observation. In many ways this work is written to every literate person who is interested enough to read it. An overly long education and academic credentials are not required to access these pages; it is written for everyone because it is about everyone. The fact that the topic is wayside sacred places in Mexico should not be a deterrent; there are ‘everyones’ everywhere who have to face up to the reality of the death of a loved one. Each of us, sooner or later, feels the pain of grief and does something that is culturally appropriate in regard to it.

Death is the great equalizer of our existence; human beings are simply not being human (or totally honest with themselves) if they are unafraid of death. It is a mystery to us, a change that we are unable to imagine because we have no other person’s experience to use as a reference point. The dead do not write books or essays on what it was like to die. It is a pioneering experience for everyone who does it.

The pages of this dissertation reveal me as a human being who just happens to do geography; human geography and cultural geography. I am a human, human geographer and I extend to the subjects of this work the dignity that I believe every human being is entitled. This is not about ‘quaint,’ ‘cute,’ or ‘rustic’ folklore; it is about real people experiencing real pain and working it out the way it has “always” been done in Mexico. Many of them are very poor; some are illiterate; all are human, just like you and I. Their lives are not “vain gesticulations” (Paz 1985, 54); where and how they die matters, and the dirty, grimy side of a road, in the middle of nowhere, is no place to die.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: MOTION, EMOTION AND METAPHOR

Throughout this text, the concepts of motion, emotion and metaphor are consistent subtexts; viewed askance or pointed to directly, these concepts are intricate and integral threads to the weaving of this text. Emotion moves through the text as well. Loved ones of those who are memorialized alongside the Mexican highways emote, their feelings inscribed in stone for all to see. The researcher himself emotes in chapters devoted to viewing the viewer. This chapter, centered on emotion, explores the several nexuses of motion, emotion, and metaphor.

Roadside memorials are a response to grief by bereaved people. But what is this emotional state that we refer to as grief? Charmaz (1980) states that grief is simply “the subjective, emotional response to death of the significant other” (280); and that “the emotions that constitute grief are, among others, the feeling of loss, suffering due to shock, disbelief, numbness, anger, despair, guilt, and disorganization.” (218) As if this list of emotional states were not enough to deal with, fear seems also to be a major component of the complex of emotions referred to as grief. Diamond (1996) refers to the “complicated and intricate linkage...between fear and anger.” Where “it is almost impossible to locate one of these emotions in an instance of human behavior without finding the other lurking in the background.” (34)

From a sociological perspective, Durkheim (1995) saw emotions as the key component in rituals, especially death rituals, which integrate the individual into the social order. Charmaz (1980), saw the fear in grief as a “fear that the prior sense of well-being or state of affairs will not be regained” (282). This “...experience of loss is related to *personal identity*...if to lose the other means a set of shared understandings about the world, a way of life, and a valued identity, then depression and fear may be extreme. Then the death reflects not only the death of the other but, in a very real sense, death of the *self*.” (282, emphasis in original)

In anthropology Malinowski (1954) saw the fear of death as the ultimate and most powerful source of tension in religious rituals, which he viewed as cathartic of the fears and anxieties of daily life. More recent work by psychiatrists and psychologists (e.g. Jacobs 1992;

Pressman, Lyons, et al. 1992; and Jacobs and Capps 1997) agrees with Malinowski's thesis and shows an inverse relationship between religious participation and the fear of death. It seems, however, that not all cultures are free to express (or admit) fear; in these cultures "fear...is a fundamental factor in the genesis of anger, rage, and violence." (Diamond 1996, 34) This is best illustrated in Rosaldo's (1984) study of grief and rage among headhunters in the Philippines. Initially the ethnographer was unable to comprehend the turning of grief into rage, the playing-out of rage in headhunting, and the agonizing dilemma of having that cultural practice blocked by the modernization efforts of Evangelical missionaries. He was tragically 'repositioned' to the subject when his wife "lost her footing and fell to her death some 20m down a sheer precipice into the swollen river below. Immediately on finding her body I became enraged. How could she abandon me? How could she have been so stupid as to fall? I tried to cry. I sobbed, but rage blocked the tears." (183) Like his subjects, the anthropologist came from a culture where fear is less acceptable than anger; and he continued to feel anger, unexpectedly, for at least 15 months after the event.

Not entirely dissimilar to my own, Rosaldo's experience of grief in the field, and later in his working environment took him to a more profound level of understanding. Yet his new perspective was more important than just a personal experience (at least for other academics), because he was also repositioned in respect to his wife's work (see Rosaldo, M.Z. 1980; 1984), and that of other anthropologists (see .e.g Geertz 1959; Metcalf and Huntington 1991), in respect to emotions. There are two particular points of interest highlighted by Rosaldo's account: first, that the experience of anger or rage in relation to the death of a loved one, may in fact be the fear of fear. Unable to experience and express fear due to cultural bias and/or social taboos, fear 'comes out sideways' and is experienced as anger. The second point is his use of the metaphor of "force" in regard to emotions. He notes that Clifford Geertz defined emotional force as a pattern that is thoroughly internalized in the personalities of the individual, and Rosaldo differed in

stressing the “concept of the positioned subject rather than the processes of internalization” (1984, 194).

This metaphor hints at a biological/cultural divide in Western thinking about emotions. One school of thought on emotions starts from the body, another from the mind (Leavett 1996). This dichotomy pits emotion against reason and “can be traced from Plato (in *Phaedrus*) to Descartes, and from Kant to the Logical Positivists.” (Barbalet 1998, 30) “Emotion, in this perspective, is understood to arise not from the mind but from the body. It is regarded as a compelling force, which leads persons away from the decisions they make, the reasons they have, the choices they take, and is responsible for disrupting the calculations they perform. (34) This bifurcated thinking is further muddled when the mind is interpreted as the brain, leading the neurobiologist LeDoux to conclude that “brain states and bodily responses are the fundamental facts of an emotion, and the conscious feelings are the frills that have added icing to the emotional cake.” (1996, 302 cited in Kövecses 2000, xi) But linking emotions to any part of the body (brain included) sets up a generalization about different types of bodies, e.g. male/female, that arrives at a set of very mistaken ideas about who thinks well and who is prey to emotions.

Freudian thinking (centering emotion in the mind) arrived at a ‘hydraulic’ theory of emotions that exert “‘pressure’ against the countervailing force of rational, controlled ego mechanisms....in psychodynamic terms, affect [emotions and moods] can thus be thought of as having an invasive, dynamic quality that can potentially influence and invade a wide variety of cognitive processes and behaviors unless adequate psychological effort and resources are employed to control it.” (Forgas 2000, 7) Recent research “suggests that the affect/cognition (emotion/reason) relationship is fundamentally an interactive one.” (389) Thus the reality, as with much either/or thinking, may actually lie in the middle.

Interestingly enough, both approaches result in a metaphorical understanding of emotion as force. The root of this metaphor is “our naïve, or folk, understanding of the world, the passivity of emotional experience is regarded as the critical feature of emotions. The word *passion*,

originally meant ‘suffering,’ a kind of passive experience, hence emotions are viewed as happening to us. This is reflected in the metaphor: THE PASSIVITY OF EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE IS THE PHYSICAL EFFECT OF NATURAL/PHYSICAL FORCES. More generally again, any kind of passive experience is understood in terms of this metaphor. Thus the more general metaphor would be something like this: PASSIVE EXPERIENCES ARE THE PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF FORCES” (Kövecses 2000, 42). The metaphor itself is extremely powerful, as it has influenced generations of scholarly work attempting to unravel the mysteries of emotions. Kövecses, a linguist, examines four “expert theories” of emotion: emotions are bodily disturbances, emotions are a force or drive with organizational and functional properties, emotions are subjective physical sensations, and emotions are remnants of biological evolution. By comparing their metaphors to the most common folk metaphors, he deduces that many expert theories are extensions of folk understandings, i.e. our abstract conceptions of emotion(s) arise from basic human experience through the mediation of metaphors (2000, 114-138).

The experience of an emotion ‘moves’ us, not only metaphorically, but in many cases physically; when an action responds to this force. Religions and belief systems have, until the twentieth-century at least (see e.g. Schumaker 1992, 66; Symington 1994), provided a framework for the expression of an individual’s grief. One does what has always been done within one’s religious and cultural context. But the prescribed actions usually go beyond the single actor, extending outwards to the community. Klingman (1988), for example, shows how, in the case of untimely death, a community’s grief in Transylvania, is made bearable through a symbolic wedding of the (unmarried) dead. Levy (1984) demonstrates that emotion ‘mobilizes’ culture, extending the effect of emotions beyond kinship and communal groups by using motion as the metaphor for change. Planalp (1999) and Lupton (1998) focus on the individual in modern/postmodern society and explore how the ‘self’ is constituted through discourse, communication, and interaction with others; this approach posits a continually moving self that is made and re-made as one experiences and expresses emotions throughout one’s lifetime.

Mestrovic (1997), on the other hand, contends that emotion in contemporary western society, particularly the United States, has ceased to move us. In a complex adaptation of Benedict's (1934) Dionysian, emotionally expressive, and Apollonian or emotionally repressive; Mestrovic shows how emotion has become increasingly separated from action; how emotions have become problematic, synthetic, and, in effect quasi-emotions. Compassion fatigue, the separation of emotion from action, has resulted in death becoming a brute fact where "Human death is all too often treated as if it were the death of an animal." (129) He goes on to state that: "Death has always been an affront to human consciousness, on the individual as well as the collective levels" and "that traditional societies respond to death on an emotional level of *innocence*. Simply put, the innocent soul cannot let death have the last word." In his view, the rituals of traditional societies were simple, spontaneous, natural, un-rationalized, celebrations of life winning out over death. He counter-poses this with 'postemotional' societies where death trumps life.

These various studies on and about emotion(s), which expose but the tip of an iceberg of literature on the topic, offer limited help to the geographer in understanding an emotional landscape. As Kemper (2000) puts it: "In primacy of interest, disciplinary seemliness, and volume of empirical work, psychologists 'own' the topic of emotions. Yet, given the scope, span, and ramifications of emotion phenomena, many other disciplines are also legitimately concerned with affective life. Physiologists link emotions to anatomical structures and processes; anthropologists tie emotions to particular cultural logics and practices; historians trace emotions of today to emotions of the past; ethologists seek what is phylogenetically given as well as distinctively human in emotions; and sociologists examine how emotions are triggered, interpreted, and expressed by virtue of human membership in groups."(45) A common thread throughout most of these studies is the perspective that social processes and social relations are the independent variables, i.e. they cause or produce emotions and/or how they are expressed. If the emotions are

the dependent variables then, both commonsensically and metaphorically (Kövecses 2000), they are not a ‘force which acts upon...’ but are ‘acted upon by a force.’

Emotion, as a factor in large-scale social and cultural change, has mainly been studied in regards to the deleterious consequences of excessive pathological emotions (e.g., Scheff and Retzinger 1991; Scheff, 1994); with few comprehensive studies aiding our understanding non-violent, or even prescriptive emotions and their relation to social/cultural change. Theorizing emotion as an independent variable that acts upon culture and society has a short history. Scheff (1990; 1997) sought the middle ground through an adaptation of structuration theory that combined Goffman’s (1974) ‘frame analysis’ with Mills’ (1959) ‘sociological imagination.’ The result is a theoretical approach to the emotions that switches from micro- to macro-scale analysis utilizing interpretation of performed action. His theory, which he calls ‘part/whole analysis,’ is somewhat weakened by the reduction of all emotions to the “master emotions” (1994, 39-56) of pride and shame.

Barbalet (1998) seems to be the lone voice saying that, “emotions are basic to social action and to an understanding of social structures and processes.” (170) He points out that “rationality is not a component of social structure so much as a quality of social agency” and “that the bases or social foundations of rationality include a range of particular emotions.” (2) Rather than focusing on pathological forms, he treats emotions such as resentment, vengeance, shame, and fear in the same light as confidence; i.e. as forces in normal or functioning social processes. For example, the emotion, mood, or feeling of confidence is an important feature of social process. The business community, a subset of society, is required to engage in planning. It is limited in its ability to take rational action in this action because the information for rational assessment is unavailable, it can only unfold in the future. Business planning and investment, therefore operates under conditions of limited rationality that is supplemented by ‘intuition,’ or confidence. If government is sending a message to this subset of society that reflects acceptance and recognition (for example, by bailing out various businesses that are failing), then investment

is enhanced and the business community is confident. On the other hand if government is proposing stricter regulations on businesses, then fear replaces confidence and investment will be lowered and forward planning will have more modest goals. These “emotions are aggregated products of many individuals, which then act as a discrete force in society.” (Kemper 2000, 55)

Barbalet describes the process of a “narrowing in the wider society, of what is referred to by the term emotion, and to limitations in or atrophy of experiences of emotion by members of present-day Western societies.” (171) This “operates through a double process: a shrinking of the phenomenal world to the self, and self-experience as the defining force of what constitutes emotions.” (172) Where in earlier stages of the development of the national market economy “the emergent self is conceived of as being not only independent but rational, both the proprietor of its own capacities and an able manager of its own interests. With regard to these matters today, the individuating processes have now clearly reached post-classic proportions. The individual experience of self as an independent being continues, but no longer so clearly as a center of consciousness. The possibility of the self exerting an influence on market and state administrative processes to which it is subject are so remote as to lead to a reconceptualization of the self. An experience of self as center of consciousness gives way to an experience of self as a center of emotional feeling. This arises in the experiential shift from a sense of control of or meaningful participation in external market and politico-administrative processes to a sense of having no such control or meaningful participation....When opportunities meaningfully to influence economic, political, and other processes are low, then persons are likely to experience themselves as centers of emotion.” (173-4) Individuals, as centers of emotion, are placed in a double bind; the occasion for emotion is elevated (due to one’s powerlessness) or at least remains the same, yet the social and cultural structures that exist in contemporary society limit the expression of emotional experiences. These “constraints on the cultural expression or permissibility of emotion not only limit emotional experiences, but also the scope of rationality. The radical break between them deforms not just emotion but also reason.” (182-3)

Referring back to the metaphor of force, then; emotions (which arise within the individual self just as thoughts do), lacking vehicles of expression, follow the laws of physics like any other energized force. For example, using Albertson and Simons' (1964) principle of hydraulic jump; a body of downward flowing water, when constricted on three sides (one of which is the direction of flow), jumps. We can see this when a river is channeled to a dam, the water level rises and the energy inherent in the water seeks out the slightest fissure as a means to expend its energy.

If emotion were truly a force, then one would expect that constricted emotions would follow a similar pattern; seeking out fissures in the social structure to find their point of escape or expression. Needless to say, the psychological and sociological literature is overabundant with examples of pathologies in contemporary society that are easily traced to emotions gone awry. To many, the hallmarks of American culture are, for example, such twisted elements as: the breakup of the nuclear family, chemical dependency, crime, violence, and sexually transmitted diseases; the list could be extended almost indefinitely.

In Mexico the building of roadside death memorials is the effect of a highly emotional state, brought on by the sudden, unexpected, and tragic death of a loved one; which spurs action that is both praxis and poiesis, in the Aristotelian sense (see; Goizueta 1995, 82-86). The goal of memorial building, at least on or near the conscious level, lies in the doing of the act itself; there is no consciously sought external reward, it is its own the reward. At the same time, these actions re-produce and reaffirm certain deeply held cultural beliefs about the nature of life and death. Being itself is simultaneously celebrated and mourned, and the result is a transformation of the cultural landscape. Praxis, action that is its own reward, happens at the level of the individual; poiesis, action with an end external to itself, occurs on the level of the culture or society.

The dynamic quality of culture, the idea that it is either changing or not, is inherently linked to a metaphoric conceptualization of "change." Dodgshon (1998) used this metaphor to

good effect by referring to the lack of societal change as “inertia.” Although we may experience change, it is still an abstract concept. The metaphors we use to visualize it are:

“Change is motion,”

“Change is a force which causes (prevents) motion,” or

“Change is the result of a force which caused/prevented motion.” One need not search deeply into our linguistic expression of change to verify this obvious, yet subtle twist of the mind.

“America is moving to the political left/right/center.”

“Mexico is changing from an agrarian to an industrial society.”

“The winds of change...” etc., demonstrate a metaphoric layer which underlies our understanding and conceptualization of that which is signified by “change.” Cultural change or lack of change is conceptualized, in both the ‘expert’ or academic and the popular imagination, as a type of dynamic motion or static inertia. Cultural change results in a mestizo-ized or hybrid culture (see Chapter 8), i.e. culture does not simply move from one position or set of beliefs, to another. Culture takes on new aspects and retains the old; individual people must still, somehow, make sense of the world in which they live. The proven and familiar provide us with a zone of comfort and security, a buffer against the new, which brings the discomfort and insecurity of change. Cultural change is a motion that seeks to constantly correct itself through contrary action. These actions or motions, if one is to carry the metaphor borrowed from physics through to its logical conclusion, must result from the action of some force upon culture.

The key to these complex cultural actions is emotion. In the case of roadside memorials emotion is the force that causes cultural movement or change. The individual is the agent of change, the death of a loved one is the cause of extremes of emotion that impel the individual to action, and roadside memorials are the immediate result. The overall, long term, and large scale result is cultural change away from the new (modernity, global culture, globalization). At the level of the individual, the force is compelling and irresistible; it is ‘the right thing to do’ it is ‘how we do things’ or ‘our custom.’ At the level of society, the combined force of individuals’

aggregated emotions results in the inertia metaphor; culture, inexorably moving toward the new comes under stress, and seeks to move back, or conserve tradition.

But culture is only the context within which the individual acts; it tells us what the appropriate actions were in the past, but does not always explain how one is to deal with a new situation. Each new day, in thousands of villages and hamlets, the concept of ‘our culture’ is reinterpreted and re-invented to become pertinent to present events. Some days, in some places, the acting individuals do exactly, or almost exactly, what has always been done in the past.

During the fieldwork for this project I put the question of ‘why do people memorialize these places of death?’ to scores of people in almost every state; the reply ‘because it is our custom’ was like a drumbeat from the same steady hand. Yet, as anyone who is familiar with Mexico will attest, there are drastic differences in ‘culture’ in the “many Mexicos” (Simpson 1966). This amazing consistency indicates that a saturation of ideas exists in Mexico concerning death, religion, and the appropriate action in cases of sudden, unexpected, tragic fatality. There is, in other words, cultural unity in Mexico in regard to this particular cultural landscape.

To say that the landscape depicted in these pages is the result of motion sounds superficial and simplistic, on the surface of it. Motion, literally, is the causal agent that brought about the change (i.e. a person’s death), which in turn led to a permanent change on the cultural landscape. Motion is a common denominator in all aspects, or layers, of this study; the movement of people and their vehicles along a highway, the temporal movement of a people from the 15th to the twenty-first century, the movement of the dead from an earthly existence to an other-earthly existence (see Chapters 5 and 8), the movement of the bereaved from home to the place where their loved one passed, and the movement of a geographer in search of a way to make some sense of a complex cultural landscape.

Motion is a changing of position. When one moves, their perspective of the surrounding landscape changes from moment-to-moment. This change of one’s spatial positioning is a reality, not *just* a metaphor. In modern, high-speed travel reality takes on a fictional feel. One sits,

immobile, while the surrounding world appears to move; the result is a landscape that changes, seemingly of its own accord. Little or no effort is required of the passenger in an automobile, train, or bus. We are not bodily engaged in our own motion; we are propelled as objects within an object. This objectification of the moving traveler seems to make the landscape less *real*; it becomes a moving picture. The creation of places on the sides of modern roads, reclaims the real by creating a landscape, impregnated with the emotions of real people, funneled through their religious practice, and symbolically in opposition to the road itself.

The metaphor of this chapter is:

MOTION → EMOTION = FORCE (WITHIN INDIVIDUALS) →

CULTURE/RELIGION → ACTION → CHANGE = MOTION,

and the metaphor(s) retain this circularity within and between the text, performance, and conceptual fields.

CHAPTER 3: NARRATIVE CONTEXT: A ROSE PETAL ON DAD'S CASKET

Spring of 1999 was my “semester of death.” Heather’s seminar on the archaeology of death kept my nose into books and articles related to the historical archaeologist’s perspective on death and, in auditing Miles’ anthropology of religion course, I was exploring death’s relationship to the religious urge in humanity. These interests spurred a further quest into thanatology and a wide variety of psychological, sociological, and historical readings. My intellect was totally immersed in a kaleidoscopic array of morbidity. Beneath it all there was also a sense of apprehension, a feeling of not wanting the phone to ring.

That feeling began to take shape just after Christmas when, in the middle of a Lake Erie blizzard, Cindy and I went up north. We used it as an excuse for me to meet her kin (my, relatively, new in-laws), and spent a good deal of time with them in northwestern Pennsylvania. But the real reason for the trip was to visit Dad in the nursing home in Akron. It went well, sort of. He hadn’t shown any signs of knowing even my stepmother, his wife of forty-some-odd years, but he knew me the moment I walked into the room. We kept that to ourselves when we made the rounds of my family. Seeing your father/husband struck down by a stroke was bad enough, having him look at you like a stranger must have been unbearable. We held hands and I retold some of the old ‘Dad and Dan’ stories that he’d forgotten, a lot of those ‘remember the time you did such-and-such’ stories. I told him I wished I’d been a better son. We laughed a bit and cried a bit, together, and then said goodbye.

Back in Baton Rouge I carried a tension around with me. Not my normal, almost fanatical, intensity that mostly gets funneled into working and playing; this was tension laced with a fear that I dared not think about. The phone call came on Thursday, March 18, 1999. We left the next morning.

The drive north was a blur. I told myself I was preparing myself mentally; what I was really doing was emotionally distancing myself from what was about to happen. Dad had always wanted our multiple marriage ‘family,’ a collection of ‘halves’ and ‘steps,’ to be an ‘Ozzie and

Harriet' type family, but it wasn't. My family was/is beyond dysfunctional; but Dad, mostly through strength of will, kept it together through our teen years. Soon after high school we each left. This would be the first time since then that we were all in the same town at the same time, let alone the same room. I dreaded the thought. So I focused on honoring my father.

Welcome to Ohio in March: freezing rain, cold, gray, sunless skies, and a drab and dingy pall hanging above the leafless trees. Funeral weather. It was the antithesis of our January visit when the landscape was white, clean, crisp; a winter wonderland of Currier and Ives stature. The driving winds of March combined with the rain to produce a chill that seemed to go right to the core of my being.

Cindy and I were the first to arrive so we spent Saturday 'seeing the sights'. Driving and walking through the icy slush I showed her my school, church, grandparent's houses, 'our house', the football field, shopping center, Town Square, and the old factories where nobody works anymore. Mt. Vernon is a town whose time has come and gone. All that's left is the colonial architecture (and imitations of it) that harkens back to where folks came from; there's no sign of where they went.

The rest of the family started arriving that evening. We were informed that we'd all be having breakfast together the next morning, Cindy and I went out for the evening. I ran into some old childhood friends, swapped stories, got caught up on the typical small town news; a lot of 'what ever happened to...' type stuff. It must have bored her stiff, but it was a pleasant enough diversion for me.

Breakfast was more of a chore than a meal. It seemed to underscore all of the reasons why we never got together as a family; lots of mind games and the whole gamut of emotional states associated with grief. I was sympathetic, gentle, and laughed on cue when stories were told. After we finished eating I left as soon as seemed acceptable with my older brother Richard, to find an ancestor at an old cemetery out in the country.

That evening we engaged in one of our culture's more barbaric customs, the funeral home reception. The dead person's corpse is pumped full of fluids, made up, dressed up and laid out to simulate a sleeper who forgot to put on his pajamas. All of the dead person's friends, family, and associates come together, file past the casket, and then exchange small talk and pleasantries. They all comment on "how good he looks." The dead, in fact, do not look at all well.

I couldn't stand the sight. The emaciated body was of a old man who'd been wracked with pain and stroke. His dead body was but a shadow of the man I had chosen to remember as my father. I kept him locked in his mid-forties; with that Scots-Irish head full of black hair, hands calloused from hard work, his large-framed body (a whole head taller than me) moving with the deliberateness of a strong man. But I did what I had to do; I looked and tried to find my father in that corpse. Then I chatted with people I didn't know or barely remembered. That part was a little more civilized. Later, the Masons did their ceremony. I didn't understand a bit of it, but it was very nice and I'm glad they came. They were mostly the old farts; the ones who'd really been lodge brothers to Dad, so I knew it meant something to them. The evening seemed to drag on forever. The funeral was the next morning.

The drizzling rain and snow had stopped by Monday morning. I was ready, nevertheless, to be on my way south; I'd had enough of both the physical and psychological climate. Having decided to skip the post-funeral luncheon, my wife and I packed our bags before dressing for the funeral. The funeral home part was much shorter, if not sweeter. The casket was closed revealing a finely crafted oak lid with a carving of the Masonic symbol. Atop it was a beautiful spray of two dozen red roses. If there was a time during this three-day experience that was an emotional peak, this was it. As for myself, I shed a tear. One. The whole weekend had been about other people's emotional states, mine were still under control...mostly.

The cemetery was on a knoll a few miles out of town; it is one of the new, non-descript cemeteries without headstones or monuments. Being a high point, it was exposed to the chilling wind that kicked up shortly after we arrived. The hole in the ground was neatly disguised with

green Astroturf carpeting; a slight gap exposed the concrete crypt that would hold the beautiful casket afterwards. The minister, a total stranger to the family, said some nice things and then gave each of us a rose from the casket before he removed them. This seemed to be the time for ‘final goodbyes’ and each of my siblings and spouses stepped up to the casket for a moment of silence and then retired to the vehicles. I lingered until all were gone but myself.

Words, even the silent sub-vocalized type, seemed inadequate to express the feelings that lay deep within me. I did not speak; I acted as if by command. Somewhere, on the fringes of my consciousness, was the story of the Neanderthals who laid out one of their own in a bed of flowers at Shanidar cave (Constable 1973); I tore a petal off my rose and, reaching into the Astroturf’s gap, dropped it into the vault. As I walked to the waiting cars to make my farewells, I thought: Maybe someday, far off in the future when twentieth-century humans are a curiosity, someone will excavate this spot and find a tiny clue that says “We loved.”

There was a lot of work awaiting me in Baton Rouge and I was eager to get back to it. Finishing up the semester, with all of the exams and papers, kept me going full throttle. Preparing my pickup truck for a summer in Mexico filled in all of my ‘free time’ for the next six weeks. Without realizing it at the time, my emotions had gone underground on that windy knoll in Ohio; I simply did not have time for them. Then I left, and started doing the fieldwork for this project. This is one of several contexts of this research.

CHAPTER 4: TEXT: ARID, NORTHERN MEXICO

The Sonoran and Chihuahuan Deserts dominate Northern Mexico, which is predominately arid or semi-arid (Tamayo 1953, 96). The northern states correlate to Tamayo's north (*Zona Norte*) and northwestern (*Zona Pacífico Norte*) agricultural zones (241). Although the effects of climate and agriculture on this study are not intuitively obvious; they do relate to the performance of the fieldwork and, perhaps, the quality and/or quantity of data recorded.

Roadside vegetation is generally sparse in the north; therefore, it is easy to see roadside memorials as one proceeds along a route or transect. Agriculture is generally an extensive land use in the north, any particular square foot of land has minimal value; which, in turn, results in the 20 meter right-of-way adjoining the highways being a reality, rather than a theory or technicality. Where the right-of-way exists it is possible, and/or much less hazardous, to pull over for a closer look at a site. These factors are significant in any quantitative analysis of my data and would, at least partially, explain why the least densely populated region has the highest density of roadside memorials.

The twelve states included in this region are: Baja California Norte, Baja California Sur, Sonora, Sinaloa, Nayarit, Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, and San Luis Potosí (see Figure 4.01, state locations map).



Figure 4.01: State Location Map of Mexico.

The twelve states that comprise Northern Mexico are the 61.94% of the total area of Mexico where 27.83% of the population live. In this study; 49.94% of the miles surveyed, 52.63% of the artifacts recorded and 49.25% of that are thickly described are in this region.

The region corresponds, roughly, to Crowley and Griffin's "European-Mestizo North," characterized by "settlement forms, house types, and economic activities" that are a direct reflection of Spanish culture (1989, 355). The notion of a distinct *norteño* culture is persistent in both academic writing (e.g. Bantjes 1998, 6-21) and the popular imagination. I recall a particular conversation (on 5/20/99) in Fresnillo, Zacatecas where the gentleman (Julio Santoyo Escamilla) stated rather emphatically that northerners are 'real men' who have to work hard to make a living in a cruel environment; unlike "southerners who lay around in their hammocks all day waiting for food to drop out of a tree." Although Julio was quite sincere in his statements about the vitality of northerners, the irony of his birthplace (Oaxaca), appearance (dressed in a suit and tie), and the title on his business card (Branch Manager of a language school) was not wasted.

If Julio's statements are any indication, this version of regional stereotyping is quite impassioned and would seem to have a deeper source. Perhaps, following Crowley and Griffin, the real distinction is "European-mestizo" versus "Indian-mestizo" and; what appears to be regional pride, is really ethnic pride (or prejudice).

4.1: Baja California Norte

Baja California (also referred to as Baja California Norte) is the northern-most of the two states into which Mexico's Baja California peninsula is divided. The peninsula, connected to the Mexican mainland by a narrow strip across the delta of the Colorado River; is a long, narrow, mountainous, finger of land featuring distinctive endemic desert plants, like the boogum and elephant trees. Most of the state's population is concentrated in the cities clustered near the U.S. border, which results in vast areas of unpopulated desert.

Roadside sacred places were surveyed in Baja California Norte along two transects joined at Tecate (see Figure 4.1.1), a border town locally famous for its brewery and a Pamplona-style, bull run. An east-west transect (P4), along Route 2; begins at the Sonora-Baja California state line, halfway across the Río Colorado bridge, and terminates at the junction of routes 2 and 3. The long north-south transect begins at the 2-3 junction at Tecate; proceeds south to 3's junction with

Baja's main road, Route 1, just north of Ensenada; and ends at the state line of Baja California Sur, just north of Guerrero Negro. 325 artifacts were identified at 248 locations along the 577 mile route in December, 1999; there were 249 crosses, 65 *nichos*, 2 monuments, and 9 shrines.



Figure 4.1.1: Map of Baja California (Norte), survey routes and places.

Site number BN17 (Figure 4.1.2a), located on the north side of route 2 halfway between the state line and Mexicali, is a typical *nicho* in the northern style. It is homemade (i.e. constructed *in situ* rather than prefabricated and transported to the site) of gray painted concrete, with an arched roof behind the mission-style façade. There are three votive candles and a statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe inside the padlocked metal gate. Two aspects of this particular *nicho* are noteworthy: first, the fact that the adjacent field is plowed up to the foundation of the *nicho* indicates the high value of land in the fertile Mexicali Valley, and even corporate farms (which are typical of the region) are unwilling to destroy or damage a sacred place for the sake of increased profits. Secondly, this type of memorial creates both a public and a private sacred place.

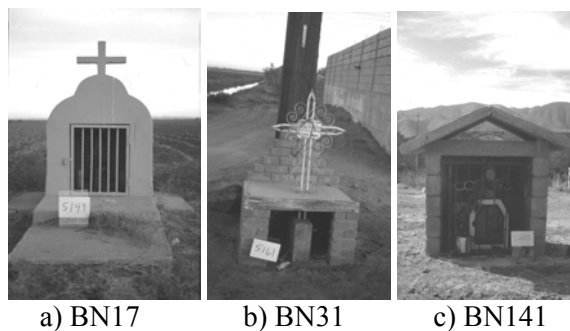


Figure 4.1.2: Nichos showing regional style and change over time.

The major difference between *nichos* and shrines versus crosses and monuments is the creation of a sacred place with an inside in the former case, and with only an exterior in the latter. Not all *nichos* and shrines have doors or gates that are locked, but the structure has an inside and

the possibility of private space. The distinction between a *nicho* and a shrine is, arbitrarily, size; *nichos* can contain or accommodate things but not people, shrines are large enough for someone to go inside.

BN31 and 141 (Figure 4.1.2b, c) are good examples of memorial growth or accretion as they are improved or added to over time. BN31 was at first a cross mounted into a concrete foundation block, at some later point in time; perhaps the anniversary of the man's death or the Day of the Dead, an open-faced brick *nicho* was built around the existing cross. The construction again features the distinctive *norteño* mission style, this time with the façade placed on the rear of the structure. The inscription on the cross explicitly confirms the main point about roadside memorials: "March 20, 1987, Arturo Balderes Bueno[?] fell *here* at the age of 30, rest in peace" (emphasis added; see Table A4.1 for the original Spanish inscription).

BN141 is a more complex example of an evolving memorial. Based on the weathering of the materials, the sequence of growth was: first a cross, later a small, white, *granito* *nicho* was placed in front of the cross, and still later the large slump block *nicho* was built around them both. *Granito* is a type of concrete made with pressed granite flakes instead of sand or gravel, which is poured into a mold and polished after curing to achieve a marble-like appearance. The material is called *granito* by the craftspeople who make these monuments; and *marmol* or *marmolito* ['marble' or 'marble-like'] by the public, indicating that this is 'the poor person's marble.'

From the beginning these people had a very different idea of how much effort is 'proper' compared, for example, to site BN31 described above. The original cross, unlike the cross in BN31, was made specifically for this person's memorial by welding horseshoes to form a cross-shape. A simple inscription ("In memory of JSF, Nov.2, 1991") is welded onto a piece of sheet metal affixed to the cross. The small, pre-fabricated *nicho* has a black wrought iron gate, establishing the principle of a private space that is repeated on the larger (1m cubed) block *nicho*. The flowers in foil-covered coffee can on the left are fresh and the others are paper flowers,

possibly from the previous Day of the Dead. This site is in the Sierra de Juarez mountains, 30 miles south of Tecate, in the village of El Testerazo.

Site BN84 (Figure 4.1.3) is 34 miles east of Tecate, down in a gully in mountainous terrain, on the north side of M2. The two crosses in the foreground are older than those farther back; one is rusted, the other bent and neither has any indication of recent visitation (the Days of the Dead were 6 weeks prior to this photo). The five crosses in the rear may memorialize deaths that occurred in the same accident, just as the two in front might. The point is that at least two accidents occurred at this exact location and both involved multiple deaths. This is a fatally, dangerous place.



Figure 4.1.3: BN84, multiple crosses.



a) BN134 b) BN236

Figure 4.1.4: ‘Special’ roadside crosses

Site number BN134 (Figure 4.1.4a) is an example of the placement of a memorial cross where a child died; in this case a 4 ½ year-old girl. The inscription, “Niña Andrea Valeria León A., 03-Dic-94/17-jun-99, D.E.P. (*descanzo en paz* or rest in peace)” is painted on a ‘little girl pink’ cross in bright multi-colors and a small cherub’s head is attached to the fancy filigrees between the cross members. The filigreeing includes a heart-shape atop the vertical member. Although I am no expert on the tastes of 4-5 year-old girls; I was told, and believe it to be true, that a little girl would like, and be attracted to, just this sort of cross.

Site number BN236 (Figure 4.1.4b) at mile 404, 81 miles south of Lazaro Cardenas on the west side of route 1, is both ornate and very special. There are several inscriptions: “Randy Bratiskew, 1997” is stamped into a small, soft metal plate that is attached to the cross; the same name plus “Jan 6, 1957/ Oct 13, 1997” and “Cabo 1000” are welded into a large steel plate

mounted at the junction of the cross. There is a BMW motorcycle rim and tire, a votive candle with a Ducati sticker on it, and motorcycle parts laying amid a pile of rocks at the base of the cross. A racing number “57” is attached to the cross at the junction so that it sticks up at a 45° angle to the vertical member; affixed to it is a sticker from the “San Francisco to lands end, Greg and Tom’s south of the border big board disorder tour, 1999, Mexico.” This is interesting because, since this man died during the Cabo 1000 in 1997, his friends evidently return to this site to remember him. There is a Tecate beer can, a brunette Barbie doll, and a bunch of plastic flowers; all attached to the junction and sticking up on the 45° angle opposite the racing number and on the vertical. There are also matches, a battery pack and some Christmas-type lights; the batteries don’t work anymore.

What makes this site special is that Americans, whose friend died here, adapted to the local custom by memorializing the place of death. So, not only do Mexicans emigrate and take this custom north with them; but visiting tourists, this evidence suggests, are inclined to adapt to the custom here and possibly reinvent it later in their place of origin. One could probably extrapolate upon the poetics of this complex of artifacts without any further information, however the following notice was posted on the internet at <http://www.teamobsolete.com/dayrev.html>:

TEAM OBSOLETE NEWS FLASH Date: November 3, 1997
Our good friend Randy Bradescu of San Rafael, CA was killed October 13, 1997 while racing in the Cabo 1000 road race in Baja, Mexico. Randy was an avid competitor, riding his 750 BMW Sportsman and a Ducati Twin. He also operated Fastrac Racing in San Rafael and was the former owner of BMW/Ducati of Marin. He served as Team Obsolete's Race Director at our Laguna Seca event in April. He is survived by his wife, Lynn Farrell-Bradescu; his parents, Melvin and Isabel; brothers Alan and Jack; and sister Karen. Sympathy letters can be sent to Lynn Farrell-Bradescu at 112 San Rafael Ave., San Rafael, CA 94901. A memorial has been set up in Randy's name with Big Brothers and Big Brothers of Marin. If you wish to make a contribution please send a check to 1306 3rd Street, San Rafael, CA 94901, 415-453-3800. We remember #57.

The phonetically spelled surname on the cross indicates that Randy’s racing friends, rather than his family, erected this memorial. Baja racers are noted for their Mardi Gras-like, post race parties in Cabo San Lucas. The Tecate can, and Barbie doll (with breasts deliberately

exposed?), along with the motorcycle remains; represent things that Randy's racing friends would associate with the aspect of his life that they know. The raised-style welded inscription, which is typical in Mexico, indicates that the materials for this memorial were purchased locally and the cross erected before his friends returned home from the race.

Table A4.1 in Appendix A presents a condensed version of the data collected in Baja California Norte.

4.2: Baja California Sur

The state of Baja California Sur, with 423,516 inhabitants, ranks 31st of Mexico's 31 states in population density and comprises the southern half of the Baja peninsula. The state was surveyed in one north-south transect along route 1 from the state boundary with Baja California Norte to La Paz, and route 19 from La Paz to land's end at Cabo San Lucas. The length of the transect was 752 miles; 155 crosses, 69 nichos, 2 monuments, and 26 shrines were documented at 208 sites (Figure 4.2.1). The following discussion focuses on examples of Baja California Sur's concentration of unusual, anomalous, or difficult to define roadside sacred places.



Figure 4.2.1: Map of Baja California Sur, survey routes and places.

Interviews with scores of Mexican citizens throughout the country revealed two popular terms or classes of roadside sacred places: *recuerdos* and *capillas* or *capillitas* (memorials and shrines or little shrines). This categorization is based upon the function of the place and does not take into account its physical attributes. The scheme used in this work (cross, monument, nicho, shrine) accounts for the artifact's form, but leaves its function to an 'ethnography of place' which attempts to discover the functional intent of the authors of the place. The roadside sacred places

described from Baja California Sur demonstrate the difficulties of bringing an intellectual orderliness to phenomena that are, occasionally, unruly on the observed landscape. Whether that order is the observer's or the participants,' the reality and the concept are not always synchronized with complete precision. These examples notwithstanding; most crosses, monuments, nichos, and shrines listed in Table A4.2 (Appendix A) are much more straightforward within a particular category.

Figure 4.2.2 shows four examples of enduring and artistic roadside shrines. Site numbers BS22 and BS27 are both located on the west side of route 1 in the vicinity of San Ignacio, 100 miles south of the state line (see Table A4.2 for exact locations), in cleared roadside areas. The surrounding landscape is open (i.e. unfenced), desert range. Both are shrines of religiosity; having no reference to any person other than the religious images displayed. BS22 has images of the Virgin of Guadalupe inside both lower and upper, open niches. The green, white, and red color scheme of statues and prints featuring Guadalupe is very consistent throughout Mexico; and shrines which feature her as the central devotional image are easily recognized. This site is well kept and there are decorative plantings of oleander and cactus to either side of the shrine.

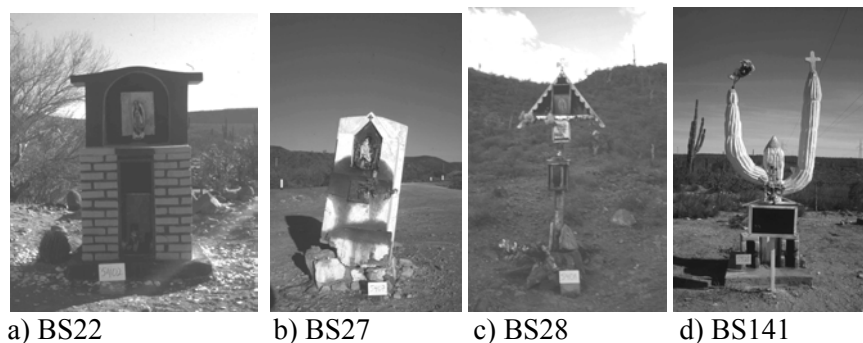


Figure 4.2.2: “Nicho-Shrines” as enduring sacred places and artistic expression.

The shrine at site number BS27, on the other hand, appears to be in a stage of decline. At some point in the past the shrine was damaged, possibly hit by a vehicle; showing that the construction material is brick overlaid with a layer of stucco. The Holy Family statue (Joseph, Mary, and Jesus) in the small niche is rare as a central image in Mexican shrines, although it is occasionally seen as a secondary image in larger shrines. The discoloration of the stucco, from

burning candles and wax deposits, indicates that this shrine and devotion to the Holy Family has some long-term status in the region. Although the shrine, and possibly commitment to its focal personalities, is in decline; the relatively new votive candle on the ledge and the sprig of artificial flowers show that somebody still stops here from time-to-time.

Roadside sacred places are built and decorated to be esthetically pleasing, whether they memorialize a death or exhibit religious conviction; sites BS28 and BS141 are exemplary of the artistic effort to create a pleasing place. Both are shrines of religiosity and are mounted on a pole, a common custom in Baja California that is rare elsewhere in Mexico.

BS28 is a fine piece of tin artisanship. The shrine niche is an A-frame construction with a crenulated fascia; all of hand cut and polished tin, mounted atop a 3-inch diameter steel pole set in concrete. Affixed to the pole below the niche, is a lead and stained glass, cylindrical, candle box. At the base of the concrete pedestal are imitation flowers in a glass vase. The central devotional figure is the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Site number BS141 repeats the 'niche on a pole' theme in a slightly different dimension and style. Here, the niche box is rather plain and made of welded steel sheet metal mounted on a 1-inch square pole. Inside the shrine is a statue of the Niño de Atocha, a popular devotional figure in northern Mexico. The 'art imitating nature' concrete saguaro cactus, judging from the footings, was a later addition and has experienced some weathering. The left cactus arm at the base of the cross is completely gone, with only a piece of ¼ -inch reinforcing bar connecting the remnant of the cross to the main sculpture. The top of the middle arm is also weathered, mute testimony to the sandblasting effect of desert winds. Note also, in the nearby background, the presence of the private property fence line. Although there is no indication of a death at this site (i.e. an inscription), the custom of improving a roadside sacred place is more commonly associated with nichos than with shrines; leading one to speculate that this site may have originally been a death memorial.

These four shrines point out an anomaly in terminology that arises from the combination of their size and function. All would be termed “nichos” if there were evidence of a death being memorialized; lacking this, their function is assumed to be religious devotion and they are referred to as “shrines” regardless of size. Anomalies of this sort are pointed out to demonstrate the difficulty of establishing a typology in this research.

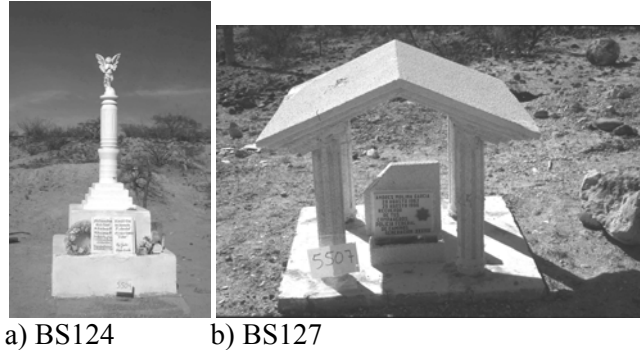


Figure 4.2.3: Religious and secular monuments.

Figure 4.2.3 shows another aspect of classifying roadside memorials. Both are memorials without an interior/exterior spatial dimension or any form of the Christian cross, and are therefore monuments. Site BS124, with an angel atop the column, signifies the death of a child at this place; and is in remembrance of a seven year-old boy. The inscription: “His parents, uncles, grandparents dedicate this memorial (*recuerdo*) with eternal love...” names the artifact in accord with the interviews mentioned below. On the right side of the pedestal ledge are several pieces of concrete supporting a weathered piece of 1x4 board; this provides a bit of shelter from the wind of passing traffic, for a votive candle. Also on the second ledge is a pile of very small gravel, a custom that may substitute for the lighting of a candle.

Site BS127 (Figure 4.2.3b) is unusual in not having any outward display of religious symbolism. The inscription tablet with a broken corner is a variation of the ‘broken pillar’ type marker common in nineteenth-century cemeteries; the symbolism is rather straightforward, this person’s life ended prematurely. The secular memorial is consistent with the letter of the law, as it existed in Mexico until shortly before the death date inscribed on the broken tablet. Mexico’s

1917 constitution had four anti-Church articles that forbid, among other things, the public display of religious symbols; these articles were repealed in 1994. This artifact also presents the unusual case of a roofed structure that is not a *nicho*; without walls it has no interior, nor the possibility of private space, which is the defining quality of a *nicho*.

The expense of constructing a roadside sacred place is substantial given the relative poverty of the people of Mexico. The sites discussed thus far reflect the effort of humble people to honor their dead or their saints. However, grandiosity is not out of the question for a nation experiencing rapid modernization, as the following sites demonstrate.

Site BS83 (Figure 4.2.4) is a concrete cross and a semi-circular granito wall, with a metal votive box built-in, mounted on a marble tiled, concrete platform. The surrounding roadside has a layer of clean granite gravel. The design is modernistic, simple, and elegant; a striking contrast with the desert background. The nearest source of water (to mix the concrete) is Ciudad Insurgentes, 40 miles to the southwest. Memorializing this person required considerable planning, effort, and expense.

Figure 4.2.5 shows two views of site BS107, a cross and 14 modernistic, broken pillars memorializing 14 people (11 men and 3 women) who “fell in the agrarian struggle for water” (see Table A4.2 in Appendix A for the original inscription) on April 27, 1974. The memorial was built and dedicated March 1993 by five nearby *ejidos* (a Federal land grant, agricultural co-operative)



Figure 4.2.4: Site BS83, a grandiose memorial in a remote location.



Figure 4.2.5: Two views of BS107, a cross and 14 broken pillars.

and the tenacity and commitment of these people in refusing to let the death of their *compañeros* go un-noticed, is even more astonishing than the physical structure they erected. Of further note: because the inscription specifically mentions the deaths were associated with the struggle for water, and the background features a high voltage electric line, these deaths could be associated with either a traffic accident or an accident associated with the construction of the, probably hydroelectric, power line.

Site BS108 (Figure 4.2.6) is one of the most elaborate nicho in all of Mexico. The sacred space is a 30-foot square bounded by chain-link fencing and timber posts. The inner area is landscaped with eight trees, of various sizes, and numerous decorative plants; creating a pleasantly shaded oasis in a landscape of relentless sunshine.



Figure 4.2.6: Two views of BS108, an elaborate nicho complex.

The field notes are as follows:

“The nicho is about 3m square and features 2 side boxes, nichos of aluminum and glass. The main nicho, in the middle, is tiled with a gable roof; [it] is locked but I can see a photo of an elderly couple and behind it a print of [the Virgin of Guadalupe], to the right is a St. Jude statue; in front are statues of the Niño de Atocha, an angel, Virgin & Child, baby Jesus, praying hands,

and 6 floral bouquets. To either side of the door on the outside are 4 floral bouquets, and a [Virgin of Guadalupe] statue, atop the left box; a large Adonis statue [actually, it is Michelangelo's "David"] with a skirt covering his nakedness and a statue of 2 children reading a book, both of these are about 4 feet tall. There are DODs [Day of the Dead wreaths] in the 8 trees that are part of the landscaping that makes the site distinctive. Behind the nicho complex is a crucifix and a large marble wall inscribed; "Avendaño. Carida Mama y Abuela" on the left, and on the right; "Carido Papa y Abuelito." On the left it reads; "Rosa C. mar 1, 1915 - dic 8, 1992," on the right; "Manuel B. jan 5, 1908 - dic 8, 1992," in the middle is a tombstone photo [i.e. a photograph that is reproduced and sealed just beneath the surface of the monument, a common practice in cemeteries in the past 20 years] of the two embracing. The inscription at the bottom of all this reads; "Siempre vivieron en nuestros corazones, los recordemos con muchissimo carino; sus hijos y hijas, y todos los que caremos, Descansen en Paz." (They live forever in our hearts, we remember them with great affection; their sons, daughters, and all of their loved ones, Rest in Peace.) Down below that is what looks to be the original pink and blue metal crosses, with filigrees and center scrolls. It appears that this [site] may have grown by increments. The crosses have the same death information. There are also 2 metal and glass votive boxes on poles, one on either side, pink on the left, blue on the right. Quite impressive!!"

4.3: Sonora

Sonora has the distinction of being the most traveled state in this study (977 miles); a result of its size (the second largest state) and well-developed highways adjacent to the border (which Chihuahua, the largest state, lacks). Sonora was surveyed as part of three transects: the northwestern border transect (461 miles), the Pacific coastal transect (348 miles) originating at Santa Ana, Sonora, and the northern-most width-wise transect (168 miles) which terminates at Esperanza near Cd. Obregon (Figure 4.3.1). In all, 840 artifacts were recorded at 648 sites in Sonora; this the 10th highest density of artifacts, in the state with the fourth lowest population density. Like the states of the Baja peninsula, Sonora has vast tracts of uninhabited desert; the

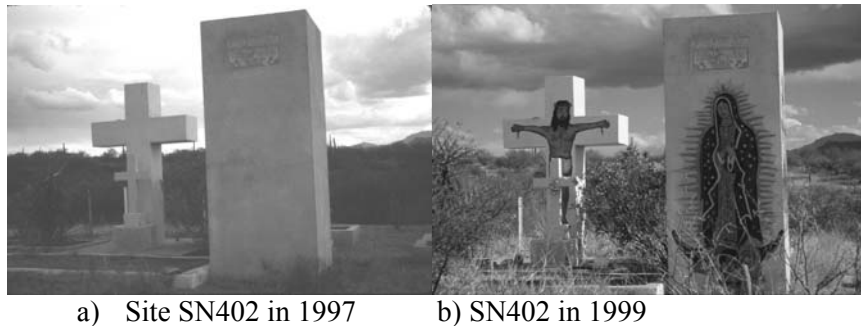
majority of the population residing in the capital of Hermosillo and the fertile valleys along the Pacific coast.



Figure 4.3.1: Map of Sonora, survey routes and places.

The terrain covered in these surveys varied from coastal lowlands, to lava fields in the Altar Desert, to the majestic Sierra Madre Occidental just north of the famed Copper Canyon (*Cañon de Cobre*). In general, the combination of driving conditions and terrain were favorable to stopping for in-depth viewing. This, along with two other factors, resulted in a high percentage of thick description in Sonora; these factors being: a) the first 50 miles of transect B4 (the northwestern border transect) was the first day of my fieldwork, when every artifact was a new experience that ‘demanded’ a closer viewing and the tempo of the work was not yet established, and b) the following 411 miles of that same transect I am very familiar with, due to previous research; knowing the lay of the land is a significant advantage where a quick decision is required. In addition, the section from Agua Prieta to Sonoyta was surveyed in August 1997 as a preliminary study to this project, and again in December 1999; this is the only portion of roadway that affords us two views in time.

This double viewing is quite informative at site SN402 (Figure 4.3.2a and b); a combination cross/monument in memory of Cristobal Canales, who died in 1984 at the age of 29. The memorial is sponsored by the sister and a friend of the deceased who state that “Our home remains sad without your dear spirit, that gave us the nobleness of your soul and the goodness of your heart...” and express their hope that he “...rest[s] eternally in our heavenly Kingdom.”



a) Site SN402 in 1997 b) SN402 in 1999
Figure 4.3.2: A cross/monument 13 and 15 years after the man's death.

(see Table A4.3 for the Spanish inscription). These two images demonstrate the principle of memorial growth/improvement in action and within a definable time frame. The images are also taken from very near to the same spot (see the mountain in the background), which allows a comparison of the grounds adjacent to the memorial.

The growth of grasses and shrubs in Figure 4.3.2b indicates that regular visitation and maintenance may have slacked off from 1997. The most striking change however, is the mural-type paintings on the cross and concrete pillar, which is painted on three sides. On the front, or the side facing the pavement, is the Virgin of Guadalupe; on one of the 'hidden' sides is a painting of St. Francis; the other has a landscape with three crosses on a mountain, overlooking a village. All of the paintings are un-faded which, considering that the Christ and Guadalupe images face west into relentless sunshine, indicates that the work was relatively new in 1999; fifteen years after the man's death. The lack paint drippings indicate that the painting was done with great care, possibly by a professional muralist. There is a fresh votive candle at the foot of the cross.

These qualities and attributes of the memorial: the physical structure, inscription, murals, votive candle, and the landscape within which they appear; constitute the poetics, or expressive attributes of the sacred place. Figure 4.3.3, below, features sites with similar poetics.

At site SN466 there are four white metal crosses, with filigrees and center scrolls, on a two-tiered pedestal with an open book in front. There is a fresh bouquet of flowers behind the book and it is inscribed: "*Alla en el cielo donde sus almas moran,*

recuerdan por sus esposas, hijos que sus ausencias lloran;

Virginia, Jose, Raphael, Carlos descansan en paz, San Ignacio, Sonora”

The translation (Far away in heaven where your souls dwell, You are remembered by wives and children who weep at your absence;”) loses a bit of the poetry but captures the sentiment. The use of rhyming words indicates awareness, on some level of consciousness, that this is an occasion to attempt a reach beyond one’s ordinary, or everyday, use of language. The references to “sadness” (in the previous example), “loss”, and “weeping” may, perhaps, seem understated for one who is in the throes of the recent, sudden, and tragic death of a loved one.

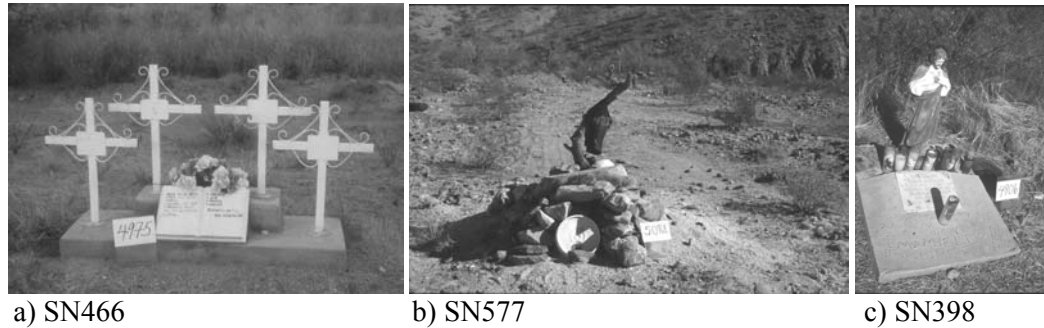


Figure 4.3.3: Sites with poems of word and action.

Site SN577, from the road, appeared to be nothing more than a pile of rocks. It is located in the middle of the Altar Desert, a good 40 miles from any water, and people habitually mark turn-off points, meeting places, etc. in the desert with a pile of rocks. Upon closer inspection one sees that the rocks are arranged so as to create a small niche (behind the paint pail lid) and the word “Borrego” is painted on a flat rock above the opening. It is also evident that this “nicho” was made entirely from materials that were gathered from the nearby landscape excluding, perhaps, a 5 gallon paint pail which contained a small amount of light blue paint and an old paint brush. In addition to the word “Borrego”, the paint was used to print the letters “INRI” on a piece of inner tube (INRI means *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* or Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews). The “INRI” is an integral part of Roman Catholic crucifixes. In this case, interpretation to the point of postulating the intention of the builder(s) is necessary before the artifact can be described as a sacred place. This could be a lot of things that are not sacred, but I believe this is a

nicho with a crucifix atop. Because there was scant chance of finding another piece of wood in this barren landscape, the builders and friends of the man they nicknamed ‘Borrego’ used whatever was at hand to convey the message of sacredness. Building a nicho, in one of the hottest and most arid locations in North America, by finding and carrying rocks, fitting them together to form a solid structure with a niche opening, and crowning it with a symbolic crucifix, is a poem of action.

Site SN398 is Sacred Heart statue on a concrete pedestal with nine votive candles in front. A marble slab (which is relatively rare at roadside memorials) is inscribed: “*Luis Enrique Garcia Arizmende, 22-jan-72/13-aug-97, hermosos recuerdos nos dejaste de tu breve paso por la vida; recuerdo de tus companeros QEPD*” (You left us with beautiful memories of your brief passage through life;...). The builders (Gera, Tony, Enrique, Corecamos, Manuel, Sylvia, Cranky, Estaban, Alvira, Lola, Franco, Herico, and Miel) probably pooled their money, bought a statue and had a marble slab inscribed; then all thirteen of them went to the place where their buddy died, set them in concrete, and signed it... within three weeks (the slab is dated 31/8/97) of Luis’ death! One of the things that this site might be expressing is that the deceased, if he was anything like his friends, was a nice person.

Figure 4.3.4 presents site SN508, and its central memorial, as if one were approaching it from the road for a closer look. This site so extraordinary that, after discovering that my December 1999 photos did not turn out, I made a side trip from Los Angeles in May 2000 to obtain these images. In addition, I was able to talk to a local lady about this site during the final visit and my notes from that conversation are included in the description below.

This site consists of three nichos and two crosses. The nicho to the right is a granito double nicho with a wedge inscription plate on a platform; it has a Transports del Pacifico Autobus emblem on it and is inscribed: “*Autobus 359. Recuerdo de tus companeros y familiares, Operador Sr. Demirio Vargas Castaneda, enero 22, 1950/enero 1, 1996*” and “*Operador Sr. Alfredo Ibor Zatino, mar 21, 1967/ enero 1, 1996*” The left nicho is of brick with a concrete top

and an inscription on top: “*Sr. Operador Francisco Martin Valezquez Gonzalez*” Behind these is a prefabricated clover cross with a large wreath and Christ figure, a faded red rose and a marble inscription plate below: “*Sr. Demitrio Vargas Castaneda, nacio 22 enero, 1950, fallacio 1 enero, 1996, recuerdo de su esposa, hijos, mama, hermanos, sobrinos, y de mas familiares.*” Next to the large monument is a black metal cross with a center nameplate and filigrees, inscribed: “*Jésus Antonio Melgar Ruiz*”

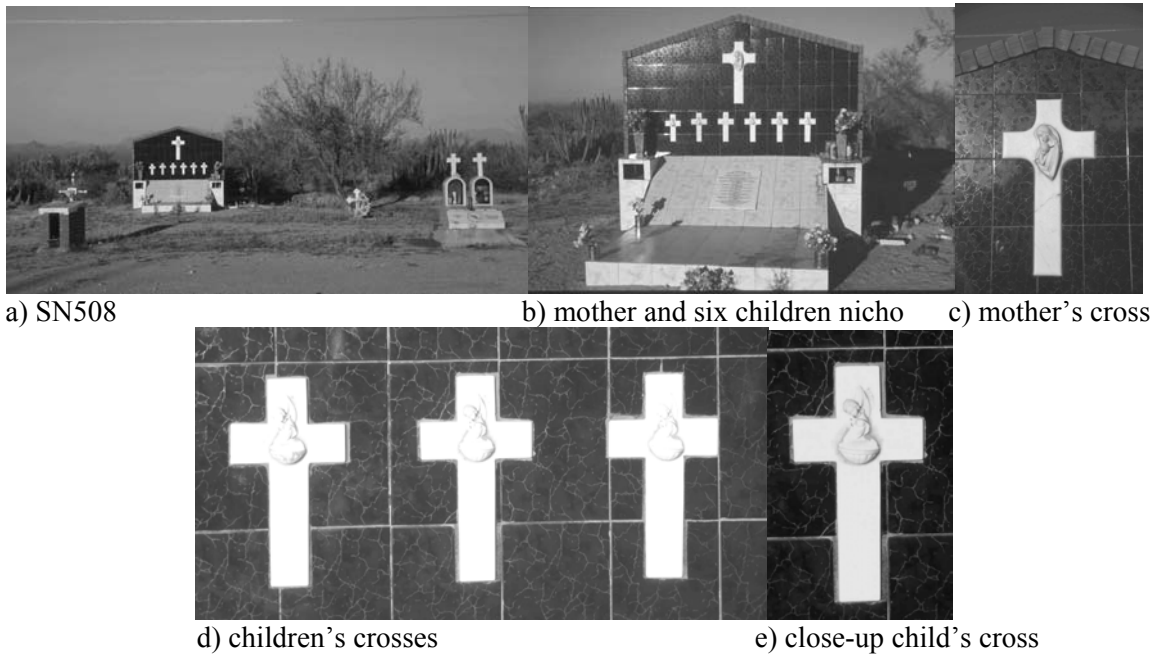


Figure 4.3.4: Site SN508, where a mother, her six children, and others died in a bus wreck.

The large nicho is made of marble tiles and has niches on either side, a cross in the middle with a Madonna and child and six crosses with angels; it is enscribed: “*Familia Ruiz Alvarez, 1 enero 1996, Rosa Esala Alvarez Romero, 7 feb 1965; Cristian M. Ruiz Alvarez, 11 anos; Yera G. Ruiz Alvarez, 10 anos; Jésus A. Ruiz Alvarez, 9 anos; Jorge de Ruiz Alvarez, 7 anos; Ana I. Ruiz Alvarez, 5 anos, Miguel A. Ruiz Alvarez, 4 anos. La voluntad de Dios se cumplio y ustedes vivieron por siempre en mi corazon hasta que decida a reunirnos. Su padre y esposo, J.M.R.N (...The will of God was carried out and you will live forever in my heart until it is decided to reunite us. Your father and husband, J.M.R.N.)*”

As I turned and walked away from this site I could not help but wonder: How full is a man's life with a wife and six young children? What did his home sound like on a normal day? How empty is his life when all, but he, are gone in a single moment? Is his home still his home, even in the silent aloneness? To accept his loss as God's will; is this what it means to be a 'true believer'?

Further field notes: "On May 3, 2000 I spent the night in Lukeville and spoke to Ana, a Mexican-American lady who runs the motel, has an office between the post office and the store, and lives here on the border. She said this particular monument was put up at the expense of the bus company. Evidently when passengers ride the bus they buy a minimal amount of insurance. She says it isn't normal for people to have regular life insurance policies in Mexico. That monument is well known in the area; she doesn't know where the people are from, who they were or anything like that. Just happens to know the bus company put up the monument.

I extended the conversation and asked her; "Why do people do this?" She said; "Well, whenever somebody dies and its not expected, they always just mark the place where the soul left the body." I asked her; "Is it because the soul might think it's lost or still alive?" She said; "No, I don't think so. Nobody thinks about it that deep, it's just our custom, it's the way we're brought up; and that's the way we do it." So she didn't give much credibility to that idea but, on other hand, it is not supported by people thinking it through and she didn't discount it. Its one of those '...we do it that way because we do it that way' things. ... The action is the important part. ... Ana is a 50-something lady who seems to be a senior employee at Lukeville, probably a member of the owner's family. She is definitely very in touch with everything that happens in Sonoyta and Lukeville, for her the border doesn't exist as a barrier."

Some roadside sacred places are related to piety alone, rather than as a death memorial. The following are unique examples of roadside sacred places that are places of piety. Although I have seen statues and plaques dedicated to him at the pilgrimage center of Magdalena, Sonora; Site SN402 is the only shrine encountered during this fieldwork that is dedicated to Juan Soldado.

This story behind this ‘popular saint’ is described in Griffith (1995) from an ethnographic account by the builder of this shrine. She relates: “Juan Soldado is an *alma* (a soul), not a *santo*. He was a *soldado raso*, an ‘army recruit,’ in Tijuana, Baja California. His *capitán* raped and killed an eight-year-old girl who had come to the garrison with food or laundry or something. The captain accused Juan and then applied *la ley fuga* on him. (*la ley fuga*, ‘the law of flight,’ is a Mexican euphemism for shooting a prisoner while trying to escape.) Juan began appearing to the captain and to the captain’s *novia*, or sweetheart in their dreams. A chapel to Juan has been constructed in a cemetery in Tijuana.” He also states that this lady “... asked [Juan’s] help in healing her sick daughter, and built the chapel...after her daughter was cured.” (73) Juan Soldado is believed to have died on February 17, 1938 (Griffith 1992, 113) and is popular because of his status as a victim or underdog who, as an innocent, was unjustly accused and executed. He is considered to have power as an intercessor because of the parallel between his story and that of Christ. The logic seems to be that in heaven, as in contemporary Mexican society, people with similar backgrounds tend to help each other, if they have the means.



a) Site SN402 b) Statue inside site SN402

Figure 4.3.5: Shrine to the popular ‘saint’ Juan Soldado.

Jésus Malverde, with no claim to innocence, enjoys the ‘popular saint’ status because he is, nevertheless, considered to be a victim and underdog. He was hanged in 1909 in Culiacán as a result of his occupation, which also earned him the (unofficial) title of “patron saint to contemporary thieves and smugglers” (Griffith 1992, 111). Figure 4.3.6 shows four views of two shrines to Malverde.



Figure 4.3.6: Shrines to Jesús Malverde, a Mexican ‘Robin Hood’.

The third of the three shrines dedicated to Malverde that were observed during this research, site SN628 lacks a good photo of the site. It is badly blurred, my hands were shaking a bit by the end of the conversation related in the following field notes: “ This is a brick nicho to Jesús Malverde with an arched roof, and a small altar with a bust of Malverde on it. A man who lives in the nearest house said that one of the neighbors put this up, it’s not because anyone died here, rather it is out of devotion to Malverde who the man referred to as a saint. He is a sort of Robin Hood who robbed from the rich to give to the poor. The man referred to the nicho builder as “un señor, ” and described him as a Mafioso. And he said; ‘I don’t know if you should linger here very long, the people around here used to be Mafiosos and strangers make them nervous.’ There was no pretending that Malverde was not a criminal, rather it is his criminality that has elevated him to sainthood in the popular imagination.” As an underdog/victim, Malverde fought poverty in a way that many are tempted to take; but, so the legend goes, he did so to the benefit of others as well as himself. Malverde is especially interesting because of his un-saintliness, a trait with which most people could identify.

The previous sites are examples of how real people are ‘placed,’ both in the popular imagination and upon the landscape as the focus of sacred places. ‘Place’ itself can also be made sacred by the popular imagination, as site SN627 (Figure 4.3.7, below) demonstrates.

This site, located 15 miles east of Esperanza on a country road, features a hot springs that has gained a reputation for healing. The main shrine is a double shrine dedicated to San Judas and

the Virgin of Guadalupe. To the left of it is an open shrine with a large ceramic of the Virgin of Guadalupe that is about 4 feet tall and hand painted; there is a small niche with another ceramic done in glitter paint and a pipe cross behind it. Attached to the cross are pieces of cloth, children's socks, rosary beads, and a variety of other objects. In front of these is a pool fed by a hot spring that, according to a lady who was there with her children and her sister's kids, has healing powers. She said people who came here and were cured built the shrines. It was quite fun, the kids posed and hammed it up. I was there around 30 minutes (an unusually long time for a site) and throughout that time people kept arriving, going straight to the pools, to the shrines afterwards, and then leaving.



Figure 4.3.7: SN627, a shrine complex at a 'miraculous' spring.

This section touches on but a few of over 600 sites and 800 artifacts in Sonora, which, could well be subjects of their own dissertation. The influence of Sonora on this research project is considerable. The fieldwork began and ended in Sonora, and in fact, the topic was incubated there as I drove back and forth to another project. But more importantly, the basic concepts and questions that carry through this text, first came to light here; a few of them are brought forth in the examples above, Table A4.3 in Appendix A locates and describes the others.

4.4: Sinaloa

A long, narrow territory lying between the Pacific Ocean and spurs of the Sierra Madre Occidental, Sinaloa has low, hot, humid plains and numerous marshes. The varying elevation, many rivers, and fertile valleys contribute to the variety of crops grown, including sugarcane,

cotton, grains, tomatoes, rice and citrus fruits. Sinaloa has an area of 58,328 sq km (22,521 sq mi) and a population of 2,534,835 (2000).



Figure 4.4.1: Map of Sinaloa, survey routes and places.

Most of the survey of this state (394 miles) was along the Pacific coastal transect (L3); but the smaller section (59 miles), along transect W2, was by far the most interesting (see Figure 4.4.1). This road, route 40 from Durango City to Villa Unión, near Mazatlan; passes through the heart of the Sierra Madre Occidental and is renowned throughout Mexico. Truckers, engaging in barroom bravado, tell tall tales about their trips over it and travel guides suggest “particular caution when driving [this] potentially dangerous” route; this advice given in the context that “driving in Mexico is as exciting as swimming in shark-infested waters, and it’s much more dangerous” (Chainani 1999, 36). Good judgment indicated that I take special precautions; so my wife vacationed by accompanying and assisting me in surveying of the road known as “The Devil’s Backbone.” In all, 694 artifacts were recorded at 531 sites in Sinaloa; 445 were crosses, 233 were nichos, 12 were shrines, and 4 were monuments. The following descriptions are a sampling of these artifacts and sites.

Site SA111 (Figure 4.4.2), with the Sierra Madre in the background, is an old and weathered granito cross atop a concrete pedestal. A pile of bricks in front of the cross are arranged in a manner suggesting the intent to fashion a small niche. The face of the cross has an inscription that is indecipherable, and the arms of the cross have chunks missing; the pedestal and bricks are molded and mildewed. Yet, a small, relatively new, cross of woven straw is suspended by a string from the upright arm; indicating that this person is still remembered by someone.

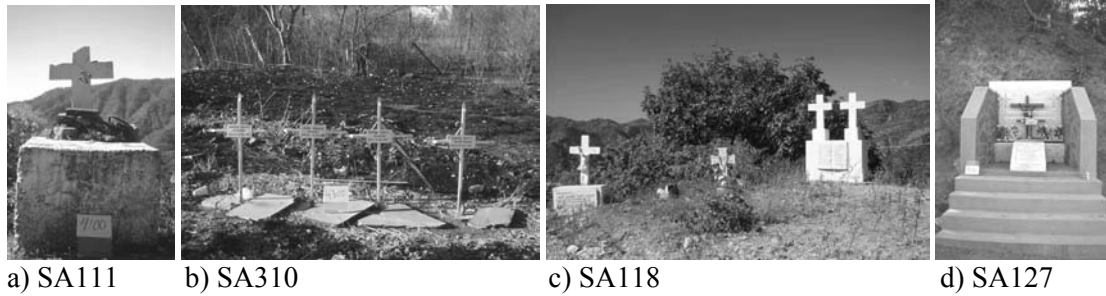


Figure 4.4.2: Examples of diverse crosses in Sinaloa.

The charred background at site SA310 shows the most popular method of clearing brush along roadsides in Mexico. The recently (12/19/99) burned area specifically avoided these four metal crosses and three of them have fresh votive candles at the base of the cross. From the inscription scrolls we can see that this is a family group and that they died together, on the same day. These crosses are made of square aluminum tubes whose ends are smashed and cut into spear-points; filigrees are made of aluminum strips that are curled on both ends and spot-welded onto adjacent arms of the cross. This type of cross is readily available for purchase at a variety of places, but vendors of such items are most easily found at shops and stands near cemeteries.

SA118, 26 miles west of the Durango state line, is a particularly dangerous place. Three artifacts mark four deaths that occurred here in separate incidents in 1993, '95, and '96 (see Table A4.4). The artifact in the middle has rosary beads hanging from the upright arm, and the cross to the right has a crucified Christ attached, making it a crucifix; both define this as not only Christian, but as a Roman Catholic sacred place.

Site SA127 was memorable because the highway pavement nearby to the artifact had muddy tracks made by a narrow wheel-based vehicle. Judging from the freshly broken trees above the rear of the cross retaining walls, and the fresh scars in the soil; some earth-moving equipment (probably a Bobcat-type machine) had been working on this site very recently. I arrived at the site on a Sunday morning so work was likely done here on Saturday or Friday evening. Whether this is when the actual memorial was erected or not is debatable; but whatever work was done, those doing it rewarded themselves copiously (see Table A4.4).

Although site SA241 does not specifically name the person being memorialized (the inscription gives only initials) but one can surmise from the symbolism that it was a girl or young woman. The nicho has winged cherubs attached to each of the roof's front corners, indicating a child, and the concrete of the nicho is painted pink for a girl (see also Figure 4.1.4a). This nicho displays an assortment of fresh and artificial flowers and shows indications that it is frequently maintained. Site SA32 on the other hand, is visited but not as regularly. The flowers are wilted and the interior is partially covered in water from recent rains; more frequent visitation tends to result in both structural and decorative maintenance.

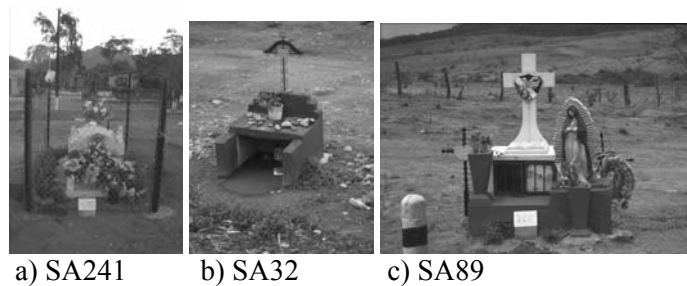
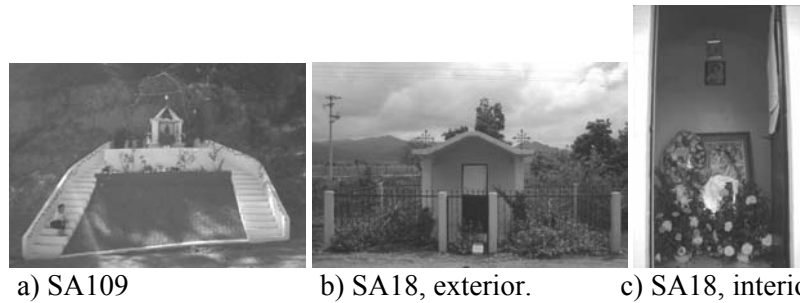


Figure 4.4.3: Three Sinaloan nichos.

Site SA89 is a memorial complex consisting of a wooden spindle-cross, a black metal cross, and a concrete nicho with a cross atop; all in memory of the same man. The cross atop the nicho features a coat-of-arms, probably from a truck; a Virgin of Guadalupe statue, and 2 urns also sit atop the nicho. This seems to indicate several stages of a memorializing process that began soon after the man died here in 1995.

Shrines are not emphasized in this work because they are usually not related to memorializing a person's death. They are however, the most visible of roadside artifacts due to their size. Site SA109 is offered as an example of the scale that shrines commonly achieve. Although the actual shrine part (top center) is unimposing, my wife (seated on the third step on the left) provides an idea of the entire structure's size. Even more impressive, in my opinion, is that the whole shrine complex, was immaculately maintained; a condition requiring daily effort.



a) SA109 b) SA18, exterior. c) SA18, interior.
 Figure 4.4.4: A religious shrine and two views of a death shrine in Sinaloa.

Site SA18 is a large (2x2.5x2.5m) turquoise shrine with a gabled-roof and two black metal crosses in front on the roof wings. It is enclosed by black wrought iron fence with turquoise posts and is landscaped with a variety of flowering shrubs. Inside is large print of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, fresh flowers, a photo of a young man, and above it another print. There is no name or date, just the man's photo. The following are my field notes from this site.

“Ok, I just finished having lunch just near that last site and as I was finishing up; a guy pulled up in his pickup truck with his three sons, got out at the site, cut some of the flowers off of the planted flowers outside of the shrine (but inside of the fence), and took the in to refresh the flowers inside. I went over and talked to him and as I pulled up I noticed he had California plates; the conversation took place in English. I asked him, why does this happen instead of just in the graveyard, I asked him in several different ways. I asked him does this happen when somebody is out working in the field and they fall, does somebody up a shrine out in the field? He said: “Well, they can” he didn't say they do, just that they can. So I asked him OK how about like my Dad died last February and he had been sick for quite some time, when something like that happens do you put up something in the place where he died? He said; No, of course, we can't do that in the hospital and we know that. This is an old custom and when people expect someone to die we just put them in the cemetery, and we honor them in the cemetery. But this is for when somebody dies and you don't expect it. You know it hurts much more, the pain is much more when somebody who is young dies. His name was Estaban and he is the cousin of the boy whose picture is in the nicho. [later that day] Further elaborating on the conversation with Esteban, he said: You know in

America you can leave home at the age of eighteen, but you can't do that here. You have responsibility to your parents because they brought you up; so you have that responsibility for your whole life. He said: Although the deceased was only his cousin, they were very close. He also said that he and his cousin had gone to California at about the same time and were the same age. His cousin was on his way home, after being away for several years, and got hit by a bus while crossing the road. I also asked if he needed permission to build such a fine shrine and he said they spoke with a relative who works for the *municipio* and were told that all they had to do was maintain it. He also said that permission wasn't needed for crosses and such, but that his family sought out advice as a courtesy.

4.5: Nayarit

Nayarit's 10,547 sq mi (27,317 sq km) is broken by spurs of the Sierra Madre Occidental, resulting in the wild and rugged terrain that is home to the Huichol Indians. The northeastern portion of the state has broad, tropical plains watered by the Santiago River. Volcanic soils, heavy rains, and altitude variations permit a variety of tropical and temperate agriculture such as grain, sugarcane, cotton, coffee, and tobacco production and cattle raising.



Figure 4.5.1: Map of Nayarit, survey routes and places.

A variety of roadways, amounting to 313 miles, were surveyed in Nayarit during June 1999 (Figure 4.5.1). Excepting 51 miles on the northern spur of transect W3 (a four-lane highway that had but one cross), the state was part of the Pacific coastal transect (L3). A total of 235 artifacts (186 crosses, 43 nichos, one shrine, and 5 monuments) were recorded at 183 locations.

Both religious and familial sentiments run deep in the death memorials described in this work. In many instances, symbols give expression to the religious aspect of the memorial, and inscribed words address the loss of a family member. Few memorials express both sentiments as simply and eloquently as site NT126. Located at the junction of routes 68 and 200 near Compostela, the site consists of five crosses mounted upon a 3-tiered pedestal. All have the date “11-8-90” (which usually means August 11, 1990) and the names of the people; three men and two women. The inscription on the pedestal reads: “Parents: For an inheritance they left us the most beautiful treasure, the memory of their example and of their life on earth, and we know they are not dead, but have begun to live. Amen” (see Table A4.5 for the original wording).



Figure 4.5.2: A cross in memory of a 31-year-old woman.

Site NT132 (Figure 4.5.2) upsets the idea that roadside death memorials “...are landscape statements of ..youth machismo” (Hartig and Dunn 1998, 18). In Mexico, if my observation of fellow wayfarers is any indication, women are memorialized out of proportion to their participation as drivers and, perhaps even as travelers. This may be due in part to elements of ambiguity and ambivalence regarding the ‘place’ of women in Mexican culture (see *e.g.* Martin 1990; Paz 1985, 65-88; Limón 1994); and/or particularly stressful emotional states resulting from the loss of a female family member. Table A4.5 in Appendix A details the sites and artifacts observed in the state of Nayarit.

4.6: Chihuahua

Chihuahua is Mexico's largest state, it covers 244,938 sq km (94,571 sq mi), and the population is 3,047,867 (2000). The vast, cactus-and-greasewood desert basins, broken by

scattered barren ranges, cover the north and east portion of the state; in the west the Sierra Madre Occidental reaches 2,725 m (8,940 ft). The forbidding landscape of Chihuahua's borderland seems suited to little but a hideout for bandits; western movies delight in bad guys riding across the Río Grande to escape justice, and the legendary exploits of Pancho Villa (a bandit by some accounts, revolutionary hero by others) were centered in northern Chihuahua.



Figure 4.6.1: Map of Chihuahua, survey routes and places.

At Nuevo Casas Grandes, in northwestern Chihuahua, the vast and important archaeological site of Paquimé indicates that an advanced civilization once thrived here. Cattle raising and cotton cultivation on irrigated land are currently the major agricultural land uses. Eight hundred sixty-seven miles of Chihuahuan roads were surveyed along three transects; the L2, W1, and B4 (Figure 4.6.1). A previous study of roadside memorials in northern Mexico (Henzel 1991) is overlapped along the L2 transect in Chihuahua for ~200 miles. I sighted 442 artifacts at 328 locations; 364 were crosses, 64 were nichos, 13 were shrines and one was a monument. Although Chihuahua has an extremely high proportion of crosses (82% of the total number of artifacts versus the national average of 68%) the following descriptions focus on the poetic attributes of nichos and shrines.

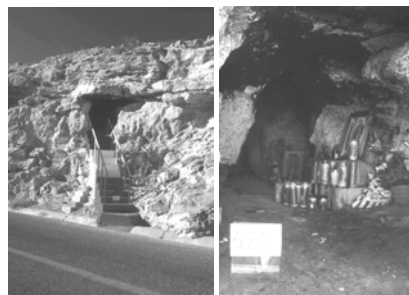


Figure 4.6.2: CH322, a true grotto.

Many words are used in different parts of Mexico to refer to memorials, and the four categories of memorials used in this work; Henzel (1991) used “*cruces*”, evidently because they are the dominant form in the corner of northern Mexico where she worked. Another term “*grutas*” (grottoes) is used in southern Texas (West 1991); yet grotto-like artifacts are rare along the roadside in Mexico. One notable exception is site CH322 (Figure 4.6.2). Located 27 miles west of Ojinaga this shrine draws one’s attention with the brightly painted red, white and green stairs and railing that lead up from the road’s gutter to a small cave. The color scheme of the outside “announces” that this is a shrine dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe. Judging from the soot deposits it experiences frequent and, in this photo, recent visitation.

The poetics, or expressive attributes of a place, are not always as straightforward as the above example. Figure 4.6.3 below shows three nichos whose expressive attributes may mean different things to different people. Site CH100 is a complex of artifacts including a brick 0.75 x 1 x 0.5m tall nicho with a black concrete, gabled roof and centered blue cross with flowers attached. The interior’s rear wall is in black tile and the center tile has an image of “*St. Carmen, Nuestra Senora del Carmen*”, a 7 x 12cm photo of a young male in a wood frame, a plastic toy Harley Davidson ‘chopper’, a 15cm tall St. Jude statue with the head missing, 2 bouquets of red silk roses, and a votive candle. Adjacent to the nicho is a blue wooden cross with a framed print of Jesus in the middle and flowers atop, and a black metal cross with a floral wreath inscribed; “*15-10-95 Elco Jaime Parra Galavez 1963-1995*”. With no information to the contrary, I assume that these artifacts memorialize the same person and exemplify the process of memorial improvement over time.

CH138 is one of only two memorials observed where the angel figure does not signify a child (see section 4.12). At first glance one would assume that the angel signifies a child but, upon closer inspection, the inscription (*Sr. Oscar Armenta S. el 16 de Mayo 91 a la edad de 31 anos Q.R..Z. Angel Perverso V. 427 Angeles Latinos tus companeros te recuerdan- Figuermex*) indicates that this memorial is for a trucker (Figuermex is a trucking company) and was built by

his co-workers (“Your co-workers, the Latin Angels remember you,”). In this instance the poetics seem aimed at “insiders” who understand who the “Latin Angels” are; the reference to “the Wicked Angel” (*Angel Perverso*) may refer to the ‘angel of death’ or, possibly, the deceased’s nickname within a fraternal organization. In either case, the angel as a symbol of innocence and purity is turned on its head by the text of the inscription.

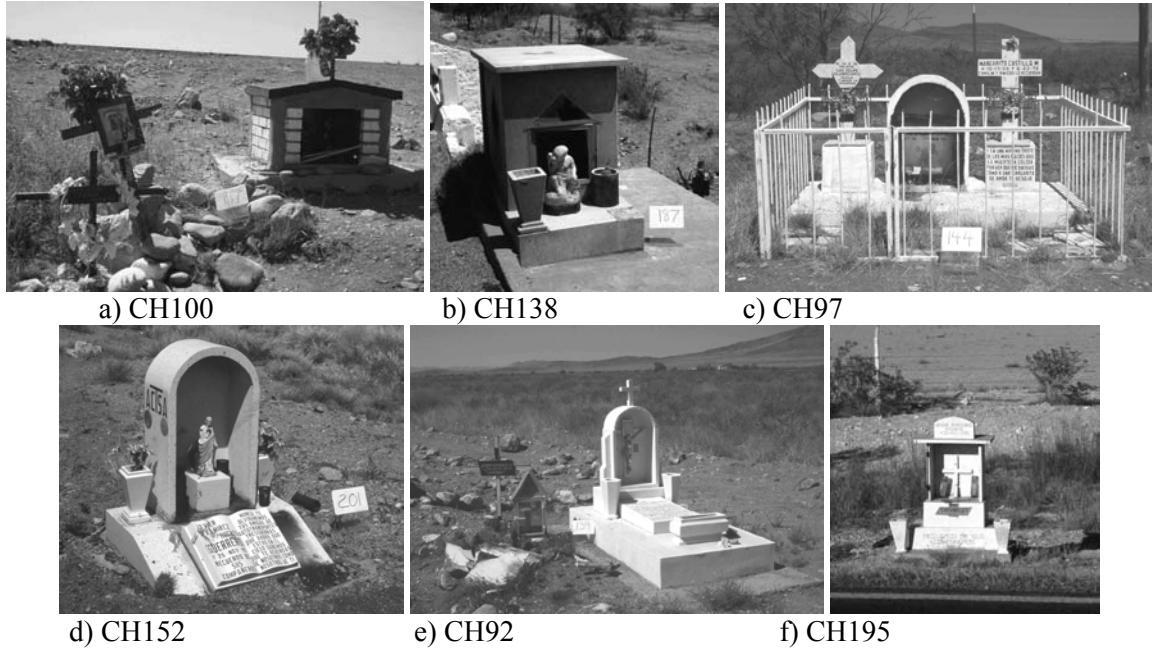


Figure 4.6.3: Various expressive, or poetic, attributes of nichos.

Site CH97 offers yet a different type of poetics. This site is an arch roofed granito nicho with a glass and wood door. Inside the nicho are 4 votive candles. The nicho is inside a 2m square wrought iron fence and is flanked by 2 white granito, 1m tall crosses. The south cross is inscribed; “22-6-78 *Fallecio Luis Felipe Velezquez Garcia familia y amigos recuerdan*”. The north one is inscribed; “*Margarito Castillo M. 10-17-54 + 6-22-78 familia y amigos lo recuerdan y en una manana triste de los mas dulces dias la muerte la celosa por ver que me querias como a una margarita de amor te desajo*” (“... family and friends remember him,

And in a sad morning
of the sweetest of days
death, the jealous one,
seeing that you loved me
picked you
like a daisy of love.”)

A clever use of simile and metonymy substitutes *margarita*, a common noun meaning “daisy,” for the deceased’s proper name, Margarito, in a way that tenderly reflects back upon the deceased as a beloved person of ephemeral beauty. The text also personifies death as jealous of the love of others. Images of death, as the grim reaper, abound in religious bookstores and shops in Mexico; a byproduct of the iconodulic practice of Roman Catholicism. The poetics of the inscription, which appears punctuation-less on the base of the cross, is heightened by its presentation here as verse.

This is, perhaps, an appropriate place to point out that translating from Spanish-to-English in this context is not a simple task. It is, more often than not, a dual task of simultaneously translating and interpreting; and the results are often liberal, rather than literal, readings of the intended message (Tambiah 1990, 121-7; Brady 1991 and many other anthropologists address translation problems; post-colonial writers, e.g. Coombes 2000, also engage translation from a slightly different perspective). There are several reasons for this, most have at their core that the spoken word (in Spanish) is being transferred into the written word. Often someone places the words on the memorial other than the bereaved; e.g. a stonecutter, welder, or other tradesperson. The result is often a text with misspelled and phonetically spelled words, which may lack punctuation, proper grammar, conjugation, and subject article agreement. This is not unusual where the spoken word is more important than the written and, where most people have a limited level of literacy. Both are expected in rural areas and among those who work with their hands. The burden of the observer, therefore, is to read empathetically and hope that translation plus sensitivity equals understanding, rather than mind reading.

CH152 verbalizes a form of bargaining with the dead. The inscription states that: “...now that you are in heaven, we know that you will remember us as we do you” (...*ahora que estas en el cielo sabemos que te acuerdas de nosotros como nosotros de ti*). This implies that the nicho is part of a *quid pro quo* arrangement that is being sought by his former co-workers. Having helped get their fellow into heaven, it is only fair that he return the favor (from his privileged heavenly

location) when their time(s) come. Allowing that he is in heaven then, the statue of St. Jude is a bit incongruous. Jude is the patron of the desperate, or hopeless cases, of the downtrodden, those who are ‘without a prayer.’ The symbolism of the statue seems to contradict the text.

CH92 is a complex memorial with a metal cross, a small metal and glass nicho, and a large granito, open-faced nicho on a raised, concrete platform. This latter has a cross atop the arched roof, a crucifix inside, and an inscription plate and three urns in front of the niche. The inscription reads: “*Si el dolor y el sacrificio esuma oracion sin palabras estamos orando por ti- desde que nos dejastes sin nos me quisistes hermanos y amigos no me olvides en nuestra oraciones.* (If pain and sacrifice are high prayer without words, we are praying for you from the moment you left us. If you love me brothers and friends, then you will not forget me in our/your prayers.) *Dedican esposa hijos padres hermanos y companeros*”. The latter part of the sentimental message (from “*sin nos me...*” or “If you love me...”) emphasizes the difficulties referred to above. This “translation” represents the best efforts of the author and three other bilingual scholars, two of whom are Mexican nationals, but could still be missing the intended message. The difficulty begins with *sin* (without), which has to be *si* (if), and gets worse. The sense, however, is similar to CH152 in that; the living are praying for the dead, and expect the dead to pray for them in return. It is particularly interesting that pain and sacrifice are equated to a superior form of prayer, or communication with the divine. The pain, one assumes, refers to the emotional pain of grief. From the artifacts on the site, we can see that this is another example of a memorial that advanced in stages over time. The final stage (the prefabricated nicho), depending upon the economic circumstances of the family, could have involved a substantial sacrifice for the widow and children of a 36-year-old man.

Site CH195 returns to the non-verbal type of symbolism that began this section. The inscription on this prefabricated granito nicho is: “*Jésus Barcenés Vicencio 22 nov 1990 recuerdo de sus companeros*” (...a remembrance of his buddies). The Chevrolet symbol says that Jesús was a ‘Chevy man.’ My friend Joe was a Chevy man (see section 4.9). He would probably

chuckle and say that: “Ford means ‘Fix Or Repair Daily’ and you can’t die in one because they won’t go that fast.” The brand of car one drives means a lot to some people; Jesús seems to have been one of them.

4.7: Durango

Contiguous to Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Zacatecas, and Nayarit; Durango’s area of 123,180 sq km (47,560 sq mi) extends from the western edge of Mexico's central plateau into the Sierra Madre Occidental. It’s population of 1,445,922 (2000) engage in livestock ranching as the major economic activity on the semiarid plateau, and grow corn, cotton, wheat, tobacco, sugarcane, and vegetables in the irrigated Río Nazas valley.

I surveyed the state along two transects (Figure 4.7.1); the L2 route through the center of the country, and the W2 which passes from Piedras Negras on the Río Grande to Villa Union on the Pacific Coast Highway. 338 sites were recorded in 554 miles and 463 artifacts were described, they were: 361 crosses, 93 nichos, and 9 shrines.



Figure 4.7.1: Map of Durango, survey routes and places.

Two of the threads running through the tapestry of these descriptive chapters are the ideas of “transition” and “blurred boundaries.” The classifications: “cross”, “nicho”, etc. attempt to bring order into a disorderly reality. Occasionally an artifact evolves, is added to, improved, or upgraded, from one of these artificial categories to another. Likewise, some defy being pigeonholed by exhibiting a form and/or function that are both one thing and another. Even though most artifacts fit a rubric; these are pointed out because they are exceptional, because the

human landscape has chaos and contradiction. Figure 4.7.2 highlights sites that are difficult for their reality to fit the author's intellectual structure.

Site number DG09 was constructed as both a death memorial, evident in the inscription: “*En memoria de...*” (In memory of...); and as a shrine of religiosity, featuring the central figure of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The inscription (see Table A4.7) names 15 people, and indicates that they died at this place while walking on a pilgrimage in honor of *el Señor de los Guerreros* (the Lord of the Warriors). The size and accessibility of the shrine, and the visibility of the central statue, make it an inviting place of respite and prayer that may be visited by any wayfarer. This death memorial, with its scale and the openness of a public place, assures that others will stop here to pray; perhaps adding a prayer for the pilgrims, long after the builders are dead and gone.



a) DG09 b) DG257
Figure 4.7.2: Death memorials that create an “unruly” reality.

Site DG257 appears to have evolved into its current state over time, and is similar to DG09 in the ‘blurred boundary’ aspect because of its size. An adult person can partially enter, *i.e.* one may kneel just inside the gate, so this is nearly shrine-sized. The most remarkable aspect of this place is the explicit naming of itself as “this sacred place” (*este sagrado lugar*). The symbolism of these roadside places, observed behavior of people in regard to them, and responses of those directly questioned, all indicate that the artifacts discussed herein are sacred places. This, however, is the only artifact observed that specifically refers to itself as sacred.

Most artifacts, as stated above, straightforwardly fit into one or another of my four form based classifications; this does not mean, however, that ‘a cross is a cross is a cross’. Each artifact

and each site has its own unique story and may be viewed comparatively as part of a larger scaled context. Figure 4.7.3 (below) shows seven sites that feature one or more crosses of various us sizes and materials. They are: a) a 25 foot tall marble tile cross on a 5x5x2 foot tall pedestal, with a 10 foot tall green wood cross is about 20 yards away in the background, b) a white concrete/granito cross, c) a white metal cross, d) a blue wooden cross, e) a blue pipe cross, f) 3 green metal crosses, and g) 4 white metal, and a lacquered wood cross, clustered on and near a rock that has a red cross painted on its surface.

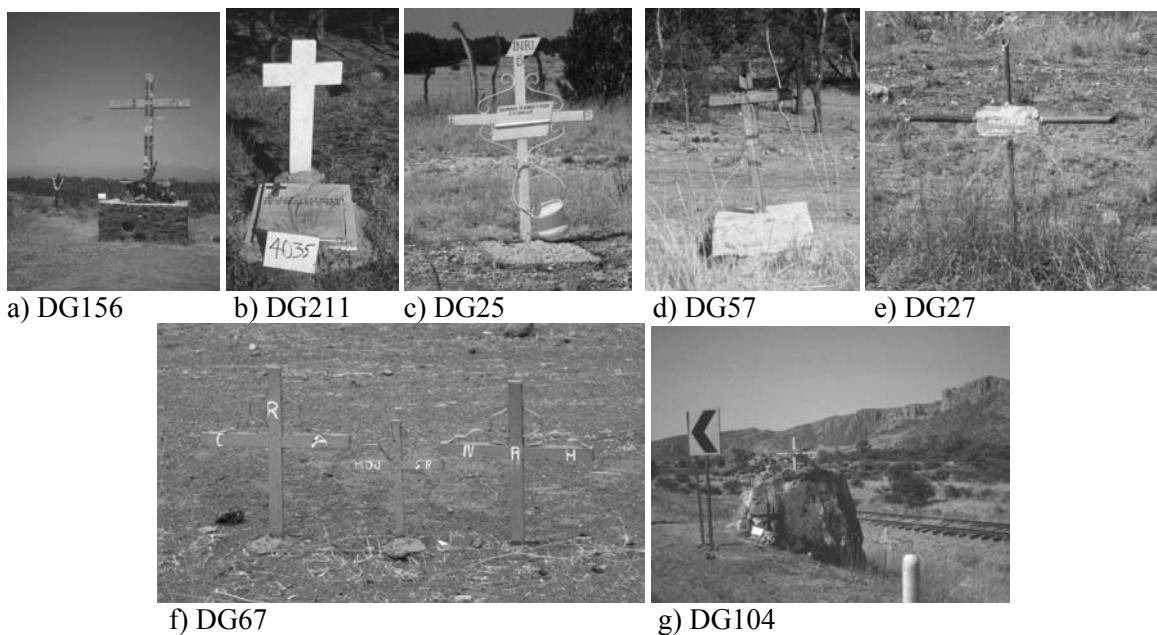


Figure 4.7.3: Roadside crosses, examples of variation, materials and scale.

Site DG156, which names two clergymen and an attorney, seems to exude affluence; its size commands attention, and the marble tile finish is relatively expensive. Yet, one need not know the price of any particular material, size alone sets it apart. Compare the field number plaque at DG211 to the same plaque at DG156; this artifact is huge in comparison to all the other crosses in Figure 4.7.3, which are approximately the same size as DG211. In this case, when comparing an artifact to others in the state, size means affluence. At site DG67, with each artifact viewed in relation to others at the site, size has a different meaning. Here, apparently the two larger crosses signify adults and the smaller cross signifies a child. How one views an object

depends upon one's perspective, not only in the sense of where one is physically situated in the field, but also upon which of the descriptive/analytic scales is given intellectual preference at a given moment.

Sites DG211, 25, 57, and 27 visualize the different materials used for crosses. DG211, a memorial for an engineer who died in this place, is a granito cross with a concrete slab in front for the inscription. DG25 is made of flat metal bars and painted white; the letters D.E.P. are placed at the ends of the arms, from top-to-left-to-right, the top scroll has "I.N.R.I." painted in black and the centered scroll has the name of the man who died here. DG57 is made from two pieces of 1x3 lumber, fastened together with screws one atop the other (rather than half-lap joined, which results in the pieces being flush to each other), and painted blue. And site DG27 is a pipe cross, made of three pieces of pipe, ends cut at a bevel, and the two short pieces welded onto the longer to form a cross. The center scroll is spot welded onto the junction and conveniently hides unsightly sloppy welds or burrs that may have resulted from the first process. All of the crosses in Figure 4.7.3 have a concrete footing or base of some sort.

Site DG104 emphasizes the reality of the fieldwork, where one must see and respond quickly and appropriately. The convergence of hazards; a sharp turn sign, a large boulder, and a railroad track, presents a scene that seems to shout "Be careful!" Five, or possibly six, people are memorialized here. The sixth, which is a red cross painted on the surface of the boulder, may have been a predecessor of one of the crosses; part of the process of memorial transition or improvement. Because there is no inscription to confirm this hypothesis, it is counted as a separate artifact.

In addition to the variety of size and materials displayed by crosses; nichos also have a complex variety of shapes, and the potential, because of their capacity to shelter, to provide an ethnographically rich encounter with place. Figure 4.7.4, below, shows examples of the nichos encountered in Durango.

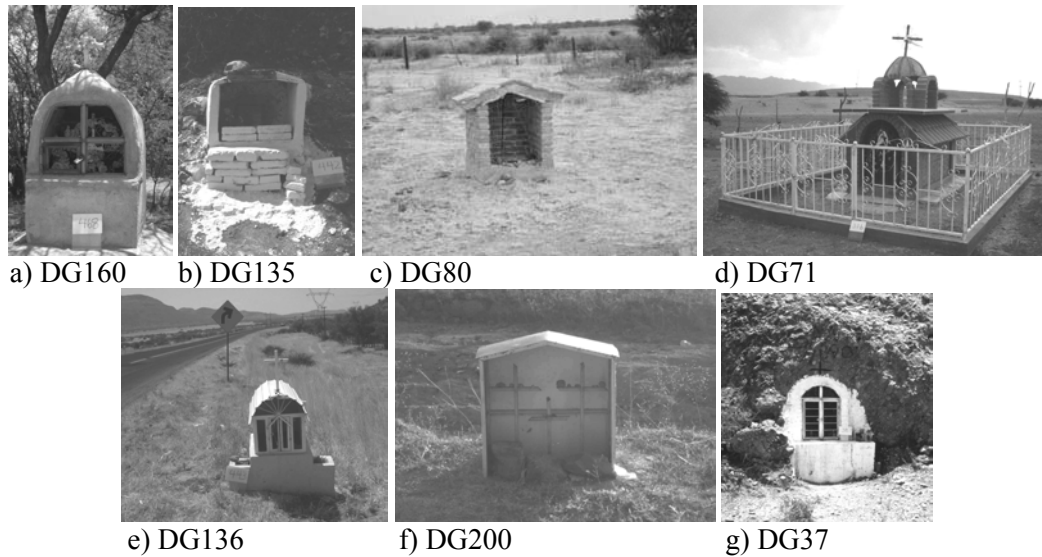


Figure 4.7.4: A variety of nichos in Durango.

Site DG160 is a concrete (or stucco plastered) nicho with curved walls and a semi-domed roof; for lack of a better name, I refer to this shape as a “beehive” nicho. Its yellow metal frame and glass door is padlocked, and inside is a silver-colored pipe cross that is covered with artificial flowers that may have been the original memorial. There is a white cross atop the roof and the concrete is unpainted.

DG135 is a freshly whitewashed, brick and stucco nicho with a St. Jude print, a bouquet of artificial flowers and a votive candle inside. Affixed to the top of the door opening is a piece of wood that is inscribed: “*favor de prender las veladoras recuerdo de Roberto*” (Please light candles in memory of Roberto). The inscription anticipates visitation by a stranger, perhaps drawn by the St. Jude print, and invites them to pray for the man being memorialized (see section 7.1 for a discussion of the relationship between lighting a candle and a prayer). This plainly stated request verbalizes what all other roadside memorials achieve with symbols: a) that this is a place for communication between earth-bound humans and heavenly personages (including the dead), and b) that the place is meant as a communication between those who created it and those who view it.

Sites DG80 and 71, both made of brick, have sharply contrasting degrees of doneness. Most artifacts in this study present an appearance of being built, perhaps in stages, and then decorated with removable objects such as flowers, bunting, etc. DG80 has never been finished and, when closely inspected for weathering and other signs of aging, seems to have been in this state for quite a while. DG71 gives an impression of being overly built and is quite a piece of work. It looks like a perfectly fine and sturdy gable roofed nicho on the bottom, perhaps too plain to suit the builder's taste; so, as if in a late flash of inspiration, a platform with arches and a lead copula are added.

DG136 and 200 are metal nichos, each of distinctly different design. DG136 is arch roofed with a cross centered atop, a broken glass and metal door, and no objects inside. Behind the nicho is a white metal cross with a welded inscription: "6-10-79 G.E.L." The arrangement of the nicho directly in front of the cross indicates that the former is an upgrade, or improvement upon, the latter; i.e. both artifacts memorialize the same person. DG200 memorializes three persons with three crosses inside the open-faced, gable-roofed nicho. The size of the crosses, as discussed above, indicates that one of the deceased was a child and all have visitation pebbles on the horizontal arms. From the perspective of the classification scheme by form ("cross, nicho, etc."), this nicho may be viewed as a transition artifact. Clearly the additional structure serves as protection for the crosses and, functionally, is adjunct to the main objects of remembrance. In this case, because it is both one and the other (depending upon one's naming criteria) Mexican's practice of referring to all roadside death memorials as simply "*recuerdos*" seems sensible as compared to the scholar's affinity toward "either/or" categorizing.

The final artifact shown in Figure 4.7.4 is site DG37, a 2 x 1m concrete nicho with a white and blue, glass and metal door. It is situated on a dangerous curve and built into the face of the conglomerate rock. Inside is a Nino de Atocha statue, a Virgin of Guadalupe print, 2 floral baskets (1 fresh), and a funeral card that says "*Descanse en paz (Rest in peace) Sra. Susanna Dominguez vda de Aguirre 24- febrero-1995*"; there are 6 votive candles on the front ledge of the

nicho. While all seven of the nichos in Figure 4.7.4 required the on-site labor of grieving relatives and/or friends, this one speaks of a strenuous, sweaty, grimy, blistered hands “pick and shovel” type of work. Somebody expended a lot of physical energy to carve out the space for this nicho.

Table A4.7 in Appendix A describes all of the sites and artifacts viewed in Durango.

4.8: Zacatecas



Figure 4.8.1: Map of Zacatecas, survey routes and places.

Zacatecas’ population of 1,351,207 inhabits 73,252 sq km (28,283 sq mi) of semiarid plains and mountains on the central plateau. The Sierra Madre Occidental dominates the western half, and a transverse spur (often over 10,000 ft/3,048 m high) of the same range, crossing the state from west to east, divides it. Rainfall is light and vegetation scanty. The absence of large rivers to support irrigation limits agriculture; cattle raising is a major activity and some crops are raised in southern and central regions. A 530 mile survey along two routes (the central lengthwise and third widthwise transects) recorded 562 artifacts at 399 sites, they were: 426 crosses, 123 nichos, 9 shrines, and 4 monuments (see Figure 4.8.1).

Frequently in this study, the number of artifacts exceeds the number of sites or locations recorded; the following are examples (Figure 4.8.2) of multiple death sites in Zacatecas.



a) ZT127, 13 crosses.



b) ZT150, 10 crosses.



c) ZT385, 3 nichos, and 4 crosses.

Figure 4.8.2: Memorials commemorating multiple deaths.

Site ZT127 consists of thirteen crosses; seven black, five white, and one blue. Although all are made of metal there is no consistent style or attempt at an orderly arrangement. The implication is that, although all of these people died in the same accident, they are not necessarily related or closely associated. This would be the case where a bus or two (or more) vehicles are involved in a collision.

At site ZT150, on the other hand, all ten crosses are wooden spindle-type crosses and they are arrayed, equally space, in a straight line. From left-to-right the first two are blue, and the other eight are white.

Site ZT385 is quite diverse, consisting of: two brick nichos and an adobe nicho, all with crosses atop, a metal cross atop a concrete pedestal, two identical metal crosses set in concrete flush to the ground, and a large and unusual cross/monument that features a cross lying horizontally on a pedestal with a sloped rear wall and two urns at the head of the cross. In addition to these artifacts, there is another site with a single cross directly adjacent to them on the other side of the road. As a group, these sites represent thirty-one deaths (including the aforementioned cross) in, what appears to be, three events.

Artifacts composed of four arcs joined at their apex (see Figure 4.8.3) were relatively rare, and usually marked the place where a clergyman died. Site ZT132 is one exception where the three crosses ‘enclosed’ within the arcs represent a mother and her two children. Adjacent to them is a fourth, and much larger, metal cross set in a separate foundation. Site ZT158 consists of a small nicho and a cross, both memorializing women, and a large stylized cross beneath the arcs. All died on May 10, 1992, and the base of the cross/monument is inscribed “Salvador Sanchez, sacerdote (priest).” Although the joined arcs are the dominant shape of these artifacts, my decision to class them as crosses is based upon the rubric that crosses are absent on monuments (see section 4.2). In the case ZT132 this more accurately represents the number of people being memorialized, and this is, after all, a human geography.



Figure 4.8.3: Cross/monuments featuring four joined arcs.

In my twenty years of traveling, living, working, and researching in Mexico I observed that when people need a thing that they cannot afford to buy, they make it. In these cases it is necessity (or desire) plus poverty, that is the ‘mother of invention.’ Figure 4.8.4 shows three examples of ‘handmade’ nichos that, in my opinion, are much more interesting and esthetically pleasing than their ‘store-bought’ counterparts.

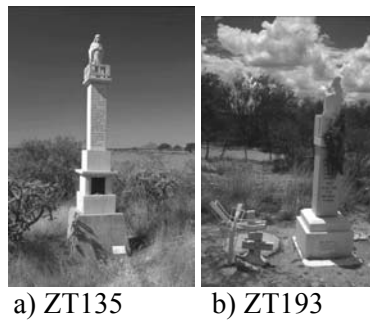
Site ZT126 is a brown concrete nicho, monolithically mounted on a pedestal of nearly cubic dimensions of approximately two feet. A rusted, blue outline-type metal cross is mounted atop the rear, and the pedestal ledge and one side of the winged arch roof have pebbles on them.



Figure 4.8.4: Handmade nichos.

ZT187 is a large, blue, two-tiered concrete pedestal with a tiny niche opening centered at the top of the base tier and a blue wooden cross mounted in a concavity at the top of the second tier. The cross-holding cavity has become eroded or broken and small rocks are jammed against the base of the cross to hold it erect. The cross is adorned with paper flowers that are weathered. This photo was taken in late May 1999 so the flowers were probably from the Days of the Dead seven months prior to the photo.

Site ZT149 is a white stucco, dome-shaped, nicho with a rusted pipe-cross atop. The cross has fancy filigrees between the arms and a tin scroll; the inscription has weathered to the point of unintelligibility. The weathering or deterioration of the threshold reveals the method of construction that is hidden behind an otherwise concrete exterior. The nicho is made of stone and mortar, then plastered with stucco; a wood form was used to make the niche opening straight and square. Excepting the cross and a few bags of cement, all of the materials were either found around the builder's home or at the site.



a) ZT135

b) ZT193

Figure 4.8.5: Sacred Heart monuments.

The monument is the least frequently occurring form of roadside memorial, but one type, a statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, recurs more often than others (Figure 4.8.5). Site ZT135 is a Sacred Heart statue atop a concrete pedestal, a 3-tiered base and a column; the statue, column and base are made of granito and the monument stands approximately 15 feet tall. The column is inscribed: "The youth Gustavo Valdez Rivera, 3-Ag-1957 – 24-Mayo-1980. He was a good son, active and polite, an exemplar and intelligent man; always struggling for the welfare of others. His parents and siblings dedicate this memorial to him." (*Gustavo..fue un buen hijo activo y cumplido un hombre ejemplar e intelijente siempre lucho por el bienestar de los suyos*). Another Sacred Heart monument is represented in Figure 4.5.5b, this one an eight foot tall column upon a two-tiered base is dedicated "...to the eternal remembrance" (*A su recuerdo eterno*) of a mother and daughter who died at this location. Adjacent to it are two granito crosses, inscribed to the same people, and an older metal cross that appears to have been damaged. This corroborates the

evidence in section 4.3 that memorial sites are improved or renovated over time, sometimes with the addition of new and ‘better’ artifacts.



Figure 4.8.6: ZT51, a grandiose cross.



Figure 4.8.7: ZT278, nicho moved for roadwork.

Site ZT51 (Figure 4.8.6) is an example of a grandiose memorial cross. It is a large, 2” diameter, pipe-cross entwined with metal thorny vines from the lower vertical member to the horizontal members, and is mounted upon a large boulder. The boulder has four granito plaques inset with the death information and biblical verses, and the whole structure stands about fifteen feet tall. These are enclosed within a four-foot tall, wrought iron fence with a gate and a two-foot tall masonry base. Because the memorial appears to be professionally made, one might guess that this memorializes the place where a relatively wealthy person died.

One final example from the survey of Zacatecas demonstrates the sacredness of these places, and the ‘true believer’ nature of the religious sentiments expressed on artifacts throughout this study. Site ZT278 (Figure 4.8.7) is a small, blue concrete, box-nicho atop a 3-tiered pedestal; it is near the entrance to an elementary school on the outskirts of a small town (Luis Moya) three miles north of the Aguascalientes state line. This stretch of road is currently being graded in preparation for re-paving, and the nicho appears to have been moved to a location farther from the roadside and out of harms way from the daily movements of heavy equipment. Because this artifact is quite heavy, I assume it was moved by the heavy equipment operator(s) involved in the construction project, demonstrating their belief that this warrants the respect of a sacred place. Atop the nicho is a blue pipe cross with a center scroll inscribed: “*el nino Raul Valdez volo al cielo el 10-8-65*” (The boy Raul Valdez flew to heaven on August 10, 1965). The color blue seems to symbolize an angel, in this case; and the reference to the child flying exemplifies the

idea of a vertically oriented reality (the following chapter discusses this in detail) that is a cornerstone of the Christian true believer's cosmic orientation.

Table A4.8, in Appendix A, details all of the sites and artifacts recorded in Zacatecas.

4.9: Coahuila

Coahuila (2000 pop., 2,295,808) covers 149,982 sq km (57,908 sq mi) south of the northward bulge of the *Río Grande*; most of this area is an arid plateau except in the east, where the Sierra Madre Oriental reaches 3,050 m (10,000 ft). This state is traditionally a stock-raising area, but there is irrigated farming, especially in the Laguna District, an inland basin south of the Bolsón de Mapimí; where cotton, wheat, sorghum, maize, walnuts, figs, apples, pomegranates, and grapes are grown. The revolutionary leaders Francisco I. Madero and Venustiano Carranza were born in Coahuila.

The state was surveyed along three transects (see Figure 4.9.1); the eastern U.S. border transect (B3), and the second and third most northerly transects across the width of Mexico (W2 and W3). 253 artifacts were recorded at 202 sites in 576 miles; there were 215 crosses, 23 nichos, 14 shrines and one monument.

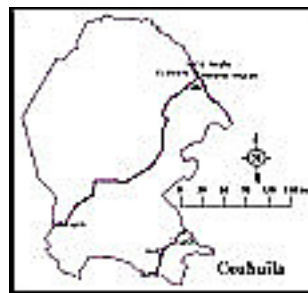


Figure 4.9.1: Map of Coahuila, survey routes and places.

Figure 4.9.2 features a cross and the surrounding landscape, bringing both the site and situation (west, or leeward of the Sierra Madre Oriental) into the text. This granito Roman cross is inscribed: “Sra. [Señora] Hortencia V. Rdz. [Rodriguez] de Acosta, 5-5-1920/7-7-1983” in memory of a 63-year-old woman who died at this lonely location three miles east of the Zacatecas state line.

Site CL185, Figure 4.9.3, is a 3½-foot tall, blue metal cross with four smaller crosses welded onto the horizontal arms. One must assume, lacking an inscription, that this represents four deaths at this location. It would also be safe to guess that these four persons were members of the same family or closely associated in some other manner, and were all traveling in the same vehicle at the time they died.



Figure 4.9.2: Site CL53 and the surrounding landscape.



Figure 4.9.3: Multiple death cross.

Figure 4.9.4 repeats the theme of a single artifact representing multiple deaths. In this case a nicho with twelve metal crosses, in a candelabra-like arrangement marks the spot where the Valdez family died. An interesting aspect of this memorial is that the face of the rock behind the nicho was previously marked in chalk with crosses that are now fading away. This indicates that, in favorable settings, temporary memorials may be as simple as a chalk mark on a rock face.



Figure 4.9.4: CL17, nicho with 12 crosses.



Figure 4.9.5: CL184, finely crafted wood cross.

Site CL184 is a nicely made wooden “budded cross” (Griffith 1966, 68) with a bouquet of artificial flowers attached. Being experienced in woodworking, I appreciate the fine detail of, not only the jigsaw and router work on the cross itself, but the small compass-point star on the vertical arm and the inscription (“Norberto FC 69-91”). The person who made this was a skilled artisan and took their time to do a good job.

Figure 4.9.6 is another example of a skilled tradesperson's work, in this case a welder. This nicho is made of ¼ inch thick metal plate, an assortment of automobile internal engine parts, Plexiglas inserts, and is finished with high quality enamel paint. A photograph of the deceased is mounted beneath half of the padlocked, metal and Plexiglas double door and there is no inscription.



Figure 4.9.6: Two views of site CL200, “motor head” nicho.

Roadside memorials, in either their inscriptions or design characteristics, frequently refer to the occupation or lifestyle of the deceased (see e.g. Figures 10.7.4 and 10.9.3). In this case one cannot be sure which is being referenced, but it is evident that a great deal of time and effort was expended to make a nicho consisting of auto parts. Furthermore, these are not the sort of auto parts the average person would recognize; one must actually dismantle an automobile engine to see its cam shaft (the front corners), or valves (the cross and left side design). The nicho builder is referring to objects that were meaningful to the deceased; else why spend the time to find old engine parts, clean them well enough to be welded and painted, and then expend the creative energy to construct this piece of weld art? It seems reasonable to deduce that the young man in the photo was either a mechanic or a “motor head,” a person whose hobby is working on his car.

Perhaps you know, or knew someone like this? I did, when I was in high school. He was always fiddling with his car, tearing it down and putting it back together again with some new and improved engine part that would make it go faster. He enjoyed his after school job at the gas station because he could work on his own car when there were no customers. Walking home from school I would always see Joe, usually tinkering with his motor. Buried waist deep under the hood of his '57 Chevy, bent across the front fender with legs dangling, he always emerged with a

smile- even when it was obvious that he did not want to be disturbed. He spoke about things like “boring and stroking” his engine and I would nod, pretending to comprehend the motor head lingo. His hands, no matter how much he scrubbed them, always had a hint of black in the creases. Maybe this young man was like my high school friend, or maybe not. In Appendix A, Table A4.9 gives a detailed accounting of the sites and artifacts I observed in Coahuila.

4.10: Nuevo León

Much of the northern Nuevo León is arid cactus country, the state is traversed by the Sierra Madre Oriental and, to the east, high plains sweep down toward the lowlands of Tamaulipas and are crossed by several large rivers. The result of this diverse topography is a diversified agricultural base where the main crops are cotton, wheat, citrus fruits, and sugarcane. The economy is well balanced; oil refining, iron, steel, and textile production are the main industrial activities, and silver and gold are mined in Nuevo León. The 3,826,240 inhabitants of the state enjoy one of the highest living standards in Mexico.



Figure 4.10.1: Map of Nuevo León, survey routes and places.

Nuevo León was surveyed along two transects that total 144 miles. The third width-wise transect (W3) passes from the Tamaulipas boundary, skirts the capital of Monterrey, and ends at the Coahuila state line, and; the third boundary transect (B3) passes Nuevo León's 8 mile wide access to the international boundary. A total of 89 artifacts are recorded in Table A4.10, there are 68 crosses, 15 nichos, 5 shrines and one monument at 58 locations.

Site NL23 (Figure 4.10.2) shows a multiple death site memorialized by 4 metal crosses on a single concrete foundation that has another cross inlaid in the cement. All four crosses have a

pile of pebbles laid around the base of the cross, and the front right cross has statues of the Virgin of Guadalupe and Juan Diego among the pebbles and white imitation roses attached to the upright member. The other three have imitation lilies attached to the upright cross member. Although there is no obvious familial relationship among these four people (two men, two women), the placement of this memorial is certainly a unified effort because the crosses are identical except for the inscriptions.

Figure 4.10.3 is another multiple death site, number NL42; this one is memorialized with six granito crosses on a single pedestal. The relationship between these men is clearer than the previous site; they worked together (see Table A4.10) and the pedestal beneath the crosses bears the acronym of their employer. This frequently observed practice likely indicates a financial contribution on the part of the employer that may be an assumed job benefit, especially for truck and bus drivers.



Figure 4.10.2: Four metal crosses.



Figure 4.10.3: Six granito crosses.



Figure 4.10.4: Site NL32, 3 crosses and an angel.

Yet another multiple fatality is recorded at site number NL32 (Figure 4.10.4) where the names, except for one cross (see Table A4.10), indicate a family relationship. Without reading the inscriptions it is also clear that one of these people was a child, which is almost always the meaning of an angel.

4.11: Tamaulipas

Tamaulipas, with a population of 2,747,114, covers an area of 30,734 sq mi (79,601 sq km). The central and western parts of the state are in the mountains of the Sierra Madre Oriental, the north and south are arable plains, particularly in the long panhandle beginning at Nuevo Laredo and following the *Río Grande* opposite Texas to Matamoros, and the coast is low, sandy, and fringed with lagoons. Except in the elevated interior, the climate is hot and humid. The state's greatest source of wealth is petroleum and its byproducts, but agriculture and cattle raising are also important. Tamaulipas is a leading national producer of sugarcane and cotton; cereals, coffee, tobacco, and corn are other major crops.

The state was surveyed along four transects (see Figure 4.11.1): the eastern U.S. border transect (B3), the Gulf coastal transect (L1), and the 3rd and 4th widthwise transects (W3 & W4); the total length of the routes is 720 miles. 417 artifacts were observed at 316 sites, they were: 345 crosses, 58 nichos, 10 shrines, and 4 monuments.



Figure 4.11.1: Map of Tamaulipas, survey routes and places.

One of the more interesting sites in Tamaulipas is TM44 (Figure 4.11.2) which has 5 prefabricated (granito) crosses set in a concrete slab and surrounded by a gated chain link fence. The inscriptions indicate that 3 men and 2 unmarried women died in this place. The aspect of this site of interest is the spatial separation of the crosses for the young ladies (to the left of the gate) from those of their male companions (to the right). This site suggests that it is socially inappropriate for single women to not be spatially separate from the men. The faded propriety of “formal promenade[s] of separate circles of unmarried girls and young men” in the plaza

(Richardson 1982, 429) has been transferred to this remote death site. As if the surviving kin are stating to all who would listen; “There was nothing inappropriate going on here.”



Figure 4.11.2: TM44, gender segregated crosses.



Figure 4.11.3: TM94, a broken pillar.

Both the symbolism and communicative intent are more straightforward at site TM94 (Figure 4.11.3). The broken pillar monument is common in graveyards as a symbol of a life broken off prematurely. The inscription is poetic and profoundly sentimental: “The seeds that you sowed based upon love, honesty, and work are producing their marvelous fruit. I am proud of my children thanks to God and to you. We will always remember to you with affection, your wife and children.” (see Table A4.11 for the original Spanish).

Site TM96 is a unique cross that features a bas relief of Christ crowned in thorns at the junction (Figure 4.11.4). One pebble rests precariously upon the horizontal arm and there is no inscription; only the date “Oct. 5, 1972” scrawled into the concrete pedestal indicates this artifact’s duration.



Figure 4.11.4: Site TM96.



Figure 4.11.5: Double-decker shrine with color symbolism.

Color symbolism is often baffling in regards to death memorials, but no site rivals TM133 in stating religious color symbolism (Figure 4.11.5). This is a double-decker shrine with a set of stairs leading to the upper level. The bottom shrine, painted in blue, white, and blue vertical

stripes is dedicated to the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos, who is frequently referred to as the Norteño (Northern) Virgin. The upper shrine, dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe, is painted in green, white, and red. Both shrines contain prints of their sacred personage and unlit votive candles. Table A4.11, Appendix A, details all of the sites observed in Tamaulipas.

4.12: San Luis Potosí

Most of the state lies on the eastern tablelands of Mexico's central plateau. Except in the humid tropical Pánuco River valley in the extreme east, near the Gulf of Mexico, the climate is mild and dry. Generally level, with an average elevation of 6,000 ft (1,829 m), the plateau is broken by spurs of the Sierra Madre Oriental; it is largely desert in the north. Rainfall is generally light, and rivers are few; thus, despite fertile soil, agriculture and livestock raising is practiced mainly for subsistence. Large crops of sugarcane, however, are cultivated in the eastern lowlands. The state's area is 63,068 sq km (24,351 sq mi) and the population is 2,296,364.



Figure 4.12.1: Map of San Luis Potosí, survey routes and places.

San Luis Potosí is included along two survey routes (see Figure 4.12.1), the central longitudinal transect (L2), and the fourth widthwise transect (W4); which total 313 miles. 223 artifacts were observed at 167 locations, they were: 176 crosses, 41 nichos, 4 shrines and 2 monuments.

Frequently during this fieldwork, I came across a memorial for a professional driver. The odds of a fatality among them is much higher than the ordinary traveler; they spend many more hours driving than other people. The road and driving conditions they encounter as just as dangerous to them as to others. The following are memorials to a variety of professional drivers.



Figure 4.12.2: SL101, a truck driver monument.

Site SL101, shown in Figure 4.12.2, memorializes the driver of a tanker truck. A model of his rig, or one typical of the company, sits atop a column; the base of which is marked with the company logo on all four sides. This is mounted in the center of a larger granito base that has urns at the corners, this in turn sits upon a concrete slab. An older, and less professionally-made, model of his truck is suspended from the mounting bracket on the top of the column.



Figure 4.12.3: Panoramic and close-up views of bus driver nichos at site SL14.

Site SL14 consists of two nichos, both in memory of the same 70-year-old bus driver. The concrete box-type nicho features a photo of the company's bus on the side, has a cross on the top, and numerous visitation pebbles along the edges of the roof. The gabled nicho is prefabricated, made of granito, has a crucifix centered on the rear wall, a large pile of pebbles, and two empty flower containers on the front step. The man's nickname, "Bunny" (*El Conejito*), is inscribed on the front gable. The side is inscribed "*Los cuñados*" which, in this context, means "Buddies or workmates." One expects that bus drivers are much more careful than truck drivers, especially a mature fellow like Bunny, but all the caution in the world is sometimes not enough.



Figure 4.12.4: Site SL17, memorial to a “Green Angel.”

If any professional drivers epitomize ‘safety’ in Mexico it is those who drive the green, Department of Tourism trucks. Affectionately known as the “Green Angels,” they cruise along at a slow pace, fully equipped to perform almost any repair job, pull a stuck vehicle, or place survival bags in remote locations; all at no cost to the recipients of their help. Site SL17 is a monument to a “Green Angel” who died in this place.

Table A4.12 in Appendix A lists and describes all artifacts and sites recorded in San Luis Potosí.

CHAPTER 5: CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: MODERN LIFE, MEDIEVAL DEATH

The apparent incongruence of the modern and the medieval appears side-by-side in every village and hamlet in Mexico. One sees it in every urban area, and, when moving along the nation's highways, it is there in the non-places between places. Chapter 8 will examine the concept of Mestizo Culture, the mixing of the modern and medieval cultures in Mexico, and how that developed. This chapter focuses more specifically on religion and its manifestations of medieval beliefs about reality, its geography or spatial and conceptual order; and death.

Many of the concepts discussed here are not medieval, in a strict sense; they have been around as far back as the written record goes. But their flowering, widespread acceptance, and adoption by organized religion as doctrine, occurred in Europe in the Middle Ages, were passed along, intact, to indigenous Mexicans and kept alive by their heirs, Native American and mestizo alike.

Mexican and Mexicanist scholars, with only rare dissention (e.g. Nolan and Nolan 1989, 99-102), accept 'medievalism' as part of the 'taken-for-granted' context of life in Mexico. No one has expounded upon this better than the historian Luis Weckmann in his *magnum opus* "The Medieval Heritage of Mexico." His work describes the medieval origins of cultural practices from practically every aspect of life in contemporary Mexico. He states that: The "medieval roots of Mexican culture ...the legacy that our country has received from the Middle Ages- principally ...from Spain- is still part of the Mexican's daily experience. Its peculiar features form so clear a picture that it is no exaggeration to say that in many ways we are more 'medieval' than a good part of the West, and certainly more so than the Spaniards themselves." Ideas about religion, the cosmos, and life and death, are not set apart from the rest of life in Mexico; they are an integral part of a fundamentally medieval culture.

"...when one is alone and it is night and so dark and still that one hears nothing and sees nothing but the thoughts which add and subtract the years, and the long row of those disagreeable facts which remorselessly indicate how far the hand of the clock has moved forward, and the

slow, irresistible approach of the wall of darkness which will eventually engulf everything I love, possess, wish for, hope for, and strive for, then all our profundities about life slink off to some undiscoverable hiding-place, and fear envelopes the sleepless one like a smothering blanket.”

(Jung 1999, 12)

“Of all things that move man, one of the principle ones is his terror of death.”

(Becker 1973, 11)

“The fear of death is...a universal in the human condition.” (Becker 1973, xvii)

Humanity’s effort to understand death goes as far back as the written record (Jackson 1997), to no avail. The two main currents of contemporary thought that explain death: annihilation theory, and transcendence theory, are diametrically opposed. The former gives *Homo sapiens* no special break; like all other species, when a human being dies it simply ceases to exist, “I” and all; there is life and then there is death. The latter posits a humanity that transcends their embodied nature through a duality of being; the body dies but the “I,” the self, the soul, or some other metaphysical element of the person, lives on; there is life, death, and afterlife.

Annihilation theory is an implicit part of scientific and modern thinking. Annihilation, or “denying the immortality of the soul, began to assert itself in the seventeenth-century” (Choron 1963, 134); contemporaneous with the scientific revolution, and reaching a fuller elucidation and widespread acceptance among the intellectual elite through the Enlightenment (see chapter 8). Thomas Hobbes maintained that the soul is not immortal, Kant took that a step further stating that it “can dwindle to nothingness by a gradual loss of its powers” (139). Arthur Schopenhauer, the first modern philosopher to systematically and comprehensively investigate the problem of death, taking a step in the other direction, “cannot accept the idea that all that lives and breathes simply disappears after a brief span of time.” (163) But he does take it for granted that the certainty of death is terrifying, and that it is a product of reflective reasoning. The same reflective reasoning that introduces the knowledge of death, he holds, assists us toward a comforting, metaphysical point of view. And further deduces that “all religious and philosophical systems are principally

directed to this end.” (162) By 1830 Ludwig Feuerbach, a “Young Hegelian” (Scrunton, Singer, et al 1997, 204), portrayed death as annihilation, Nothingness, and nullity. Turning Hegel’s ideas on their head, he believed in the primacy of human reason, which creates the only authentic reality a person can know and the only selfhood one can use; thought is the result of a humanly created reality. Because God and metaphysical reality are thoughts, they are, therefore, merely projections of the human mind. (Choron 1963; LeVan Baumer 1978; Scrunton, Singer, et al 1997). The desire for something after death becomes a profound aberration because “there is already before death all that one imagines one is able to attain after death.” (Choron 1963, 188) Feuerbach’s work was the first modern attempt to develop a psychology of religious belief, and had tremendous influence on Marx and Freud.

Death, like all of life in the twentieth-century, became categorized and pigeon-holed; “the problem of the nature of death belongs to biology and the problem of the fear of death to psychology and psychopathology” (217). As Jung put it: “Critical rationalism has apparently eliminated, along with many other mythic conceptions, the idea of life after death. This could only have happened because nowadays most people identify themselves almost exclusively with their consciousness, and imagine that they are only what they know about themselves.” (Jung 1999, 137) Modernity; scientific rationality, the primacy of the individual, and the secularization of culture brought the understanding of death, it seems, back to around 2000BC, when the Alewife said to Gilgamesh: “When the gods created mankind, for mankind they allotted death. Eternal life they kept to themselves.” (Jackson 1997, xix)

I say ‘it seems’ because we are ignorant of the intellectual history that culminated in the Epic of Gilgamesh, we are unaware of the variations and intellectual steps that arrived humanity at the point where one person anguishes over the finality of death- 4000 years ago. But we do know the history of the more recent ideas. Renaissance humanism moved the individual self to the center of the universe, the Reformation made that universe black-or-white-- one either goes to hell or heaven, science answered that the nature of humanity (because it must be either mortal or

immortal) is mortal, and the Enlightenment placed human intellect above all else. The result is a conception of death as a return to where one was prior to birth, i.e. no place, oblivion, Nothingness, nullity. This thinking, which de Unamuno says comes from “clever-witted, affectively stupid persons” (1954, 16) is based upon a materialistic and monistic system of reasoning. Everything that has reality is of a material nature and is either ‘this thing’ or ‘that thing;’ being ‘both/and’ does not adhere to the reasoning of “scientific materialism” and no other system has validity, “scientific method is the only reliable path to knowledge” (Barbour 1997, 78). Therein lies the gulf between religion and science, the medieval and the modern.

Transcendence theory, the idea that one transcends one’s mortal nature and reality at death, is the basis of most of the religions and spiritual belief systems in the world. Christian dualism maintains, “human nature, (in medieval thought,) is a union of mortal body and immortal soul” (Barbour 1997, 9)(Parentheses added). The person transcends death through changing, via the soul, from one reality to another. “For religious man, death does not put a final end to life...death is but another modality of human existence” (Eliade 1959, 148); it is a liminal state, a “midpoint of transition in a status sequence between two positions” (Turner 1974, 237). The “death to the profane world, followed by rebirth to the sacred world” (Eliade 1959, 197) “is the supreme case of a rupture of the planes” (Eliade 1991, 49) in a vertical hierarchy of cosmic, horizontal realities. Death, in the religious and particularly the Christian view, is both a change in the status or modality of one’s existence and a change of place. This movement, from ‘here’ (Earth) to ‘there,’ is a geography of motion with discrete destinations, distinct places, which became common knowledge and determined the religious practice of medieval Christians.

The starting point, from the only perspective available to me (i.e. the human), of a cosmic geography is earthly life. Medieval scholars held that “the earthly world was grossly material, dark and sinful. Here reigned change: growth and decay, birth and death.” (McDannell and Lang 1988, 83) It is no arbitrary choice when Eliade consistently uses “profane” to describe earthly existence (see e.g. Eliade 1954, 1959, 1969, 1991). Earthly life is unholy, impure, defiled, vulgar,

debased, and debasing; it is a modality of existence one is meant to overcome through spiritual means. In the everyday life of the masses of medieval serfs, perhaps like the Mexican *peon*, this theological definition was/is much more than an abstract idea; it constitutes the very essence of the daily struggle for survival. Death becomes the opportunity to pass on to a better life; the best, and for many the only, hope they have of improving upon one's lot in life.

The geography of the afterlife, up until the twelfth-century and for contemporary Protestant Christians, consists of two places: heaven and hell. The Christian idea of heaven derives from three sources: Classical Greece; the monotheistic tradition of Judaism, and; the Iranian prophet Zoroaster (ca. 1400 BCE) whose teachings were widely accepted in Persia and Babylon, and influenced the other two cultures through contact and/or conquest. Zoroastrianists believed in a three-tiered reality (heaven, earth, hell), bodily resurrection, and an eternal human soul that is either rewarded in heaven or punished in hell. This idea found expression in Judaism around 600 BCE as a syncretistic adaptation of a heaven exclusive to Yahweh, and "Sheol" the Jewish land of the dead. The Jews already believed that, "since human beings lived between heaven and Sheol, they could expect to be influenced by both the upper and lower worlds" (McDannell and Lang 1988, 3); it was a short step to revise existing ideas in the more attractive direction offered by the Babylonian religion.

The Zoroastrian influence upon the polytheistic Greeks is less clear. Heaven and hell translated into the Elysian Fields and Tartarus (ruled by the god Hades, who later became identified as the place itself) and a third place, which bordered Tartarus, was introduced; the "stony Asphodel Fields, over which ghosts endlessly wandered, but found nothing whatever to do except hunt the ghosts of deer—if that amused them." (Graves 1960, 29) The Greeks altered the geography of the afterlife by extending the 'flat-Earth' idea to the cosmos: Hades was reached by crossing the River Styx, Elysium, or the Isles of the Blessed, were on the banks of the river Oceanus; both at the edge (opposing edges, I assume) of the Earth. Although up-and-down

references were never completely lost; the “Greeks and Romans...emphasized the contrast between right and left in their spatial symbolism” (Le Goff 1984, 3).

Christianity “quickly accorded pride of place to the opposition between high and low. Throughout the Middle Ages it was [this] that oriented the inner dialectic of Christian values whenever thought was translated into spatial terms.” (Le Goff 1984, 3) The return to a vertical orientation was inevitable in a universalizing religion, as Tuan points out: “‘High’ and ‘low,’ the two poles of the vertical axis, are strongly charged words in most languages.” (Tuan 1977, 37) Heaven soothed the Christian psyche: “The assumption that God rewarded the good—either on a renewed earth or in a blessed heaven—helped ease the individual and cultural alienation brought about by colonization, religious persecution, and existential anxieties.” (McDannell and Lang 1988, 23) While a fiery hell threatened not only “wailing and gnashing of teeth,” but also carried the thinly veiled threat of annihilation (“Fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Hell” Matt. 10.28) (Turner 1995, 54) for those who engaged in a number of iniquities. Both heaven and hell acquired their own internal geographies with anywhere from two to ten levels or planes. As one might expect from the medieval culture, this could be based upon social status (or lack of it) or upon merit. These geographies were set in the popular imagination as much by popular theater as the preaching of the clergy (McDannell and Lang 1988). No individual, perhaps, was as influential in mapping the afterlife as Dante Alighieri, whose “Divine Comedy” allotted nine levels to both heaven (see McDannell and Lang 1988, 86) and hell (see Turner 1995, 136). Christianity’s bi-polar afterlife seems to have worked well at first, but it was not long before a need for an expanded geography began to emerge.

By 312 CE Christianity was officially sanctioned by the first “Christian,” Roman Emperor Constantine, who called all Christian bishops together to heal the division caused by the teachings of Arius (see Chapter 8, the Visigoths). His intentions backfired and at the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople (381CE) the doctrine of Trinitarian monotheism was worked out as a

permanent aspect of the Christian creed. Constantine, “in the end, [chose] an Arian bishop [to] baptize him as he lay dying” (Roberts 1993, 229) so he was, according to dogma, a heretic!

The absolute declaration of Christ as God set off a chain reaction that resulted in an expansion of the cosmic geography of Christianity. The reason God manifested as human, theologians worked out, was to atone for ‘original sin,’ the story from the Hebrew scripture of the Garden of Eden where Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. If Christ’s death made all who were baptized in His name free of original sin, then what of the (just) Patriarchs (i.e. those who pre-dated Christ) and the blameless who die before baptism? If God is just then there must be a place, neither heaven nor hell, for these exceptions.

Thus the two limbos: *limbo patriarchum* and *limbo infantum* were born as an extension and elaboration upon the more-or-less neutral Asphodel Fields of the Greeks, a borderland (*limbus* is Latin for “border”) between heaven and hell that accounted for souls who deserved neither. *Limbo patriarchum* (also called ‘the bosom of Abraham’) was deemed to be emptied at the moment of Christ’s death, and *limbo infantum* continues until the final judgment day (Turner 1995). Having accounted for these exceptional cases, there was no stopping the geographical imagination until all contingencies were met.

Purgatory (from the Latin *purgatorium*, a place for purging) entered into the geography of the hereafter at around the same time (ca. twelfth-century) as the two limbos. Most people are neither entirely evil nor completely blameless; we all make mistakes, and they are usually of a minor nature. “Of very few can it be hoped that they have attained perfect holiness at death; and none but the perfectly holy are admitted to the vision of God. Of few, on the other hand, will they at least who love them admit the despairing thought that they are beyond the pale of grace and mercy, and condemned to eternal separation from God and from all who hope to be with God.” (Toner 1908) The logic of a place of purgation was plain to ‘everyman’ and theologians accommodated their ideas to the practicalities of life to ensure the continued vitality of their religion.

Le Goff credits Clement of Alexandria and Origen (both of the mid-third century) as being the ‘founders’ of purgatory (1984) but it was not until Augustine (ca. 413) that the basis of the term was laid. These ‘founders’ did not postulate a place separate from hell, but manipulated hell and the fate of the dead to account for practicalities. Their ideas were interpreted and re-interpreted across the breadth of the Christian world before purgatory was “defined as a [discrete] place that is intermediary in two senses: topographically and judicially” (171) by Bernard of Fontcaude in 1192.

Like heaven and hell, purgatory acquired an internal geography, thanks mainly to Dante who accorded purgatory seven levels. Each level was higher than the previous and, accordingly, less populated by human souls who were also less severely punished; purgatory became an allegorical mountain that must be climbed. At each level souls were purged of one of the seven deadly sins, which are (in Dante’s opinion), in the order of their seriousness: pride, envy, wrath, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust (Le Goff 1984).

The completed geography of medieval Christian afterlife was: heaven, hell, purgatory, *Limbus Infantium*, and *Limbus Patrum* (Marshall 1999, 112). Although the exact location of the five places was often muddled in the popular imagination, it is clear that heaven is uppermost, hell is lowermost, and that purgatory is in between them. Dante placed purgatory above earth and included Limbo as an antechamber to hell below (Le Goff 1984). This “spatialization of thought” (3) about the afterlife and the cosmos relieved part of the deep anxiety about death that Casey calls “place-panic” (1993, ix), the fear of placelessness or being without place. The true accomplishment of the medieval scholars and poets was not, as Arendt (1958) held, that “the immortality of individual human life had reversed the ancient [idea of humanity as] the most mortal thing” (314). Even the ancients believed, or wanted to believe, in an afterlife; as Gilgamesh’s conversation with his dead friend Enkidu demonstrates (see Jackson 1997, 94-96 or Tablet XII, verses 110-50 for other translations). What medieval Christianity (and contemporary Catholicism) did was to make the afterlife real by creating specific places, allowing one to

“visualize another world ruled by quite other laws” (Jung 1999, 138) and to “follow the tracks of life and live right into his death.” (143)

Protestant theologians of the sixteenth-century focused hostile attention upon purgatory that had the effect of “despatialising the afterlife, of abstracting or even internalizing it, or moving decisively away from a concern with its geographical configuration and its vicinity to the physical world.” (Marshall 1999, 129) Thus, modernity had a two-fold effect upon death: for Protestant Christians, the afterlife became an ‘un-placed’ abstraction; for the ‘enlightened,’ agnostic, and scientific, the oblivion of placelessness was accompanied by a cessation of one’s individual existence.

The role of purgatory in the Catholic conceptual schema was a making of, and elaboration upon, the geography of one specific place. At critical junctures the geographies of both heaven and hell were revised to match the macro-geography of the afterlife and the specific geography of purgatory. Purgatory became a ‘near’ place; and both heaven and hell, over time, became places that were increasingly abstract and distant from the earthly lives of ordinary people. The immediate concern was entirely focused upon purgatory.

Although the transition from an embodied, physical world to a disembodied, spiritual one is truly a move into a world ruled by different laws, there is a fundamental conceptual continuity. The ethical and moral code taught by the Church rules both worlds; right and wrong on Earth is the same as right and wrong in the afterlife. The sacramental rituals of the Church, and ancient and/or pre-Christian propensities toward the veneration of ancestors, are believed to significantly aid in a positive outcome of one’s death and the placed experience of the hereafter.

The continuity of the web of relationships, including family, friends, godparents, and co-workers throughout life and beyond death, that is typical in Latin America, is in reality, contemporary Catholic doctrine. How that continuity manifests in popular practice has, over the years, been the subject of much interest. The Days of the Dead, in particular, has drawn (the occasionally condescending) curiosity of academics, journalists, and writers of travel guides.

Most of the attention focuses on the particular Mexican (or other Latin American) interpretation, folklore, ambience, and syncretistic elements (see e.g. Kraig, 1999; Garciagodoy 1998; Cortez Ruiz, Oliver Vega, et al. 1996; Greenleigh 1991; Green 1972).

Regardless of local variation in the actual practice, “Catholic teaching regarding prayers for the dead is bound up inseparably with the doctrine of purgatory and the more general doctrine of the communion of the saints, which is an article of the Apostle’s Creed.” (Toner 1908) The final elucidation of the doctrine of purgatory (Council of Trent 1564, session XXV) states “that purgatory exists, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful” (Toner 1908). These “suffrages” include prayers, dedicated Masses, almsgiving and other acts of piety; these latter are usually manifestations of traditions that may precede conversion to Christianity, or have been syncretized into Christian practice.

“The communion of saints is the spiritual solidarity which binds together the faithful on earth, the souls in purgatory, and the saints in heaven” (Sollier 1908). This implies a variety of inter-relationships that goes beyond ‘Saints’ (with a capital ‘S’) who are recognized as holy persons by the Catholic Church. “The participants in that solidarity are called saints by reason of their destination and of their partaking of the fruits of the Redemption.” (Sollier 1908) This doctrine, like purgatory and prayers for the dead, reached its definitive state at Trent and is essentially medieval. Its importance in the context of this study is that, at some point in time, an ancestor may cease to be prayed for, and commence to be prayed to. The common interest of the group of people that constitutes the web of relations centered upon the deceased, is for every person in that web to achieve be-ing in heaven.

There was also reasoning in medieval Christianity that saw benefit in supplications addressed to persons still in purgatory. A soul in purgatory can sin no longer, only pay for their earthly sins. One’s presence in purgatory already implies their salvation; they are not damned to eternal punishment, but to temporary purgation. “even as we pray for one another...the souls in

purgatory, being beloved by God and confirmed in grace, have absolutely no impediment to prevent them from praying for us” (Hannah 1911).

“Sweet is the consolation of the dying man, who, conscious of imperfection, believes that there are others to make intercession for him, when his own time for merit has expired; soothing to the afflicted survivors the thought that they possess powerful means of relieving their friend.” (Hannah 1911) The communion of saints, and prayers for the dead are of great importance in determining where a dead person is geographically. Of greater importance, however, are the actions of the individual prior to death.

The geography of the afterlife and the prayers, rituals, and pious acts of others in behalf of the dead are the structure that provides a continuity of community that transcends death. This structure, provided by the medieval Christian (or contemporary Catholic) Church, provides people with an understanding of the cosmos and the nature of death. But of equal importance is an explanation of life; in particular, religion (usually) provides a moral structure, a set of rules of behavior that make living together in society a secure and harmonious experience. The moral structure of the Christian/ culture may be viewed as a social necessity; but its purpose directly relates to the death of the individual.

Catholic doctrine states that: “ordinarily the only adequate preparation for death is a righteous life....[yet] no matter how carefully conformed to the law of God and the precepts of the Church one's life may have been, no Christian will want to enter eternity without some immediate forearming against the terrors of that last passage.” (Delany 1908) The motivation for a moral and righteous life, and the rationale of medieval Christian rituals is focused entirely upon death. Baptism, Penance and Extreme Unction are the principle sacraments that supplement a good life; all serve to remove sin and purify the individual's soul in the quest for eternity in heaven. A cultural preoccupation with death is an attitude that strictly conforms to Christian doctrine and the cosmic geography of medieval Christianity.

Perhaps no culture, or group of cultures, is more identified and commented upon as being 'preoccupied with death' than Spain and her former colonies. This preoccupation was a result of the tenacious grip the medieval held on Spain's thought. As Spain's most illustrious poet, Federico Garcia Lorca put it: "In all countries death is the end. It arrives and the curtain falls. Not so in Spain. In Spain, on the contrary, the curtain only rises at that moment..." (cited in Bennassar 1979, 241-2). Within this cultural climate, death was further refined in the popular practice of Catholicism.

The thought that one way of dying is 'good' and another is 'bad' is as glaringly obvious to the medieval Christian mind as it is absurd to the modern scientific. The concept developed piecemeal, alongside the idea of purgatory. Aries reports a twelfth-century sudden accidental death of a knight of the Round Table: "King Arthur and all who were present in his court were so grieved by such a *vile and ugly* death that they seldom mentioned it." (1981, 10-11) Sudden deaths were considered ignominious, shameful, and dishonorable; it was "above all the ill-fated dead who abounded [as ghosts]: those who had died violent deaths...tarnished souls...the dead who were lacking final burial places, suicides, women who died in childbirth." (Schmitt 1998, 12)

As the concept of a good death developed, its circumstances became the antithesis of the tragic death, but its performance was a practical response to purgatory and the fact that; "Catholicism has never abandoned the belief that even the most wretched sinner can move God to forgive him through sincere repentance." (Mitchell 1990, 21) A good death could not come as a surprise, it must be anticipated, prepared for, and performed by the dying person in a penitential manner; with dignity and patience, "dying gallantly, with elegance, aplomb, and grace." (164)

The model for Spanish Catholics was primarily Christ who "Bearing with strength upon the nail in His feet, stiffens to commend His Spirit to the Father." (164) Even less remote persons served as models: Emperor Charles V abdicated his throne in 1556 and "retired to a monastery to contemplate his own death" (Eire 1995, 3); the death of Teresa of Avila, a renown Carmelite nun, in 1582 became a model throughout the Catholic world, and; in 1598, the death of King Philip II,

an imitation of his father's death (Charles V), "became a lesson in death and the art of dying and a convenient vehicle for religious and monarchical propaganda." (258) Philip lay in excruciating pain for two months on his deathbed, "suffering without complaint, displaying the faith, hope and charity proper to a Christian" (Boyden 2000, 240), maintaining a steadfast faith and suffering with penitential resignation. Although a good death was considered the best possible indication of a good life, even scoundrels could be redeemed if they died properly. Don Rodrigo Calderón was sentenced to death in 1621, part of a purging of the old regime by the new King Philip IV. His life was thoroughly despicable and he was nearly unanimously hated throughout Spain. Yet he showed "remarkable composure and gentle resignation" (259) throughout the spectacle of his public execution and won the hearts of the populace (much to the new king's chagrin) and the poet, who wrote: "Living, he seemed deserving of death, dying, he appeared worthy to live...If his glories brought him to grief, His griefs restored him to Glory." (263)

In addition to the attitudes and behavior of the dying person, which emulate those of Christ and the other role models, a structure of sacramental ritual completes the deathbed scenario of a good death. Mitchell (1990, 24) lists ten steps from an eighteenth-century guide that includes: Penance, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, in addition to specific prayers and recitations. The ritual performance, as a whole, validates the 'really real' geography of the afterlife and the nature and structure of cosmic reality. "In [this] ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn out to be the same world" (Geertz 1973, 112).

The Franciscans, who were in the vanguard of the development of the doctrine of purgatory (Le Goff 1984), transferred these ritual practices, and the complex of ideas behind them, to their Amerindian converts. They, along with the Discalced Carmelites and several other orders of friars, ministered to the Spanish, Creole, mestizo, and native Catholics and promoted their ideas regarding death and the afterlife. "Mexico [became] honestly loyal to the concepts of Hispanic Catholicism." (Fehrenbach 1995, 252) While the original teachings may fade into

obscurity or be reinterpreted with the passage of time (Dobyns 1991), the practices remain a vital part of contemporary culture.

Even in Spain, which accepted modernity far in advance of Mexico, these ideas remain. Cátedra (1988), in an ethnography of a small community in northern Spain, shows how people categorize and respond to 'good,' 'bad,' and 'tragic' deaths. Much of the medieval background has faded; yet the circumstances that define each category remain unchanged. Good deaths come at the end of a normal lifespan and are relatively painless. Bad deaths are the result of extended illness and much pain and suffering. Tragic deaths are "caused by external agents or accidents" (121). These latter in particular are problematic: "Those who have died do not automatically join the world of the dead. For months they cannot resign themselves to leave the world of the living: they lurk around the houses in which they lived, shriek and make noise in the attic, intrude in the life of their family and that of their neighbors, and appear in the meadows, at the door of the house, and on the paths." (253) Clearly some ideas from medieval (and perhaps pre-Christian) times have survived in the everyday life of contemporary rural Spaniards. It is not surprising that these same ideas, or some practice that points to them, remains in Mexico; a culture that is certainly more medieval than Spain.

CHAPTER 6: NARRATIVE CONTEXT: “JUST GET ME THROUGH THIS ...”

Getting my pickup truck ready for the fieldwork was more than just routine maintenance. I had altered the camper shell and bed for maximum storage, loading it full of food and cooking gear to save money. This added up to nearly 1000 pounds of extra weight. But, I thought, I would ‘eat my way’ through that during the course of the summer. On top of that, I went to Arizona prior to starting and picked up a passenger.

My step-sister’s son is a ‘free spirit’ sort who spends half the year as a cook for a traveling Renaissance Fair troupe, and the rest doing who knows what. In exchange for cooking and companionship, I had agreed to pay his share of the expenses. It seemed to be a good deal for us both; he wanted to go to Mexico, and I needed (or thought I needed) someone to take part of my workload. As things turned out, his value as a companion waxed and waned, and he never took my need for sustenance seriously. Meals never happened at the agreed upon times and he became manipulative and recalcitrant when reminded of his duties. His behavior became a source of frustration and anxiety; I didn’t want or need a personnel problem. He became a burden rather than an asset; within three weeks the conditions of my work sorted him out.

The fieldwork began in northwestern Sonora (see section 4.3) and was intended to make an uninterrupted transect through the center of Mexico, all the way down to Cuauhtémoc on the Guatemalan border. It didn’t turn out quite so neatly. Mexico City is, in more ways than one, like a gigantic magnet; it draws in people from all over Mexico. The highway system reflects this magnetism; approaching the capital from the north, one’s options become fewer and fewer as you are funneled into the city. Being caught-up in the fast pace of urban traffic, I made instant decisions and ended up heading out of the city to the east. By then all I wanted was the “out” part and the direction and plan became unimportant. I was headed toward Poza Rica and ended up going down the east coast.

Along the way I made a point of stopping at major archaeological sites. Paquimé, Tula, Teotihuacan, Monte Alban, Palenque, and several lesser known sites, were my windows to

Mexico's past cultural diversity. They were also a necessary diversion; all work and no play, not only makes Jack a dull boy, it provides a break it what quickly became a tense situation.

The "Text" chapters of this work are interspersed with references to the road and driving conditions in Mexico. Euphemisms like "pothole dodging" and "riding the ridges" are used to simultaneously describe and minimize the dangers of driving in Mexico. These are easy to make light of from the lofty perch of one's office, but the experienced reality can be deadly. None of these are quite so intimidating as the phenomenon of "dueling semis."

I first encountered dueling semis in the wide-open spaces of the arid north, where one's options make it a little less life threatening. The scene goes something like this. While rounding a curve, or cresting a hill, you come out the other side and see two semi tractor-trailers coming toward you at full speed on the two-lane road. It's not a pretty sight. They both see you, you see them, and somebody needs to do something, very quickly, to avoid a bad accident.

The problem is this: neither of them will ever do anything except continue towards you. The driver being passed won't slow down, and the driver who is in 'your' lane won't, or can't go any faster; your move. You are caught in a cultural trap. Backing down is not an option for either of them, it would show a lack of *cajones* (balls). There would be no end to the "*chigaderas*" ("fucking with" jokes, or trash talk, that make light of another's masculinity, see Limón 1994, 129) he would experience at the next truck stop, other drivers would hear and his *respeto* (respect) would be damaged. These are, of course, all very serious academic considerations of the fascinating dynamics of a culture steeped in *machismo* and *marianismo*, but the fact remains that something needs to happen NOW.

Because my vehicle is the smallest, I would be the one most likely to die from a collision. So my usual reaction to these situations, in the north, was to 1) slow down to see if the 'passer' was going to make it around the 'passee,' before they got to me, and 2) pull off onto the side of the road if it didn't look like that was going to happen. No problem, just part of swimming with

the sharks. But that was only the case in the north; in central and southern Mexico, and in the mountains, there isn't always such a thing as "the side of the road." What then?

Well, then the situation becomes very tense and it doesn't help to close one's eyes and hope it goes away. It does help for me to hit the brakes faster and harder, maybe even shift into reverse, when I'm stopped, and start backing up to give them more room. Usually by reacting quickly and appropriately it becomes apparent within a few seconds that it's going to have a happy ending. The tension however, not only remains, it becomes cumulative; especially when these situations start coming more frequently and closer together.

This was the case in Chiapas and southern Oaxaca during the third week of the fieldwork. On three successive working days there were five such incidents. The series started, first thing one morning, on a bridge just outside of Comitán. A bridge is the ultimate place where you have nowhere to go. I came to a screeching stop as soon as I saw the guy pull out to pass; he made it past me by a few feet. Later that day it happened again, this time on a narrow mountain road. Again, no place to go; a wall of solid granite to the left, clouds and a very long drop on the right (see Figures 7.5.5 and Figure 10.4.6). Fortunately these two were going slow enough that the danger dissipated almost as quickly as it appeared. The next morning a "dueling semis" situation quickly resolved itself followed by another later in the day. The second one was, in some ways, the "straw that broke the camel's back."

I was in a stretch of rolling hills with a truck behind me; going up the hills I would pull away from him, going down he would be right up close to me. Sometimes he would get almost on my bumper, trying to get past me; but there was no opportunity, on-coming traffic was heavy and there were no openings for him to pass. This had been going on for about twenty minutes when I crested a hill and was presented with dueling semis.

The two trucks had a long line of traffic behind them; obviously the lead truck had slowed the pace of traffic on those uphill stretches. I hit the brakes as soon as I saw them. It was obvious that they weren't going to resolve things before they got to me, but there were only a few

inches of “roadside,” so I swerved as I braked to get as far to the right as I could. My right wheels dropped off the pavement before I realized that the road was six to eight inches higher than the ground. They were on me before I could even think to hit reverse. I thought I was going to die for sure but, in the last possible fraction of a second, the passing truck swerved to the left and missed me by inches. I knew the truck was probably still coming behind me so, as soon as my lane cleared, I hit the gas and jumped my truck back up onto the pavement. It fish-tailed a bit but I compensated and kept running it through the gears, to get back up to road speed, so I wouldn’t get creamed from the rear. I couldn’t take even a split second of concentration off what I was doing to look in the rearview mirror; it demanded all of my focus to get the pickup going straight down the road.

I pulled over as soon as I came upon a roadside site that had enough room to park. My companion vomited and commented that I “hadn’t missed that bus by more than an inch or two.” I didn’t pursue the topic and never told him that I didn’t see a bus (evidently it was the next vehicle behind the truck that was being passed). The cook cooked that night (a rare occasion), but got no personal satisfaction from the effort; he was unable to hold his meal down. The next morning he made it clear that he was no longer interested in being associated with my project, and by that afternoon choose to find his own way back to Arizona rather than accept a ride or another chance at his job.

The next day seemed to be a good time for a day off, so I lazed around Juchitan, Oaxaca, re-arranged things in my truck, and had a good meal in a nice restaurant. Although the frustration of the personnel problem had solved itself, the tension of driving remained. That coupled with other more complex emotions, things like simultaneous sadness and anger, left me with a lingering anxiety that something else needed to be done to bring my affairs in balance.

In this state of mind I continued on the following morning. Being alone and on the road was its own reward, and lifted my spirits considerably. I was beginning to think that all of the pressures that I felt were related to the cook when another dueling semis incident occurred. Like

the second and third incident in this series, it resolved itself almost as quickly as it appeared; but I knew then, that my emotional state was not centered on anything other than the fieldwork. A few miles down the road, as I was wondering what to do to change the situation, I came upon a large Marian roadside shrine and stopped to do my note taking and photographing.

Without thinking about why I was doing it, I knelt down in front of the Virgin of Guadalupe statue and said to it: “*Virgencita*, I’m in a world of shit here and this is your turf. All I want to do is finish my work here in Mexico and go back home alive and unharmed. I promise if you’ll protect me and help me make it through this alive, I’ll dedicate my dissertation to you.”

Although I haven’t practiced any religion since childhood, and have never “prayed” in the Mexican *quid pro quo* sense; I felt completely at ease during and after doing it. I was taking the culturally appropriate action. This was participation, as an ethnographer, at a basic level. The job I was doing was fraught with danger, I was in emotional turmoil because of it, and I needed protection. Guadalupe is the “Queen of Mexico,” and there she was standing in front of me. What is more natural than to ask the favor and protection of the most powerful person in the land? Any Mexican would do the same. I had seen dozens of truckers doing it. They had made me one of them.

I won’t pretend that I never had a close call with dueling semis again. They happened, but never again were they so close or concentrated. Perhaps that is because it was a Chiapas thing; I don’t know, or care. She kept her end of the deal in Mexico and, I’ll keep mine here. From the perspective of an office in the U.S.A., all of that Mexican Catholicism stuff may be just organized superstition, but it’s real in Mexico; and that’s what mattered then and there.

CHAPTER 7: TEXT: TEMPERATE, CENTRAL MEXICO

The ten states included in the central region are: Jalisco, Michoacán, Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, Querétaro, México, Morelos, Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, and Puebla (See Figure 4.1). As with the north, the central region coincides with Tamayo's (1953) agricultural zones, but is characterized by a more temperate climate and intensive agriculture.

The central region is home to 45.3% of the population of Mexico in 14% of its total area. The region represents 16.6% of the total miles surveyed, 23.4% of the artifacts recorded, and 17.2% of those that are thickly described. Here, land use and population are more compacted and the terrain is more mountainous. The result is that the 20 meter right-of-way is rarely observed in practice. Where the land is flat enough for farming, that activity usually extends as near to the highway's pavement as possible. Where it is too mountainous for farming, the "roadside" is often a vertical wall of rock on one side with air (and a long drop!) on the other. Higher population density also means more highway traffic; more fatal accidents; and the possibility, at any given time, of yet one more accident.

7.1: Jalisco

A mostly mountainous state in west central Mexico, Jalisco is the sixth largest state (30,941 sq mi) and, with a population of 6.3 million (2000), is the third most populous state. The capital city; Guadalajara, known as the "Pearl of the West", is Mexico's second largest city with a population of 3 million. Tourists and visitors, to any part of Mexico, appreciate Jalisco as the home of mariachi music but, from the perspective of the average Mexican dinner table, its status as the leading producer of maize and beans may well make it the most important state in Mexico. Jalisco is where the Sierra Madre Occidental has its southern terminus, the Transverse Volcanic Belt its western extreme, and the Sierra Madre del Sur its northern; the result is an interesting variety of landform, elevation, climate, and driving conditions.



Figure 7.1.1: Map of Jalisco, survey routes and places.

The state was surveyed along two transects: the Pacific coastal transect (L3) runs from the Nayarit-Jalisco state line just north of Puerto Vallarta, to the Jalisco-Colima boundary just south of Cihuatlán; the third widthwise transect (W3), which splits near Zacatecas, crosses Jalisco from east-to-west in two sections. The northern section begins at the Zacatecas-Jalisco boundary on route 54, skirts the northern suburbs of Guadalajara, and proceeds westward to Nayarit on route 15, a divided highway. The southern section of W5 crosses into Jalisco from Aguascalientes north of Lagos de Moreno on the 45, through San Juan de los Lagos on the 80, skirts Guadalajara to the south, and proceeds on route 54 (another divided highway) to the Colima boundary, about 30 miles south of Ciudad Guzman (Figure 7.1.1). The total miles surveyed is 450, and 273 artifacts were recorded at 202 sites; 79% of the artifacts were crosses, 19% were nichos and 0.5% of the sites were described in detail.



Figure 7.1.2: Nicho with visitation pebbles.

Site JL20, located about 10 miles east of San Juan de los Lagos (Figure 7.1.2), demonstrates a common practice of marking visitation to a roadside death memorial by survivors of the deceased (see various other sites Table B7.1). The horizontal surfaces, including the arms

of the cross, the flowerpot pedestal, and the interior of the open niche, have pebbles placed on them.

The practice of leaving stones or pebbles at wayside death-related memorials has a long history in European culture (Monger 1997) and stretches back into the misty pre-history of indigenous Americans (Griffith 1992, 85). While it is clear that these rocks mean something, exactly what they symbolize is less than straightforward. Griffith's ethnographic evidence that adding a rock to a roadside sacred place will "make the trip easy" (85) represents a level of symbolism that has devolved into superstition. In general, rocks have a number of symbolic referents including "that which is stable, unchanging, eternal, and by extension that which is divine" (Biedermann 1994, 286). Candles, also rich in spiritual symbolism (Bachelard 1988; Bachelard 1990); are, correctly I believe, connected by Griffith to the custom of leaving rocks at a death site (1992, 101). He adds that "Candles are a symbol of prayer and in many communities have become prayers- offerings- in and of themselves." (101) Rocks or pebbles symbolize a prayer for the dead; and seem to be a simple, and practical, substitute where the flame of a candle is quickly extinguished by the draft of passing traffic. Nicho makers and visitors place importance on making their prayers endure beyond the present moment; this is evidenced in constructing a nicho that faces away from the road (see Table B7.1, JL 34 and JL107; see also section 10.2 in reference to site GR99), or in fashioning a windbreak to protect the flames of candles. Table B7.1 in Appendix B gives a complete accounting of the sites and artifacts observed in Jalisco.

7.2: Michoacán

Dominated by the mountains of the Sierra Madre Occidental and the volcanic chain of central Mexico, Michoacán extends from the Pacific Ocean northeastward into the central plateau. The Lerma River and Lake Chapala form part of its northern boundary with Jalisco; the Río de las Balsas marks the southern border with Guerrero. The climate and soil variations caused by topography and varying elevation make Michoacán a diverse agricultural state, producing

temperate and tropical cereals, fruits, and vegetables. Most of the state's 3,979,177 inhabitants are native Tarascans.



Figure 7.2.1: Map of Michoacán, survey routes and places.

Michoacán was surveyed along two transects: transect L3 closely follows 178 miles of breathtakingly beautiful, and treacherous, coastline where the Sierra Madre del Sur meets the Pacific; and W4 runs the length of the state, for 270 miles, crossing the Sierra Madre del Sur and terminating at its junction with Federal Highway 200 in La Mira (see Figure 7.2.1). Three hundred twenty-three crosses, 38 nichos, 20 shrines and 1 monument were observed at 301 sites; 27 of these were described in rich detail, and 18 were photographed.

In most of the states in this section driving was problematic, usually because of the combination of mountainous topography and traffic density. In Michoacán, however, a unique problem occurred which more than ‘ordinarily’ affected the research process. Shortly after passing the Colima/Michoacán state line along the Pacific transect, I began to experience a problem with the transmission of my 5-speed Toyota pickup truck. At first it was a minor irritation, the shifter was popping out of fourth gear which, considering the terrain, I rarely had an opportunity to use anyhow. As the day progressed and I traveled farther south and away from the nearest large town, so did the transmission problem. Within two hours the problem extended to all gears except first and reverse. Although I am not much of a mechanic, I can usually figure out, in general, what is wrong; especially with a vehicle I have driven for 7 years and 100,000 plus miles. But this had me stumped: I could shift into the next higher gear, but as soon as I let go of the shifter it would pop back out of gear and into neutral. Simultaneous with this progressively

deteriorating situation, the landscape became more and more vertical and the road more sinuous as it wound its way up and down the coastal mountains.

I am not sure how drastically this affected the research results, but you should know exactly what physical actions were required to make your own judgment. First, I am driving; this involves manipulating the clutch, gas pedal, gear shifter, and steering wheel in a smooth simultaneity that is second nature to anyone accustomed to a manual transmission, and slightly exacerbated by a mountainous road. Second; I usually do not have any previous experience in driving the road I am on, so an extra set of eye movements is required to search for cues and clues about the unseen roadway ahead; in addition to the normal eye movements to see the immediate ahead, sides, and behind. Third; these eye movements are further complicated by the reason I am there, i.e. I am searching the immediate roadway ahead, behind, and side-to-side for the signs which might indicate the presence of one of the objects of interest to this study. And fourth, when I do spy an object of interest; the eye movements need to intensify in that direction, while the foot movements adjust to slow down so the eyes can do their job, while the hands work in coordination with the feet. If somewhere in this process, the decision was made to do a 'drive-by' description (rather than stopping and pulling over, which requires available roadside space), then a task specific set of movements begin. My left hand had a mechanical tally counter hooked onto the middle finger and attached to the wrist by a rubber band; it needs to be clicked, advancing the count to reflect a new site. At the same time, the right hand needs to activate and deactivate the micro-cassette recorder that sits in the cup holder 8 inches above the shifter, while I deliver a soliloquy that describes what I see. Particular attention is paid to the rearview mirror to assure that I am not becoming a hazard to other motorists during this process. This is very simple if you imagine that I am seeing/describing a cross, for example; but, as the tables throughout this work verify, it is quite common that I am dealing with both multiple objects at a site and/or multiple sites in close proximity. This is exacerbated by the unique circumstance of needing to keep pressure on the shifter stick so that my vehicle will not suddenly "shift itself" into neutral, which

has dangerous potential on a steep grade. This all occurs in the context of “riding the ridges,” “pot hole dodging,” and watching out for motorists driving the wrong direction in your lane; all part of the “normal” driving experience in Mexico which is elaborated upon elsewhere in this work.

This detailed explanation of the fieldwork process also serves the purpose of providing cues and clues to an underlying context. Where the empirical text comments upon driving times or conditions, or the tables show 10, 15, or 20 sites on alternating sides of the road within a single mile, the reality of the fieldwork lies just beneath the surface of the textual reality. While the purpose of these sections is to establish “what” and “where,” this information is at least partially conditioned by how, and under what conditions, the data were collected.

In any case, “all’s well that ends well.” I arrived in Lázaro Cárdenas intact, stayed long enough to rest and make some new friends, and (a lifetime first) was actually under-charged by the mechanic who fixed the transmission. In addition, along that particular transect there were many opportunities to stop and marvel at the beautiful setting of some of these roadside sacred places.



Figure 7.2.2: Site MC27, a nicho on a cliff overlooking the Pacific Ocean

Site MC27, was one of the more attractive settings for a roadside sacred place (see Figure 7.7.2). This is a white concrete nicho with the gabled roof painted red; half of the area under roof is a patio that is open in front and partially open on the sides. Inside the closed portion are three prints: one of the Virgin Mary and Christ child and two of saints that I did not recognize. A cross is painted above the opening and it appears that something else was painted beneath it, but is no

longer discernable. No death information was anywhere in evidence, so I assume this is currently a *nicho* of religiosity.

Another shrine of religiosity that is noteworthy is site number MC91, located in the Sierra Madre del Sur, 19.4 miles east of Arteaga on the north side of route 37. Numerous roadside sacred places in this study have some relation, or proximity, to trees (see e.g. MR10, QT147, VZ283). All are built of some material that is other than the tree; this small niche, however, is a cavity of a tree root. In this respect, it is akin to site CH322, a shrine inside a natural cave. The niche contains a framed print of St. Jude and two of the Crucifixion. Three votive candles were burning when I came upon it at 10AM on January 9, 2000. The wax from previous candles was on top of, and in, the soil beneath the concavity, indicating that this place has a long-term history as a local sacred place. Unfortunately, the photo of this site did not develop properly.

Day of the Dead (and/or anniversary of the death) wreaths are another recurrent theme in the images, text and tables in this work. Figure 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 show typical examples of crosses



Figure 7.2.3: MC218, 4 crosses with wreaths. Figure 7.2.4: MC18, shrine with 2 wreaths and a shrine, both multiple death sites, with wreaths. Site MC218, located on the north side of route 14, 11.4 miles west of the turn-off to Patzcuaro, represents four deaths which occurred here on August 2, 1998. The small white crosses in front are for “*angelitas*”, two little girls aged 10 and almost one; the larger black crosses are for two men, one age 50 and the other unknown (i.e. his birth date was omitted from the inscription). The four wreaths are still in very good condition, this photo being taken only two months after the Days of the Dead (1/9/00).

Site MC18, on the other hand, was sighted on June 27, 1999 and nearly seven months have passed since the probable day these wreaths were put in place. The one on the left still has a small bit of the plastic wrapping left and the color of the wreath (blue) is very clear; the one to the right has no protective wrapping left and its color has faded to a dingy gray. There is also the remains of a white wreath that has fallen off one of the four crosses, and lies on the roof of the shrine. The shrine is 2m tall and 1m square at the base, made of concrete painted blue; and the four metal crosses are welded onto a base bar that is affixed to the flat roof. The crosses and base are made of $\frac{3}{4}$ " square tubing, and the cross members terminate in circles (probably slices of 2" pipe) which are welded together. This site is located 19 miles south of the Colima state line on route 200, the Pacific coast road. Table B7.2 (Appendix B) details what was observed and where in the state of Michoacán.

7.3: Aguascalientes

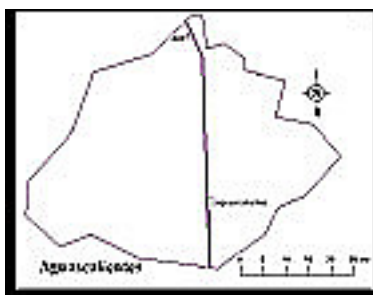


Figure 7.3.1: Map of Aguascalientes, survey routes and places.

With an area of 2111 square miles, Aguascalientes is the third smallest state in Mexico; and its 943,506 inhabitants make it the fourth most densely populated. Located in central Mexico about 250 miles northwest of Mexico City on the Anahuac plateau, its elevation of 3,000 to 10,000 feet above sea level provides a temperate climate where agricultural products such as wine grapes, corn and fruit thrive.

The state was surveyed in one transect, driving south along Mexico Route 45 from the Zacatecas state line in the north, through the capital city of Aguascalientes, to the southern boundary with Jalisco. The total length of the transect was 58 miles, and 58 artifacts were described at 51 locations (see Figure 7.3.1); there were 50 crosses, 7 nichos, and one shrine in

June 1999. Aguascalientes was anomalous in the respect that 14, or 24%, of the artifacts lay within the urbanized area of the capital city.

Site number AG03 (Figure 7.3.2) is a cross, located on the west side of route 45 two miles south of the Zacatecas boundary. This photo, and many others in this study, was taken either from the road or with the road behind the photographer. Behind the cross and its protective wrought iron fence, invisible except for its wooden posts, is a wire fence that marks off the boundary of the adjacent private property. This aspect of the situation of roadside memorials is seen in images throughout this text. Almost without exception, these memorials are on land that is legally the property of the federal government, the public right-of-way.



Figure 7.3.2: Crucifix on a wedge with 2 urns, enclosed within a wrought iron fence.

This location is neither road nor productive property, it is ‘between places’, and this situation is one of the key aspects of roadside memorials. In an ironic turn of logic the illegitimacy of the placement of a memorial on unused public land is part of its legitimacy. The thought process seems to be: land should be used for something, this is public land, we are members of the public, our loved one died here, because it is our custom-- it is permissible to erect a memorial on this land.

The placement and materials of this artifact indicate the intent for it to be a permanent part of the landscape. The four corners of the wrought iron fence are set in concrete postholes and the wedge and crucifix are mounted on a concrete foundation block. The inscription reads: “Rogilio Galvan Torres Oct. 27, 1940 – Nov. 25, 1996, Remembrance of his wife and children. The Lord guides you with His light on the true path, so that you will be in His divine presence

and share in the kingdom of heaven for all eternity. The Galvan M. family.” The religious wording verifies the intent to create a sacred place and, due to the context of the surrounding landscape, indicates that this very spot is where Señor Galvan passed away. Table B7.3 in Appendix B features the Spanish inscription of this site and lists all artifacts observed and their locations within the state of Aguascalientes.

7.4: Guanajuato

Guanajuato’s 30,589 sq km (11,810 sq mi) area has an average elevation of 1,830 m (6,000 ft) and a population of 4,656,761. In the mountainous north, gold, silver tin, lead, and copper are mined. Corn, barley, beans, and wheat are raised in the fertile plains of the south. Industries, concentrated in such urban centers as Leon and Celaya, produce petrochemicals, textiles, cement, processed foods, and leather. The 1810 war for independence began with Father Hidalgo’s *grito* on the church steps of the town that today bears his name, Dolores Hidalgo, Guanajuato.

One hundred eighty-one miles of highways were surveyed in Guanajuato along two transects: 67 miles along the central longitudinal transect (L2) from the San Luis Potosí boundary to the Queretaro state line on route 57; and 114 miles along a width-wise transect (W4) that passed from the Queretaro boundary to the Michoacán boundary, mostly along route 120 (see Figure 7.4.1). 128 artifacts were recorded at 101 sites; there were 111 crosses, 11 nichos, 2 monuments, and six shrines.



Figure 7.4.1: Map of Guanajuato, survey routes and places.

The extensive nature of this survey usually ruled out deviations from the planned routes for intensive investigation of any particular site and concentrated, instead, on gleaning information on-site as the opportunity arose. Transect W4 in Guanajuato, reflects an unusual circumstance that resulted in a 55 mile detour from the planned route to find a specific accident site. Thirty-three sites were recorded early in the morning of January 10, 2000 along a loop-route north from Acambaro; one of these, number GT59, made international news on December 14, 1999.

Just before the second phase of fieldwork, my wife and I were vacationing in Dolores Hidalgo and drove into the capital city of Guanajuato for a day of sightseeing. That morning's newspapers headlined a horrendous accident involving a bus and a tanker truck the night before; thirty-one people reportedly died nearby, on the road from Acambaro to Celaya. Having already seen plenty of accidents and recent accident sites, our vacation continued along its plan; but the route for this transect had already changed in my mind.

Various cues and clues confirm that roadside death memorials are located, more or less, at the exact death site; but how urgent is the need to establish a place remained a nagging question. At GT59 I sought at least a partial answer based on a particular incident. As Table B7.4 details, only two crosses were in place almost a month later; indicating that, for the majority of surviving family members, immediate action was not a particular concern in this case. This stands as a counterpoint to site ZT380, discussed in Chapter 9, where the family's response was relatively prompt.



Figure 7.4.2: Sacred Heart death monument.



Figure 7.4.3: Angel monument

Sites GT92 and 93 (Figures 7.4.2 and 7.4.3) are noteworthy because of the relative infrequency of the monument type of roadside memorial and their proximity (10 meters apart). The Sacred Heart monument (GT92) is inscribed with the hand-painted words “*fallecio El Sr Monico Juarez 12.15.75*” (Mr. Monico Juarez died on December 15, 1975) and has imitation flowers that seem relatively recent. That a roadside memorial continues to receive attention 25 years after the death date shows a remarkable devotion to deceased family members. The lack of any sort of inscription on the monument at GT93 is curious, however, when considering its context on the landscape and the tradition that angel images refer to children; it seems rather straightforward that a child died here.

The sites and locations observed in Guanajuato are detailed in Appendix B, Table B7.4.

7.5: Querétaro

With mountains in the north and valleys and plains in the south, Querétaro raises a variety of agricultural products, especially grains; extensive pasturelands also make livestock breeding an important economic activity. This state was surveyed along two transects; L2 passed width-wise through 133 miles of southwestern Querétaro, and W4 traced the length of the state for 183 miles (see Figure 7.5.1). The eastern portion of transect W4 went through the beautiful, and treacherous, Sierra Gorda region of the Sierra Madre Oriental. 181 artifacts were described at 166 sites, they were: 90 crosses, 75, nichos, 15 shrines, and 1 monument.



Figure 7.5.1: Map of Querétaro, survey routes and places.

Site number QT103 (Figure 7.5.2) is a good example of a typical Mexican roadside shrine of religiosity. A yellow concrete structure, located 52 miles east of Jalpan on route 120,

this Marian shrine is at the top of a particularly steep grade. In spite of its relatively remote location, the altar was decorated with quite a few bouquets of fresh flowers and a dozen candles were burning. These clues indicate that this shrine is a popular sacred place among the local people, as if to dot an exclamation point; as I turned to leave the shrine after taking my notes, a pickup truck passed by with a boy partially hanging out of the passenger side window and, as he looked back at the shrine he crossed himself.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this particular structure is how the fixed feature symbolism of the shrine connects it to death. “Mary, door of Heaven” (*Maria puerta del cielo*) appears in wrought iron lettering above the open entrance, affirming the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the geography of the afterlife. The popular Roman Catholic prayer, the *Ave Maria* (symbolized on the face of the altar by the intertwined letters “A” and “M”) ends with the supplication: “Pray for us sinners, now and in the hour of death” (Pelikan 1996, 14). People pray for or about practically all the problems there are in a human lifetime, and Roman Catholics may pray to any of a multitude of intercessors; but Mary’s role in the favorable placement of people in the afterlife is sufficiently important to merit an entire chapter about her in the “Catholic Book of the Dead” (Ball 1995).



Figure 7.5.2: Site QT103, a remote Marian shrine in the mountains of eastern Querétaro.

Where QT103 demonstrates an association of function between shrines of religiosity and death memorials through symbolism, site QT147 (Figure 7.5.3) shows both an association of form (see also section 4.2) and function. Although there is no inscription that indicates that this complex of nichos is a death memorial, two objects in the larger nicho to the right indicate that

possibility. First there is a wreath lying in a rear corner that is very similar to those found at death memorials and in cemeteries, second; the bouquet of flowers in front of the statue of the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos are marigolds. “...*Zempasuchitl*, a kind of marigold .. is the traditional



Figure 7.5.3: Site QT147; nicho complex featuring a wooden nicho in a tree.

flower of the dead.” (Toor 1947, 239) (also spelled “*cempoalxúchitl*” (Cortez Ruiz, Oliver Vega et al. 1996, 18) and “*semposuchi*” (Green 1972, 248)). The wooden nicho mounted in the tree is quite old, judging by the weathering of the wood, and the smallest nicho appears to be especially for the burning of votive candles. A sign (“Do not throw trash in this place”) above the old wooden nicho indicates that this is probably used for religious purposes and receives enough visitations to have negative side effects. The symbolism of the wreath and the marigolds however, place the current or original function of the complex, or part of it, in some doubt.

Figures 7.5.4 and 7.5.5 (below) show nichos in various stages of existence. Site QT108 features a small tree planted in front of the nicho and a cross-shaped wreath in front of the opening. The roof has partially collapsed and is temporarily repaired by placing flat rocks over



Figure 7.5.4: QT108, nicho with a tree.



Figure 7.5.5: QT162, nicho under construction.

the holes. The death date on the cross inside the nicho is 1996, and visitation may be beginning to taper-off. Site QT162, on the other hand, is so new that the form boards for making the roof are still in place, the pail for mixing the concrete is still on-site, and a piece of rebar sticks out of the rear of the roof awaiting a cross. This site also demonstrates the common phenomena of a “non-roadside;” which is one of the difficulties involved in doing close inspection of roadside sites, especially in the mountains, or needing to pull off the road for safety or emergency reasons (see Figure 10.7.6 for a different type of non-roadside).

The final featured example from Querétaro, site QT163, is a wooden cross of the style typical to the eastern Sierra Gorda. Situated six miles west of the San Luis Potosí state line on route 120, the exact site location is 21° 15.68' north and 99° 10.85' west.



Figure 7.5.6: QT163, wooden cross in the eastern Sierra Gorda region.

The surrounding landscape is pine forest and the road runs along a ridge that closely follows the 980m (3251ft) contour line. The feature that typifies crosses in this region is the mounting of the cross on a post, which is concreted into a posthole. This cross is a plain Roman design, painted green and decorated with imitation calla lilies twined around the cross. This local practice probably relates to the background of Figure 7.5.6, which shows a slump scar on the soil surface. Because mass wasting events are quite common in the mountains, particularly in the monsoon season, having one's cross mounted on a post may keep it from being buried. Table B7.5, in Appendix B, details the sites observed in Querétaro.

7.6: México

The state of México, surrounding the Federal District (and the world's largest metropolis) on three sides, is the most densely populated state in the nation. Its population density (1578 persons per square mile) is more than double that of the second most densely populated state, Morelos, which is the other state that bounds the Federal District. Although the state is highly industrialized, agricultural activities, especially dairying, still survive the onslaught of urban expansion. The state was surveyed along the two most central transects (L2 and W5), both of which are discontinuous within the state of México (Figure 7.6.1). In 281 miles I saw 147 sites that had 212 artifacts: 168 crosses, 40 nichos, and 4 shrines. Driving conditions were hectic, as in any mostly metropolitan area and, photo and detailed description opportunities were scant. Among those the following three illustrate a practical aspect of constructing and maintaining a roadside memorial.

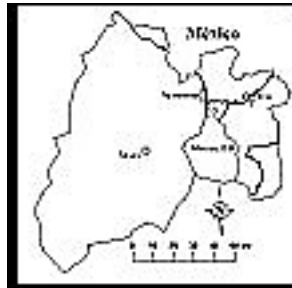


Figure 7.6.1: Map of México, survey routes and places.

Most crosses discussed in this work have some sort of decorative embellishment to the standard Roman cross that is esthetically pleasing to those who create these sacred places. The addition of a roof-type addition to crosses is common throughout Mexico and is the one embellishment that seems to have a more practical purpose. The roofs are situated on the cross with the inscription scroll or plate directly beneath, and acts as a protection against weathering that any surface that is constantly exposed, in an open area, would experience. As Figure 7.6.2 shows, the roofs themselves are not particularly an esthetic enhancement, but the hand-painted inscriptions are still legible 4 and 8 years later.

Site MX49 (Figure 7.6.3) shows an adaptation of this practice to a different type of memorial that contributes to a blurring of categories. By virtue of the partially enclosed niche this memorial is a *nicho* according to my rubric of ‘walls and a roof,’ but just barely. The addition of a makeshift sun-shade extends the roof and makes the appearance more ‘*nicho*-like.’ Again, this modification protects rather than enhances appearance and, although this particular case is unique, similar windbreaks and other protective adjustments are frequently seen throughout the country.



Figure 7.6.2: Sites MX41 (left) and MX42, metal crosses with roofs above the inscription plates.



Figure 7.6.3: Site MX49, *nicho* with a sun-shade.

Table B7.6 in Appendix B gives the details gleaned from the field notes for the state of México.

7.7: Morelos

Morelos is the second smallest state in Mexico, covering only 4,950 sq km (1,911 sq mi). Separated from the Federal District and Mexico state by the east-west volcanic chain, Morelos is mountainous with broad valleys in the south, where agriculture flourishes. The growing of sugarcane, wheat, rice, corn, tropical fruits, and vegetables is the most important economic activity in Morelos, followed by tourism. The state is named for José María Morelos and was

both his stronghold in the war of independence against Spain (1810), and that of Emiliano Zapata during the social revolution of 1910.

Morelos was a small part (71 miles) of the two disjunctive transects (L2 and W5) that pass through the cultural center of Mexico (see Figure 7.7.1). Ninety-four artifacts (65 crosses, 26 nichos and 3 shrines) were recorded at 44 locations, 29% of these artifacts were at a single location.



Figure 7.7.1: Map of Morelos, survey routes and places.

At this point in the text, a multiple death site should be neither surprising, nor particularly stirring to the reader. Death on the highway seems to occur frequently to more than one person at a time, and ample evidence of this is in each of the section tables included in this work. Site MR10, however, with 23 crosses and 4 nichos has that potential. Figure 7.7.2 (below) is a veritable menagerie of death markers; even with the aid of a tape recorder, it took 45 minutes to locate, identify, and record the details of every artifact at this site. We know, on an intellectual level, that each of these artifacts represents, at least in part, grief over the sudden loss of a loved one. The symbolism behind each artifact is the life, and then the death, of one of our fellow human beings. But what I present to you here is only the end part, the result as it appears on the landscape on the particular day when I passed that way. What would that site have looked like on some other day; perhaps the day? Would that scene have touched us on some other level? Figure 7.7.3 (below) gives an idea of the scene one would have viewed when coming upon this site within a few hours of the accident that resulted in all these artifacts.



Figure 7.7.2: Site MR 10; 23 crosses and 4 nichos arrayed about a large eucalyptus tree.



Figure 7.7.3: Site MR10 within hours of the September 2, 1996 accident.

In Table B7.7, in Appendix B, gives the full text of the news article describing this accident, and the description of all the sites in Morelos. Twenty-three people were killed here and fifteen injured, eight of them seriously, when a bus lost its brakes coming down the steep road that curves sharply to the left of the big tree. The driver yelled out for people to jump if they could and began zigzagging the bus in an attempt to slow the bus enough to make the curve, to no avail. The bus hit the large cargo truck, pictured above, and a pickup truck that were parked on the side of the road, probably in connection with the farming activity in the adjacent field. After hitting the two trucks, the bus then hit the tree with such velocity that it broke in two.

7.8: Hidalgo

Hidalgo's 8,058 sq mi (20,870 sq km), crossed by the Sierra Madre Oriental, is extremely mountainous; in the southern and western areas there are plains and fertile valleys lying within the central plateau. The climate is warm in the lower valleys, temperate on the plateau, and cold in the mountains. Hidalgo's chief crops are maguey, grown on the central plateau, alfalfa, corn, sugarcane, and coffee.



Figure 7.8.1: Map of Hidalgo, survey routes and places.

This state was surveyed as part of two transects: on route 57, the central lengthwise transect (L2) passes through a portion of southern Hidalgo that is bounded by the state of Mexico on three sides; and transect W5 passes through the state from east-to-west along route 132 (see Figure 7.8.1). Although these two routes amount to only 81 miles, the travel time of over 6 hours testifies to the topographic classification of “extremely mountainous” (above), and hints at the degree of difficulty involved in the mountainous portions of the fieldwork. 122 crosses, 21 nichos, 8 shrines, and one monument; 152 artifacts in all, were recorded at 53 locations. Discounting the eight shrines, which were religious rather than memorial, this means an average of three deaths were memorialized at each location in Hidalgo. Table B7.8 provides a detailed summary of Hidalgo’s roadside sacred places along these two routes.

7.9: Tlaxcala

Tlaxcala has an area of 3,914 sq km (1,511 sq mi); the western part lies within the central plateau, the remainder is extremely mountainous with a temperate to cold climate. Tlaxcala is primarily agricultural, with maguey, cereals, and subsistence crops grown in the valleys. The local claim to fame is the breeding of Mexico’s fiercest fighting bulls. The present Tlaxcala corresponds to the pre-conquest Tlaxcala kingdom, which was never subjugated by the Aztecs but was conquered by the Spanish under Cortez; afterward, the Tlaxcalans became his allies and helped to destroy the Aztec empire.

Tlaxcala was surveyed as part of the northeastern branch of the central transect, L2 (see Figure 7.9.1). The route was 84 miles in length, 245 artifacts (154 crosses, 86 nichos, and 5

shrines) were recorded at 141 sites; this was the highest density of artifacts-per-mile of all 31 states. Driving conditions, even compared to the other states in this region, were unusually hectic in Tlaxcala and resulted in a paucity of thickly described and/or photographed sites.

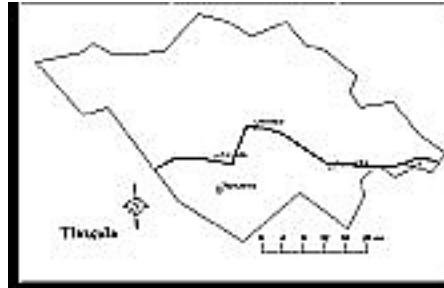


Figure 7.9.1: Map of Tlaxcala, survey routes and places.

Figure 7.9.2 shows a multiple death site (TX03) marked by 10 crosses of various styles and materials. At the far left is a black pipe cross with a center scroll and an outline filigree; and 2 small, white metal crosses made of 1" square tubing with the ends flattened. Each has a different filigree design between the arms, and both have 2 angels mounted on the filigrees above the ends of the horizontal arms; the left one has silver-colored angels, the right has bronze-colored angels. Both have a Christ figure attached where the filigrees meet the vertical member; the left cross has a square scroll and the right has an oval scroll. The fourth cross is a white *granito* variation that is a hybrid between the “cross bottonnée” and the “cross fleurée” (Webber 1927, 117-119); in addition to having the person’s vital information inscribed at the junction, it has a small metal ornament attached to the top of the vertical member and a small metal outline cross crucifix attached below the inscription.



Figure 7.9.2: Site TX03; 10 crosses of various designs and materials.

The fifth cross from the left is a wooden spindle-type cross with a center scroll that resembles the shape of the heart that is traditionally associated with the Jesus Sacred Heart images. It has a variety of small items of unidentified materials affixed to the arms. The next two crosses are also made of wood, but are much more complex designs and a higher level of artisanship than the spindle-type cross. They are also significantly more weathered than the other crosses and are set one-behind-the-other, as is common when a newer cross replaces an older. Another wooden spindle-type is next in the row; this is very similar to the fifth cross except for minor variation of the lathing and a square center scroll. Directly in front of that (and just barely visible in Figure 7.9.2, above) is a gray metal outline cross. Each of the three upper arms comes to a double-beveled point and all have filigrees within the outline; in addition, each of the quadrants formed by the arms has a heart-shaped filigree. A square bit of thin sheet metal in the junction serves as a scroll, which has the person's information hand-painted onto it. Furthest to the right is a gray metal cross made of angle-irons; the upright is a T-shaped piece and the crossbar is L-shaped. A center scroll, similar to that on the previous cross, is protected by a small roof. Behind, in front, and to the sides of this cluster of crosses is a variety of associated debris that includes auto body parts, the remains of old wreaths, and containers that probably held flowers at one time.

Table B7.9 in Appendix B details the sites and their locations that were recorded for the state of Tlaxcala.

7.10: Puebla

The state is almost entirely mountainous, with large valleys between its ranges. Puebla's extreme northeastern section lies on the Gulf coastal plain; the southern part is in drier upland valleys. Differences in climate and elevation permit the cultivation of a variety of agricultural products, although corn and wheat, and alfalfa are dominant. Stock raising is also important in the southern part of the state. Puebla was surveyed as part of the central longitudinal transect, and along portions of the 5th and 6th latitudinal transects (see Figure 7.10.1); totaling 331 miles. Four

hundred two artifacts were described at 288 sites, there were: 209 crosses, 162 nichos, 30 shrines, and 1 monument.

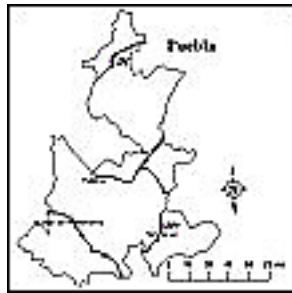


Figure 7.10.1: Map of Puebla, survey routes and places.

This section, due to the luck of having good photos available, shows and tells about the ordinary, or frequently seen, nicho types. This may help the reader to visualize the descriptions given in the tables throughout this work, and points out the variety of the ‘usual.’

The first nicho is religiously motivated and, as usual, is in a place that might seem unusual in a context other than Mexico (Figure 7.10.2). Nichos and shrines of religiosity seem to be just about anywhere in Mexico, no place or type of place is excluded as a possible site. This setting is a small grassy area at a PEMEX gas station (PEMEX is a governmental monopoly that is the oil industry in Mexico). According to the cashier “*un señor*” built the nicho for his own religious reasons, with the permission of someone at PEMEX. Because all motorists need gasoline, and the only place to get it is PEMEX; they are quite common at or near PEMEX stations.



Figure 7.10.2: Site PB73, nicho/shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe at a PEMEX station.

Another common location is at toll booths. Choosing this type of location, a place where many, or all, people must stop, indicates the intention of providing others with a place to pray-

perhaps for a safe journey. In this case it also indicates that, in spite of official separation of church and state, individuals make decisions that clearly mix the two.

Figures 7.10.3 through 7.10.6 represent a particular genre of nicho that is often referred to in this work as “homemade.” This type of nicho is built *in situ* by the family or friends of the deceased person being memorialized and, is the least costly and most labor intensive way of placing a nicho on the death site. The materials: cement, bricks (sometimes homemade), framing lumber (possibly scraps or pre-used), concrete blocks, and, in the case of PB40 glazed tiles; are all locally available and relatively inexpensive. A feature shown in Figures 7.10.3, 5, and 6 is another cost-cutting measure; instead of buying an urn to hold flowers, a tin can is incorporated into the pouring of the concrete to create a flower receptacle that is part of the structure.

In spite of many families’ need to keep costs down, much effort is put into making memorials esthetically pleasing and constitutive of a sacred place. One strategy toward this end is to mimic the form of a church; site PB89 uses spires or steeples to achieve an appearance associated with an acknowledged sacred place. Compare this to site BN17 (Figure 4.1.2a), which uses the same strategy with a different design that is familiar to its region. Site PB82 may also, even if subliminally, be employing this strategy by mixing the pyramidal shape of pre-Hispanic sacred places into the shape of the roof. PB94 alters the structure slightly and achieves the same



Figure 7.10.3: PB89, nicho with steeples.



Figure 7.10.4: PB94: brick, flat-roof nicho.

affect with the three-tiered base at the rear of the nicho which, in Christian symbolism, represents Faith, Hope, and Charity or the hill of Calvary (Griffith 1966). All of these nichos feature a cross, in addition to the structure, which also establishes the sacredness of the place.



Figure 7.10.5: PB82, nicho with a deck.



Figure 7.10.6: PB40, tiled nicho.

Three of these memorials feature some form of a platform, or deck, which extends out in front of the walled and roofed nicho structure. This form, especially in the case of PB82, is reminiscent of the raised tomb type of marker frequently seen in Mexican graveyards, or within walking distance of the LSU campus (Highland Cemetery, on Oxford Street). This type of grave marker was prevalent throughout the Americas (as influenced by Mediterranean Europe) through the early nineteenth-century (French 1974). Traditional cemetery architecture, copied in roadside death memorials, seems a natural transition in establishing a sacred place of this specific type.

The next series of images illustrates a variety of nichos that I often refer to as: “prefabricated” (or “prefab”) and/or made of the material called “*granito*” by its venders and manufacturers. Figures 7.10.7, 8, and 9 are memorials that could be seen in a sales display as well as by the roadside; Figure 7.10.10 is a hybrid of the prefabricated and the homemade.

Site PB50 is made up of several different prefabricated elements: a trapezoidal niche with a cross atop, an open-book inscription plate, two urns, an A-frame shelter, and a platform that



Figure 7.10.7: PB50, granito nicho and fancy cross. Figure 7.10.8: PB44, nicho with urn.



Figure 7.10.9: PB51, double urn nicho.



Figure 7.10.10: PB39, hybrid nicho.

supports all of the other elements. The edge-view of the A-frame is interesting because it shows how chunks of stone (Figure 7.10.7), inserted into the mortar and later polished, give the appearance of marble; hence the material's colloquial name "*marmolito*" (little marble). Placing this sort of memorial at a death site can be as easy as purchasing the materials, hauling them to the location, and putting them together like pieces of a puzzle. Making a concrete foundation, and/or mortaring the pieces together are efforts that do not necessarily add more permanence. Next to the nicho is one of the fancier crosses observed during this project; the arms are of twisted white metal and curlicue filigrees, a heart-shaped scroll, and a rectangular "INRI" plate add artistic flourishes.

Site PB44 (Figure 7.10.8) repeats the trapezoidal form with a cross atop, in this example, with a ledge to accommodate an urn and a wrought iron gate that is lockable. The urn is caulked onto the nicho, and the nicho is caulked onto a concrete base that is painted white. Inside the locked niche is a porcelain vase with artificial flowers.

Almost the exact form is replicated in Figure 7.10.9 at site PB51. This nicho has a double urn configuration and two small niches beneath the urn platforms. Soot marks on the urns indicate that these smaller niches are being used as places to burn votive candles; the central niche is not locked in this case and there is nothing inside.

Site PB39 (Figure 7.10.10) shows the common practice of combining elements that are prefabricated with a homemade nicho. Most crosses, regardless of the material used to make them, are the product of a craftsman. This is the case at this site where a granito cross is

concreted into the back of the concrete nicho. The Virgin of Guadalupe ceramic was part of the nicho design, as evidenced by the unusual cutout on the inside of the gable peak. Two granito urns were cemented into place on either side of the nicho, to complete the memorial complex. The form boards in the background show that the main part of the nicho was constructed *in situ*, and quite recently; the death date inscribed on the cross is May 5th, this photo was taken on May 26th, both in 1999. This site also reinforces a point made previously (see QT162 in section 7.5), *i.e.* that “roadside” is a relative term that may or may not mean that some amount of space exists beyond the driving surface. In this case there is barely room for a person to stand between the pavement and a wall of granite.

These last eight sites demonstrate the economic reality that families must come to terms with when memorializing the place where a loved one met their untimely death. The basic decision that I have demonstrated is a tradeoff between money and labor expended. The first four examples require quite a bit of time and effort but little cash; the next three require a, perhaps significant, cash outlay but little effort; and the final example strikes a balance that requires both time and money. These decisions are occurring within the context of a country where the annual average income does not exceed \$5000 US, and the decision makers have recently paid for a funeral and burial.

In an interview of a funeral director in Tepic, Nayarit on 6/24/99, I was told that a mid-range casket, a plot in the least expensive cemetery, and an average monument would cost in the range of \$3000 to \$4000US. Another interview with a storekeeper in Sonoyta, Sonora on 12/22/99 revealed that life insurance is, except for the very wealthy, unheard of in Mexico. When the context is viewed as a body of information, the decision to buy \$100 worth of anything extra is a serious choice.



Figure 7.10.11: PB267, nicho constructed as nine crosses.

Sites PB267 (Figure 7.10.11) and 268 are identical nichos, less than a mile apart, that are a clever use of the cross shape to construct a nicho-type memorial. The blue tiled, concrete nicho has a flat roof with a pyramid atop and a black metal cross mounted on its peak. The sides are open, but instead of placing the four supporting posts at the corners of the square roof, they are in the middle of each side, with a fascia at roof level. The open sides are thereby offset at 45° angles and each one is of black wrought iron (one of which is a locked door) with a white cross in its center. The nicho itself is four crosses with another cross atop its highest point. That an identical structure is less than one mile away indicates a single craftsman designed and built them.

Table B7.10 in Appendix B details the artifacts and their locations, observed in the state of Puebla.

CHAPTER 8: CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT: (MESTIZO CULTURE)*

The title of this chapter could just as well have been "...hybrid culture to the x power," because hybridity, or the mixing of culture(s) is the topic of this chapter. The terms; 'mestizo,' 'mestizaje,' 'hybrid,' and 'hybridity' are, essentially, Spanish/English synonyms. Mestizo Culture was chosen for several reasons. Latin American and Latin Americanist scholars have a long and continuous engagement with the fundamental concepts in this chapter. Vasconcelos, referred to below, originally wrote *La Raza Cosmica* in 1925; Morner's (1970) edited volume compiled selected research on the topic up to that point, and various aspects the topic has continued to engage us up to the present (see e.g. Whitten 1965, 1976; Wade 1997; Rahier 1999). Parallel to this is another, theoretically and critically oriented literature within which the term 'hybridity' was 'coined' by Bhabha (1988) and is central to debate in post-colonial theory (see e.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths, et al.1995; Werbner and Modood 1997; Brah and Coomes 2000). The choice of Spanish rather than English terms honors and identifies with the Latin American(ist) scholars who first explored this intellectual terrain. A second reason for using 'mestizo' rather than 'hybrid' is to distance this work from more general uses of 'hybridity.' Mexico and Latin America is, in my opinion, uniquely hybrid. There the language and religion of conquest are more-or-less universal, whereas the same may not be said of British, French or other former colonies. Indigenous religions and languages are still practiced/used, but the majority are, for example, practicing Catholics; no matter how syncretized that practice may be. In fact, Latin America is so Catholic that there is currently much speculation that the next pope must be a Latin American! Having stated that, this work is certainly indebted to post-colonial scholarship; however, this influence comes most strongly from those who are primarily Latin American(ist) scholars (e.g. Escobar 1995; García Canclini 1993, 1995).

If the idea of mestizo culture blurs rather than clarifies, then it is at least partially successful. In the Americas, and particularly in Mexico, "mestizo" has a particular meaning that refers to a biological hybridity. Vasconcelos (1997) re-thought this meaning as a "... mandate

from History [that] is first noticed in that abundance of love that allowed the Spaniard to create a new race with the Indian and the Black, profusely spreading white ancestry through the soldier who begat a native family, and Occidental culture through the doctrine and example of the missionaries who placed the Indians in a condition to enter into the new stage, the stage of World One.” (17) His idea of a ‘cosmic race’ envisioned a Mexico transformed into a perfect mestizo nation, acting as both an American and a global model that would eventually lead us toward a more harmonious world. This Utopian perspective on the condition of being Mexican enjoyed considerable popularity throughout Latin America through the 1960s and still reverberates in contemporary folk art (Figure 8.1).



Figure 8.1: “Cosmic” theme of mural in Chicano Park in San Diego, CA.

The thinking of Vasconcelos may not ring true for all persons in all times; but the kernel of his ideas, broken free from attachment to biological hybridity, is today accepted as reality in both popular (e.g. Zwingle 1999) and academic (e.g Said 1994) circles. “Culture,” as we understand it at the turn of the twentieth-century, is inherently hybrid or mestizo culture. Its outstanding features are diversity and change; culture, on the national scale, can no longer be conceptualized as a monolithic and stabile aspect of the Earth’s various societies. Each nation affects, and is affected by, the culture of others; a phenomena that has been referred to as “global culture” (Swerdlow 1999).

“Mestizo culture” in this work is a response to Beer’s (1996) suggestion that: “Perhaps we need another term now, something closer to what Salman Rushdie praises as mongrelization or others as creolization.” (117) to alert ourselves to reality of our contemporary world; the

relation between self and other, between self/other now and self/other then. There is nothing particularly new about this conceptualization of culture; academics pursuing an understanding of how culture works in fields such as development (Bebbington 2000; Escobar 1995), anthropology (Augé 1999), and literary theory (Said 1994; Eagleton 2000) use variations on the term “mestizo culture” to express various aspects of cultural practice, usually reflecting back upon the densely detailed theoretical structure of Bourdieu (1977).

My application of these theoretical principles is encapsulated in the term “Mestizo Culture” which seeks to undermine the tendency to revert to a dualism that succumbs to the notion “...that there exist ‘prehybrid’ cultures” (Bebbington 2000, 500). In this chapter I argue, along with not a few others, that culture is always already ‘hybrid’; and that Mexico provides us one of the clearest examples of this. Mexico was, in the sense I propose, a mestizo nation long before the arrival of Cortés.

Any conceptual, or intellectual, cultural context logically begins with its historical roots; understanding how a culture developed often goes a long way toward understanding the actions of the present. The contemporary culture of Mexico has its roots in the Spanish conquest, which began in 1519. Spain dominated the clash of cultures that became modern Mexico. Today nearly all Mexicans speak Spanish and claim Christianity as their chosen religion. Because Spain also has a well-documented history, our forays into context will begin there.

Spain, as the political and cultural entity it is today “did not exist in antiquity and came into being during the medieval period only gradually.” (Reilly 1993, 1) The indigenous Iberians had existed since the Paleolithic period, but what culture existed was mixed with conquering Phoenecian, Cartaginian, Greek, and Celtic cultures by 218BC when the Romans arrived.

Rome imposed not only the name “Hispania,” but also Roman language and religion; by the first-century AD indigenous languages, outside of the Basque region, were rarely heard (5), and Christianity had arrived. But its geography was against a unified Spain; the topography predisposed it to being a “bundle of local units tied together by a rope of sand” (Carr 2000, 5),

and the location of the peninsula, on the western margin of Europe, kept it at the edge of the empire. As the empire declined Spain's position on the margin of Rome translated into marginal importance, and Spain became expendable. Although Rome attempted to defend Spain from the advances of Germanic invaders, ultimately other regions of the empire became more important. Visigothic Spain, although sporadically contested (Reilly 1993), spans the period of 409-711AD (Collins 2000).

Perhaps the greatest impact upon Spanish culture made by the Visigothic rule was in religion. The Visigoths were newly converted Christians and, at least initially, the authority of their rulers "rested on rather nebulous claims to hoary antiquity and divine descent" (41); a carryover of their so-called pagan, or pre-Christian beliefs. Even their Christianity was different. "The Goths in both Spain and Italy were followers of Arianism, a heresy that had developed in the Roman Empire in the fourth-century, which denied the equality and co-eternity of the Son in the doctrine of the Trinity. These beliefs had been accepted by the Goths as a result of their having been converted to Christianity in the Balkans at a time when this heresy had enjoyed imperial support." (49-50) The majority Hispano-Roman population followed Catholic theology, but the Goths held to their beliefs and sought to expand them to the general populace. "A synod held in Toledo in 580 had modified Arian theology, and under [King] Leovigild's persuasion the Catholic bishop of Saragossa had converted." (53)

While the status of Christ was a point of contention between the rulers and the ruled, it is likely that the cult of the saints and Marian devotion brought consensus between these rival Christian factions, as was the case with the "Frankish barbarians" of the same period in Gaul (Brown 1981, 99). In any case, the Visigoths were devout and the "great landowners, including kings, founded private churches on their estates...to secure the presence of men noted for sanctity, who lived as hermits in chambers built around the main body of the church." (Collins 2000, 47)

The theological rift was eventually resolved with the personal conversion of the new king, Reccared, in 587; and was formalized when “sixty-two bishops and other senior clergy participated in the Third Council of Toledo in May 589” (50). This led to a general rise in the social and economic importance of the episcopate and eventuated in the Church becoming the legitimator of the throne. The effect of this 180 year ‘theological war’ upon Christian practice is difficult to estimate, but a de-emphasis of devotion to Christ and magnification of interest in Mary and the saints seems a likely outcome.

Another aspect of the Visigothic period of interest in this study is a dependence upon the written word and the development of a relatively high level of literacy in Spain. They introduced the making of records and the use of writing in all forms of legal and commercial transactions. The law of the land was codified into a twelve volume set called the *Lex Visigothorum* (‘The Law of the Visigoths’) and, known in the vernacular as the *Fuero Juzgo*, was applied over much of Spain through the thirteenth-century.

By around 600AD Roman and indigenous identity had been completely absorbed into “...the creation of a new common sense of a Gothic identity... the Goths could have come to be seen as the ancestors of the modern Spaniards in the way the Franks are so regarded by the French and the Anglo-Saxons by the English. However, the fatal fracturing by the Arab and Berber invasions of the political and cultural unity that had been achieved in the Visigothic period prevented that from happening” (61-62)

Among historians “the Muslim invasion of 711 and the destruction of the Visigothic state mark the beginning of the [Spanish] medieval period, and the [re-] conquest of Granada in 1492 brings it to a close.” (Reilly 1993, 2) The forging of Spain’s national and cultural identity coincides with its medieval history and is bound up in the *Reconquista*, or ‘Reconquest’ of Spain from the Muslims. “Organizing their medieval history round the drama of the *Reconquista* has traditionally been a cherished feature of the [culture and] self-image of the Spanish people. A potent national mythology could be spun about the Catholic, crusading mission of their medieval

forebears. Above all, the kaleidoscopically jumbled history of the Spanish Middle Ages could be rendered intelligible by this radical simplification.” (Fletcher 2000, 63)

The persona of this myth is the noble Spanish warrior: a devout Christian from the tip of his sword to the whirr of his spur, going to battle alongside of his patron Santiago Matamoros (St. James the Moor slayer) to vanquish the evil infidels. He was (almost literally) the spearhead of Christian values, as he battled his way southward from the tiny Christian enclaves in northern Spain. This ‘black-or-white’ view of an eighth-century period is belied by “a dappled and speckled cultural map” (64); a product of the migration and ethnic mixture that were Spain’s fundamental characteristics of the period.

“Basque and Cantabrian peoples, who had been less affected by the Romano-Visigothic Christian culture...were spilling out from their mountains onto the plains” (64). And “although a somewhat grudging toleration was extended to Christians under Islamic rule in accordance with Koranic precept, emigration from al-Andalus [the conqueror’s name for Spain] to the friendlier north was always a tempting option” (71), these migrants were known as Mozarabs or ‘Arabized’ Christians.

Intermarriage between Christian, Jewish, and Muslim populations and shifts of religious allegiance were common, especially in the cities. Often these shifts were fueled by political or economic reasons, as in the case of the Castilian nobleman Rodrigo Díaz, known as *El Cid*. The Cid was not the Christian hero that legend later made of him, he was a mercenary who sold his services to the highest bidder, Muslim or Christian. The flow of gold, in exchange for mercenary services, from al-Andalus into the northern Christian ‘statelets’ was an important source of income for the latter and of political maneuvering for the former. It was not unusual for both sides in a battle to be Christian, with one side fighting in support of a Muslim lord. Whether the reality of the *Reconquista* created the myth, or the myth created the reality, is of little interest here; the more important fact is that both existed, in greater or lesser proportions in different times and

places. It exemplifies an eight hundred year effort to create a specific type of Christian culture, whose shade persists in contemporary Spanish and Hispanic culture.

The impact of Islamic rule over Spain had dramatic affects upon Christian practice. For example, in the mid-eleventh century “Clunaic monks [from France] set about reforming what they saw as a tradition-bound and lamentably outmoded Spanish church [in the northern Christian Spanish strongholds]” (76) Because the reconquest proceeded from north-to-south, these outmoded practices, known as the Mozarabic Rite, persisted in southern Spain through (and beyond) the *Reconquista*. The origins of the Mozarabic rite, also known as the Gothic, Toledan, or Isidorian rite, are unclear; its three alternative names, however, hint at Visigothic roots (Toledo was the ritual center under the Visgoths and Isidore was a theologian who re-wrote Arian theology). The Visgoths had received their Arianist version of Christianity while occupying the valleys of the Danube, north of present-day Belgrade (late 3rd and early 4th centuries). Their religious practice included, among other distinctive elements, veneration of Mary and the saints; which, at that early date, indicates close ties to what would later (1054) be called the Eastern Orthodox Church. Liturgical scholars (possibly for political reasons) usually discount the theory that the Mozarabic rite originated in the Eastern Church; but, lacking solid evidence to the contrary, the circumstances seem to point in that direction (Jenner 1909). As Jenner wryly put it “Spanish Christians had little leisure for improving their liturgies” while under the rule of the Moors; Christianity was in a survival mode and remained virtually unchanged for 800 years in southern Spain.

Throughout the al-Andalus period the Roman church consolidated and expanded its power and influence in Christian Spain. Special indulgences and proclamations for the ‘Spanish Crusade’ were sought from and dispensed by various popes over the centuries. Urban parishes and dioceses obtained properties through gifts and inheritance. Nobles were often selected to become bishops, bringing their property and vassals (along with wives and mistresses) into the realm of the Church (Reilly 1993). The lines between church and state were blurred; and it was,

in fact, Isabella and Ferdinand, known as the “Catholic Monarchs,” that united the competing Christian principalities into a nation, and completed the *Reconquista*. This began a period of Christian monarchy that lasted through Spain’s dominion over Mexico, which ended by revolt in 1810.

These years (1500-1800) were marked by a monarchy that waxed and waned as a world power. The successor to the “Catholic Monarchs,” Charles V, also became the Holy Roman Emperor, the ultimate symbol of ‘cross and sword’ in a world order that placed primary importance on religion. Spain, at least in its self-image, became the most Catholic of the Catholic nations. The joint project of converting and conquering brought new wealth from the Americas and both monarchy and church were strengthened as a result. (Kamen 1973; Carr 2000)

In this brief outline of Spain’s history, each step along the way carried forward some elements of culture that persisted beyond the period. Six-hundred years of Roman Hispania entrenched a language and the beginnings of a religion, three-hundred years of Visigothic rule further defined and entrenched (essentially) the same religion, eight-hundred years under Islam created the self-image of ‘the fervent warrior’ fighting to defend and spread that religion, and three-hundred years of the Hapsburg and Bourbon monarchies entrenched the myth of the Spaniard as the spearhead of Catholic Christianity.

“Spanish culture” is, in reality, a complex amalgam of a number of different influences; some of which remain more than others. Each of the massive changes that took place along this timeline placed stress upon society and culture as it existed at a moment in time. The reaction of individual persons, as well as the entire state or region, was “inertial” (Dodgshon 1998). Religion and language, being primary influences upon how a society thinks and orders the world, were the aspects of culture that were most dear, and therefore most resistant to change. The result was a hybridized, or mestizo culture, featuring a hybrid form of both language and religion. “Spanish culture” was, and is, not static; like all cultures it is a dynamic hybrid of ‘now and then’ and ‘us and them.’ As Said (1994) put it: “Partly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one

another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogenous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic.” (xxv)

What was this “Spanish culture” (or the elements of it most pertinent to this study) that the *conquistadors* brought to the shores of Veracruz on April 22, 1519? To answer this question one needs first to look at whom the conquistadors were, where they were from in Spain, and why they went out into the unknown lands of the New World. The most defining factor in the aspects of culture that were immediately transmitted to the Americans, and how that occurred, is the fact that the Spaniards were men; warriors from “the greatest war machine in all of Europe.” (Foster 1997, 45) These were raw men, “penniless nobles, debtors, and criminals” (46) who came to fight, fuck, and find their fortunes; no feminine or family focus featured in their worldview. Cortéz is exemplar: the son of an old, honorable, but bankrupt family; he sought to attain wealth in the New World, but his departure was “delayed nearly a year by an injury from an amorous escapade in which he fell from a window.” (46)

Always accompanied by clergymen, their conquests were legitimated by the authority of the Church, directed by that of the Crown, but carried out by people with a personal stake in the outcome; theirs was a life-or-death mission and both adrenalin and emotions, one assumes, ran high. For the most part, these were southerners; men from the arid lands of Extremadura, long the borderlands between Moorish and Christian Spain, and Andalucía, the last bastion of Islam to fall in the *Reconquista* (Meyer et al. 1999). The philosophy of these worldly men, true believers in a ‘higher calling,’ and soldiers in “the last Crusade” (Weckmann 1992, 4) might well have been: “Live on the edge, and pray like crazy.” The clergy who accompanied them also “came principally from Extremadura, Castile, and Andalucía.” (Schwaller 1987, 200-1)

Most of the elements of culture that were brought to America by these people closely tally with Le Van Baumer’s (1978) description of “the main body of medieval thought ...[as] authoritarian, theocentric and theocratic” (21). He describes “a pioneer society” based upon an agrarian economy where “the daily round of manorial existence went on without noticeable

change” (20-21). There was a clerical monopoly of education that produced mostly clerical intellectuals who, “relying ultimately upon authority past and present, they believed themselves to be already in possession of all truths that mattered” (22).

Everywhere medieval people looked they saw visible signs of an invisible order: the Papacy and the Empire embodied divine unity on earth, the knight’s sword signified the cross, his spear the truth. A sense of the miraculous pervaded a hierarchical universe of a “sublunary world of the four elements exhibiting rectilinear motion and hence mutability and decay, [and] the celestial world of the stars circular motion and hence changelessness” (24); a world where man, as a nodal link in a ‘chain of being’ ranging from God to the animals, partook of the nature of both angels and animals.

And their world was ordered theocratically i.e., God and God’s agents ruled society. “Society, like the human body, was said to consist of organs or parts (clergy, nobility, workers), each of which had its separate function to perform in the life of the whole... The individual existed but only as part of a class, which in turn had being only in the life of the larger organism, the *Corpus Christianum*. In this system the only equality was religious equality.” The stated aim of this system was to reduce competition between individuals, classes, and states; but its effect was to “preserve the *status quo* by making it appear to be the unalterable will of God” (25). And, while St. Augustine had repudiated the classical conception of time as cyclical, the daily lives of people, as agrarians, followed the annual cycle of the seasons; and the lives of all revolved about the liturgical cycle of the Church.

The broad strokes of the intellectual historian, summarized above, indicate a ‘typically medieval’ culture. This supplements the fine details exposed when discussing minute portions of Spanish history. The element of theocracy, for example, came to Spain in bits and pieces; first as Visigothic kings ‘of divine descent,’ later as a monarchy legitimated by bishops, and continuing to evolve with Charles V, ‘God’s standard bearer,’ King of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor.

Medieval culture is the result, in the case of Spain, of centuries of changing ideas about how the world (or cosmos) works, each new idea mixing with the old to arrive at a 'hybrid moment.'

The idea of a culture, or culture in general, as, single, pure, homogenous, undifferentiated, or monolithic (to paraphrase Said) is the result of an intellectual viewpoint; a matter of scale. As with the "Text" chapters in this work, in viewing concepts and context, as well as reality, from the perspective of different scales one may achieve clarity. From afar, things may appear to be a certain way; but when viewed in minute detail they sometimes are quite different. This changing of viewpoints is, of course, easier to state than to practice; the indigenous culture of Mexico is an example where much of the finely scaled details are lacking.

Many problems arise when attempting to re-create the culture that the Spaniards encountered; there were, and are, "many Mexicos" (Simpson 1966). Pre-Hispanic Mexico lacks a detailed 2000-year written history; however, the same pattern of conquest, adaptation, and hybridizing seems to exist. Most scholars agree that successive waves of 'barbarians from the arid north' conquered central Mexico; and that the existent culture at the point of contact between European and Amerindian was the result (see e.g. Coe 1994; Fehrenbach 1995; Foster 1997; Meyer, et al. 1999). Like the Spaniards, the people of Mexico had a myth or a dream as Le Clézio put it (1993), they were fervently religious, and preoccupied, or at least fascinated, by death. From the large-scaled view: their culture was authoritative, theocentric, and theocratic; i.e. the same as Western European medieval cultures, but expressed in radically different practices. Mixing that culture with Spanish culture, in both general and specific terms, resulted in the mestizo culture of Mexico that was/is fundamentally medieval.

This, perhaps overly brief, representation of pre-Hispanic indigenous culture mentions but one culture area, central Mexico. But equally important is the south where groups, which we cluster under the name 'Maya,' had an advanced and significantly different culture from the center. Likewise the so-called Chichimeca of the north, the 'barbarians' had another, different culture. But these groups, as well as the central Mexicans, were in reality made up of groups of

groups. Because there are still 62 living languages in Mexico (Rodriguez Lizárraga 1998), it is reasonable to postulate that over 100 different groups of people are clumped together in the term ‘indigenous culture.’

The ‘mixing’ that resulted in “mestizo culture” (i.e. hybrid) was largely a unidirectional transfer. The traditional Latin Americanist notion of mestizo culture is a view that takes a more racial slant upon the meeting and melding of two supposedly monolithic cultures (see eg. Morner 1970; Vasconcelos 1997). As stated in the opening of this chapter, the vast majority of Mexicans speak Spanish and profess to be Christians; and most of them are Roman Catholics. Whatever the similarities or differences in particular aspects of culture; the two cultures were hybrids of their past and their present, of us and them, the civilized and the barbarian. But joining these two cultures did not produce a hybrid culture; it was, instead, another stage of the hybridization in two already hybrid cultures. The ‘hybrid moment’ that began in 1519, and continued throughout the ‘New Spain’ period (1519-1810), is not the end of the story of Mexican culture, it is in many ways, the beginning.

‘Mestizo Culture’ extends the hybridization metaphor to the macro-cultural paradigms of medieval and modern worldviews. Mestizo Culture applies hybridism to modernization and modernity, in general, and treats them as the “characteristic mode of [Western] civilization” (Benko 1997, 1) that succeeded medievalism. Modernity’s succession was not as immediately evident as, for example, the changing of political rule through conquest; it came about in stages.

“Modernity” is probably a misnomer, the four intellectual movements that coalesced to form what we know as modernity were revolutionary, and might more accurately be called “anti-medievalism.” Each of the elements that coalesced to give birth to modernity; Renaissance humanism, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, and the Enlightenment; occurred among an intellectual elite as protestation of the established order in their time and place.

Renaissance humanism “had its beginnings in Italy in the fourteenth-century with the reemergence of Greek and Latin classics that placed man, not God, at the center of creation. The

classical studies of Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch) and others fostered an appreciation of these values and freed scholarship from ecclesiastical control” (Rohmann 1999, 185). Its emphasis was “on man and his everyday world; on the practical and the concrete as opposed to the abstract; on the individual rather than the collectivistic; on the active rather than the contemplative.” (Le Van Baumer 1978, 105) As revolutionary as these simplifications sound (when compared to the previous descriptions of the medieval order of things), the movement was, in reality, retrogressive and synthetic; it sought a return to pre-Christian bodies of knowledge and an attempt at “a fusion of the ‘philosophy of Christ,’ ...with the moral wisdom of Greece and Rome, the emphasis being on the practical and concrete: ethics rather than theology and dogma, inner piety rather than outer church observance.” (110) At the time, most of the humanists were still devout Christians; “almost nobody seriously suggested an alternative to the Christian world-view, and very few professed doubts about the main teachings of the Church.” (109) These were ideas yet to be expressed.

The Reformation began on October 31, 1517, when Martin Luther nailed his famous 95 theses (objections against Church policy and theology of the time) onto the door of the castle church at Wittenburg. As an intellectual movement, this was the most war-like of modernity’s formative elements; it began in an act of protest, and was responded to with acts of violence (the Counter-Reformation, Inquisition, and several wars and armed conflicts). The original ideas of the reformers were far less revolutionary than the results of their ideas; “Luther and Calvin were essentially religious men who aimed to reform individuals and society along religious lines.” (168) The result was the first major split in Christianity since the East/West split, or schism, in 1054. Although many indirect consequences of this split are usually laid at the doorstep of the Reformation (e.g. the ‘Protestant work ethic’), its direct, and immediate, impact concerned the nature of the Christian cosmic reality. The Protestant cosmos was of a ‘black or white’ nature; one proceeds from earthly life into an eternity in either heaven or hell. “Luther threw out Purgatory and all that went with it, including the Virgin as intercessor ...no one would be saved

but by God's grace, and there was no way to influence the outcome...prayers for the dead were useless." (Turner 1993, 160) Where the Renaissance humanists had empowered the individual, the Protestant reformers took that power away with a sense of ultimate finality. The loss of purgatory (and power), as one might imagine, caused extreme distress for millions of Christians; and Europe split along emotionally charged lines.

The ideas of the Scientific Revolution "loom large as the real origin...of the modern mentality" (Le Van Baumer 1978, 249). Science, as a body of knowledge, a method, a metaphysic, and an attitude, displaced theology and classical studies to become the directing force of European culture(s). The process is usually aligned with the publication of two of its defining works: *De Revolutionibus Orbium Celestium* by Copernicus (1543), and *Principia* by Sir Isaac Newton (1687). "Knowledge now meant exact knowledge: what you know for certain, and not what may possibly or even probably be. Knowledge is what can be clearly apprehended by the mind, or measured by mathematics, or demonstrated by experiment." (252) This new definition of what may be known excluded "theology or the older philosophy or poetry which involve opinion, belief, faith, but not knowledge." (253) The "clock became the model for the cosmos" and all of existence (Capra 1990); the human body, rather than being the organic model for society, succumbed to the mechanical metaphor of scientific reality. Every entity could be understood by examination of its parts and, being machines, were subject to the laws of the physical universe. Quantitative thinking, cumulative and tentative knowledge, and a fascination with technology supplemented the movement of humanism and Protestantism toward the concrete. The new reality "drove revealed Christianity out of the physical universe into the region of history and private morals; to an ever growing number of people in the two succeeding centuries it made religion seem outmoded even there." (Le Van Baumer 1978, 249) Science did not need God to explain the cosmos; the Great Clockmaker had served His purpose. Religion and science, seen to be contradictory and opposing forces, were on a collision course.

By the eighteenth-century the Reformation had led to the bloodbath of the Thirty Years War, the Inquisition, and a heightened awareness of national identity; with Europe split along religious boundaries, the modern nation-state had gained strength. An increasingly prosperous, literate, and self-aware mercantile, middle class had emerged as a force that did not ‘fit into’ the established, medieval, social order. Especially in France, the time was ripe for an expansion, coalescing and new expression of the ideas of the Renaissance and scientific revolution. The Enlightenment combined the, occasionally contradictory, ideas of these two previous movements and expanded them into the human and social sciences. This intellectual movement was action-based; the project of the French *philosophes* was to “change society- the educational and religious system, the economic and social system, and eventually even the political system.” (364) The Enlightenment (also referred to as the ‘Age of Reason’) was “characterized by cosmopolitanism, secularism, distrust of traditional authority, respect for human dignity, and the conviction that reason would illuminate mankind and lead to perpetual social, political and scientific progress.” (Rohmann 1999, 115) Kant’s proposed motto, “Dare to know”; the philosophy and economics of David Hume and Adam Smith; the rationalism of Descartes; Francis Bacon and John Locke’s empiricism and theory of natural rights; and an agenda of repudiating the authoritarianism and dogmatism of the Roman Catholic Church were doctrines that inspired and popularized the Enlightenment. This movement “marked the beginning of open warfare between “science” and theology in the West.” (Le Van Baumer 1978, 368)

Roughly concurrent with the Enlightenment two major trends developed that cemented the nature of modernity. An agrarian transformation began in the early eighteenth-century, marked by Jethro Tull’s (1701) invention of the seed drill and horse-hoe; this mechanization of agriculture allowed a few people to feed many. But what were all of those redundant farmers to do? By the late eighteenth-century, inventors and entrepreneurs had developed an answer; they became the workers in the Industrial Revolution’s factories, and capitalism became the economic

answer to the perpetual progress of the *philosophes*. Modernity was poised to sweep across Western Europe and, ultimately, the world.

Modernity, to the mass of people in the early twenty-first century's more developed countries, is invisible; it is only noticed when it malfunctions and/or when some (usually) academic intellectual points it out. It is to us as the water is to a fish; it is simply 'the way things are,' the context of our daily lives. Modern culture places confidence in the future; progress through rational action and technological advancement assures a better life for all. Reason trumps inspiration, practicality-custom, and alienation- community. Although the individual is supreme, we are ultimately but one of the mass of *homo economicus*; our lives are compartmentalized, materialistic, linear; and lived within standardized, centralized and bureaucratized institutions (Rohmann 1999; Spretnak 1999). Modern philosophers have written God's obituary (Nietzsche 1998) and theologians have tried to salvage what they can (Bonhoeffer 1953) but most people still claim one religion or another. "Belief," however, seems to have become a mere shadow of its former meaning, and moderns are split between differing worldviews in the attempt to practice religion (see eg. Caputo 2001; Vattimo 1999). It is not unusual to hear about God at worship services and funerals from people whose lives otherwise place "me" at the center of their universe. Modernity is, in many ways, the antithesis of medievalism and in the more developed countries we accept this as a matter of course. It is merely the water that we school in, but what about modernity in Mexico?

That a 'modern' Mexican culture exists is undeniable; yet its coming into being is problematic, not easily simplified, and patterned after its medieval origins. The acculturation, or transference of culture, from medieval Spain to New Spain was not simply a transfer. Medieval institutions, which were in obvious decline in Spain, experienced a rebirth, "became naturalized and acquired a new vigor on the American continent." (Weckmann 1992, 10) These traits and institutions were neither untimely nor tired in the New World; for the indigenous people these were new ideas; for the *conquistadors*, conquest was not a time to try new and untested ideas.

The old ideas, or a reinterpretation of them, worked just fine in the time and place. At any rate, they were not the intellectual elite of Spain and could not give away what they did not have.

“The relationship between the medieval and modern periods is one of continuity, and the problem of transition is a problem of emphasis and degree.” (7) The Spaniards could not transfer a culture they were yet to fully know. Even Spain’s intellectual elites were hesitant or resistant to modern thought, for example: “Spanish universities in the eighteenth-century were still rejecting Newton” (Roberts 1993, 549). Modernity came late and in a fragmented fashion to both Spain and Mexico. Renaissance humanism did not fit well with the *Reconquista*, these are ideas for a place at peace, with leisure time for contemplation. The Reformation simply did not occur in Spain; what happened instead were the Counter-reformation, the Inquisition, and a Catholicism that rewarded orthodoxy and displays of fervent belief, and violently punished any and all hints of heterodoxy (see e.g. Carr 2000 and Mitchell 1990). Much of the writings of the Scientific Revolution were banned in Spain (Herr 2000) and the Enlightenment and modernization were bitterly contested by the Catholic Church, which saw them as “a threat that must be met by a return to the past.” (Carr 2000, 232)

Both the medieval and the modern came to Mexico late (i.e. with a time lag from their inception in Western Europe) and conceptually fragmented. In addition, the spread of these ‘macro-cultures’ was spatially fragmented. The Valley of Mexico, Mexico City and the surrounding areas, is the political, economic, and cultural center of Mexico. Ideas and attitudes seem to diffuse from there outward in a spatially uneven fashion. The topography of Mexico is a major factor in distancing a community from the center. For example, religion in Mexico City may be assumed to be fairly orthodox, now and in the past, due to the high concentration of clergy there. The more remote a community is from the center the less orthodox religion becomes; folk Catholicism, syncretism, and parallel belief systems become standard practice. The Mayos of Sonora, a thousand miles north of Mexico City, have practices which combine syncretism and folk religion (Crumrine 1983); the Papago, a few hundred miles farther north,

practice the parallel beliefs of “Sonoran Catholic[ism]” (Weir and Azary 2001, 49) and their ancient religion. Yet the phenomena of ‘remoteness’ is not strictly a function of distance; the Eastern Nahuatl in the rugged mountains of Veracruz, less than 100 miles from Mexico City as the crow flies, practiced a complex syncretism of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Aztec goddess Tonatsi as recently as 1982 (Sandstrom 1982). Acculturation, whether of the macro-cultures of medieval and modern, or of the national cultures of Aztec and Spanish, is subject to the reality of Mexican geography.

Having stated this; modernity came to Mexico, in part, with the conquistadors and their rapacious search for wealth. The “homogenization of [their] values by money is a new phenomenon and it heralds the modern mentality” (Todorov 1984, 143). This negative aspect of modernity was, arguably, the dominant aspect of the modern mentality in Mexico until the war for independence from Spain and the social revolution of 1910 began to introduce the populace to more benign and/or beneficial aspects of modernity. By this time, 400 years after the conquest, Mexico had its own, well developed, intellectual elite and they were the spearhead of a modernization that simultaneously brought many of the major tenets of the modern ideology to Mexico (Kroeber 1983; Foster 1997). Mexico became a constitutionally mandated secular society, at least legally, with specifically anti-clerical articles in the new constitution. President Obregón, (1920-24) openly encouraged Protestant missionaries and the YMCA; a secular educational system was put in place with “over a thousand rural schools” (Meyer, Sherman, et al. 1999, 553) built in the early 1920s, and long-established medieval institutions were the subject of intense criticism. Modernization projects begun by the nineteenth-century liberals, mostly to the benefit of large landowners; roads and railroads, dams and irrigation, and electrification and sewerage (Kroeber 1983; Meyer, Sherman, et al. 1999); were continued and expanded by the twentieth-century reformers (Bantjes 1998). The spread of modernity (and modernization) was hindered, however, by more than its spatial and conceptual fragmentation; Mexico was part of a Hispanic culture “which simply could not cope successfully with either the democratic or the

industrial revolution, the two major sources of power in the modern world.” (Feherenbach 1995, 304)

The application of the ideas that resulted in modernity in Western nations were based upon an “independent, propertied, ... bourgeoisie;...no such middle class had ever evolved in the Hispanic nations...because the value systems that created such people in other parts of Europe never existed in Spain.” (305) The distance between the ‘haves and the have-nots’ was immense; “the vast majority of the population was still outside a true money economy” (304) and there was nobody in the middle. The medieval roots of Mexican culture had no social basis to build the utilitarian concepts and techniques of modernity upon. Improving the quality of life of the citizenry, industrializing and creating internal wealth, required capital that could come only from the domestic elites or foreign sources. The first option further strengthened the position of the *hacendados*, or landed aristocracy; the second created a rash of new problems, not least of which was sovereignty. The prospect of radically changing both the entire (medieval) social structure, and the political order and the economic and technological techniques left post-independence leaders in a quandary. The resulting “cycles of anarchy, civil war, pretorianism, liberalism, *caudillaje*, rampant reform and crushing reaction were similar everywhere from Argentina to Mexico to Spain” (305).

Modernity and modernization in Mexico is but another chapter in “the story of a struggle by very human men and women to make a livable present out of an intolerable past.” (Fehrenbach 1995, 307) Even the most ‘saintly’ of social reformers (Lázaro Cárdenas, supposedly) had to sacrifice their ideals to economic progress (Bantjes 1998), a concession that further consolidated the concentration of wealth and invariably diluted the spread of the new, modern culture. A Mexican middle class, nonetheless, slowly emerged from the ‘have-nots’ and retained many of the cultural beliefs and practices that are characteristic of the medieval. Mestizo Culture came about as they, and Mexico, embraced modernity with one hand, and held onto the past with the other.

Perhaps no act could be quite so symbolic of embracing modernity and medievalism simultaneously as the actions of President-elect Vicente Fox Quesada on December 1, 2000, his inauguration day. Fox, the first opposition party president of Mexico, began the day on his knees praying at the Basilica of Guadalupe in suburban Mexico City. Elected as a populist, his progressive agenda was represented as a formula for bringing Mexico into the twenty-first century as a fully participating player in the global economy. With one foot in the future and the other in the past, what becomes of the present?

The present that I saw during the fieldwork was a complex dynamic: convoys of hot-off-the-assembly line Volkswagens screaming along the highways at 80+ miles per hour, doing road tests; trucks without the body, just a chassis, engine, and a seat for a goggled driver, racing southward to receive the finishing touches of their assembly; horse, oxen, and mule-drawn wagons carrying farmers along these same roads to and from their daily labor; *vaqueros* with the working version of the traditional garb (made famous by *mariachi* musicians) riding horseback from town early in the morning to their fields, ‘cyber cafes’ full of youths paying by the hour to be on the internet, and outside, a street vender grilling corn-on-the-cob; and the steady rhythm of trucks moving northward. Mexico is in motion, and the direction of that motion is toward a future of modernity, prosperity, and the global economy. Practically everyone wants prosperity, who can say no to safe drinking water, electrification, a higher standard of living? Yet the commitment seems to be conditional, perhaps naïve, because old ways, as President Fox demonstrated, seem to have a life of their own.

In Mexico pilgrims walk for hours along ancient pathways, part of which are now an interstate highway. They adjust their route, as they carry their sacred objects, banners, and gifts for the village that hosts their *fiesta*; and walk beneath the highway through a concrete culvert (see Figure 8.2, the culvert is just below the truck). Modernity is a welcomed intrusion; pleasant when it is pleasant, and irritating when it is irritating.



Figure 8.2: Pilgrims afoot, with semi-truck overhead.

‘Mestizo Culture to the x power’ is a particular way of thinking about culture. The example of Mexico is presented here as a mixing of a mixed Spanish culture with a written history, and mixed indigenous cultures without. The result is a Mestizo Culture of an unknown degree of hybridity, indeed with an unknown number of different indigenous cultures input. This already hybrid culture then began another cultural change, from the medieval culture (as interpreted by mixed groups) of the dominate Hispanic conquerors, to the modern culture of Western Europe. The project of modernization has rapidly expanded in the latter half of the twentieth-century in Mexico and culture is responsive to socio-economic and political changes that are directly connected to this project. The result is (Mestizo Culture) ^{x} .

CHAPTER 9: NARRATIVE CONTEXT: “MY SON DIED HERE ON *NAVIDAD*”

This story began while preparing for a trip with my wife to Michoacán to see the Monarch butterflies, and to San Diego for Christmas. Our plan was to drive from Laredo to Guanajuato, spend a few days sightseeing, move on to Michoacán, and then go up to Durango. We would then do the “Devil’s Backbone” transect together (see sections 4.4 and 4.7); if there was time we would also do the northern part of the Pacific coastal transect, and the border transect from Agua Prieta westward. Because it was as much holiday as work we took along all of our cameras; my good one that I use for fieldwork, and two cheap, pocket-sized cameras that companies send out as part of some offer or another.

We had a great time, met some really nice people, got a lot of my work done, and arrived in San Diego two days before Christmas. Our time there was limited because Cindy had to fly back home on the 26th, while I was to continue on and finish my fieldwork. Nevertheless, our time was well spent; it was nice to see our old friends and we took a lot of photos, mostly prints for our scrapbook.

Dinner on Christmas Day was at the home of our most special friends. Mary and Levon entertain with an elegance that few, but the wealthy, bother with nowadays. The guests, as always in their home, were a strange combination of people. It made for lively and fascinating conversation. It was a warm, comfortable, and entertaining evening. It was the perfect ending to a perfect vacation.

Seeing Cindy off at the airport the next morning was anti-climactic. We were both ambivalent about ending our vacation, neither of us wanted it to end; yet she was anxious to be at home and I was ready to get back to work. After her plane took off I did some car maintenance, loaded up the cameras with slide film, and headed back to Arizona to finish up the border transect from San Luis to Tecate.

This part of the research was different in several ways. This time I was driving my wife’s Ford Explorer, a much newer model than my pickup and with an automatic transmission; the act

of driving would be much easier and less dangerous the previous summer. The mechanics of recording the data were well established, the transects were known and, in a sense, all I had to do now was connect the dots on a map by driving from point-to-point. All of the little details and decisions had been worked through the previous summer; now I could work a lot more efficiently. I was changed too. The reality of my own grief (Chapter 3) had been apparent for some time. Because of that and my close calls (see Chapter 6), I had come to terms with death in a personal way. I was much better prepared for all of the aspects of doing the fieldwork this time... I thought.

About three-quarters of the way down the Baja peninsula I got a wakeup call. The fieldwork had been going really well. The decreased day length of winter had drastically shortened my workday. But the desert terrain helped to compensate for that, because I was able to spot an artifact in the distance and drive faster between sites. The road in Baja is much better than it was 20 years ago when I first made the Tijuana-to-Cabo trip; but even the nicely paved version has a dip at each place where an arroyo turns into a river occasionally. These dips are constructed such that the high points are actually higher than the part leading up to, and away from, the arroyo. When behind a slower vehicle, I had been using these high points to peek around them. If the road was clear, I could then pass them in the swale and come over the other side in front.

At 1:45PM on January 31, 1999 I was in the process of passing a tractor-trailer in a swale when, at 60MPH, my left front tire blew out. I managed to keep control of the car, pulled it off to the right side of the road, and shut off the engine. I sat there with my hands and head on the steering wheel for several minutes before I could move. I was trembling from the inside-out and wasn't sure if I opened the door to get out that my knees wouldn't buckle.

I managed to change the tire, but was none too confident about putting on the spare. Part of the maintenance that I did in San Diego was to rotate the worst tire off and make it the spare. Now I was driving on it with no backup. Here are my field notes from three miles after the blowout: "I'm at a *llanteria* [tire repair shop] where I feel the need to have someone check these

tires. It's starting to shake again and I'm a little bit scared. Note [added when transcribing the tape]: I don't generally say 'little bit scared' [about myself] unless I'm a whole lot more afraid than if I say 'scared shitless;' so the field notes, in this case, are understating the reality by quite a bit. The fact is that I could barely drive the car and the only thing that kept me doing it was that there was no place to stop and curl-up into a ball."

La Paz was shutting down when I arrived, it was 'millennium New Years Eve.' I bought two new tires at the only tire store I could find that was open, found a hotel, checked in and brought in the new century while awaiting my ferry ride to the mainland. Lesson learned: no matter how much practice you have or preparation you've done, 'swimming with sharks is swimming with sharks.'

Back on the mainland, I headed north to do the W1 transect from Obregón to Ojinaga. The first part of that road made the Devils Backbone look like a cakewalk! There isn't a paved road along the Big Bend in Mexico, so I had to cross over and take the Texas roads to Piedras Negras to do the first part of the W2 down to Durango. That finished off the vast distances of northern Mexico, then I headed south; to finish the W3 branches, and, eventually, to the Yucatán.

About 35 miles south of Jalpa, Zacatecas I came across a unique situation. Off to the right (west) of the road was a man, on his knees laying brick, building a nicho. Another man was standing nearby, and behind them were three ladies standing by the back of a pickup truck. By the way they were dressed, they were country folk; the women were weeping. On the left side of the road was a late model car with D.F. (*Distrito Federale*) plates and a man with a camera was walking away from the people, towards the car. I pulled off to the right about 100 yards past (south of) them. Realizing that this was a very delicate situation, I sat in the car for a few minutes; during that time the D.F. guy drove away. Seeing the situation, he had obviously just finished doing what I was about to do. Damn! Two rich assholes in a row, how was I going to handle this?

There is quite a bit of distrust among rural people towards *gringos*, number one; and people from the capital, *chilangros*, number two. Both are assumed to be rich and, usually,

somewhat obnoxious and condescending towards ‘regular’ people. Previous experience in doing ethnographic work in Mexico (Weir and Azary 2001) taught me that sticking around in one place was the best, and perhaps the only, way of overcoming this built-in prejudice.

I could not fail to approach these people so I decided to take one of the pocket-sized cameras, no notebook or clipboard, and to be on my best behavior. After collecting my thoughts, I got out of the car and walked slowly toward them; noticing along the way that there was a set of fresh skid marks on the pavement next to them. When I was within 10 feet of the man on his knees, I tipped my hat to him and bid him good afternoon and after the greeting was returned asked him: What are you doing? He said: Building a *recuerdo*, my son died here on *Navidad*. I removed my hat and offered my condolences to the family. He nodded and immediately turned his attention back to the task at hand. I stepped closer to the brother, who was about six feet away (to the north) from his father, and asked: What happened? He said: My brother was walking along the road, on his way home, on Christmas night and a car came along and hit him. (Judging from the skid marks, his brother was walking on the road. Maybe a bit tipsy from a day of celebrating?) I continued talking to the brother a short while; I wanted to be sure that I didn’t wear out my welcome. When I was about to leave I asked the brother if I might take a photo, he said OK, and I put my hat on, snapped a photo, said Thank you and, again, my sincere condolences on your loss. As I walked back to the car I recall thinking how dramatically different our Christmas evenings were.

The following are excerpts from my field notes of that site.

“1/7/2000: ZT380; ...the response was the typical ‘we do this because it is our tradition’; i.e. they do it because they do it. It was interesting to talk with them and see they were engaging in an action that gave them a way to grieve. It was obvious that the women were quite shook-up and the men were no less hurt but were fully absorbed in doing the work necessary to make the brick pedestal. The brother said that they live in the next village down the road [Moyahua]; confirming the idea that, at least some of these *recuerdos*, are close to where the families live.

They're local folks. He was hesitant to speak his brother's name (and didn't!). I think his dates were 1981-1999, but I'm not sure. I also asked if they had permission from the *municipio* and the brother said: 'No, anyone who is Mexican can do this in Mexico.' It is an understood thing ... part of the unwritten 'common knowledge.' The skid marks were still very prominent on the road! ... The brother of the deceased man specifically said that as soon as they put a cross there the place became sacred because that symbolizes Jesus Christ."

The film from that camera didn't turn out, my notes and the memory must suffice.

CHAPTER 10: TEXT: TROPICAL, SOUTHERN MEXICO

A warm, wet climate is most characteristic of Colima, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Chiapas, Veracruz, Tabasco, Campeche, Quintana Roo, and Yucatán; which are Tamayo's *Zona Golfo de México* and *Zona Pacífico Sur* (1953, 241) and the region referred to as 'tropical' in this work. As with the preceding regions; there are exceptions within these states that do not have a tropical climate, usually due to altitude. However, the southern region is dominated by coastal lowlands and roughly corresponds to West's *tierra caliente*, (1989, 40).

Climate affects the study in the south in two ways: first; roadside vegetation is dense and often grows to the eye level of a motorist before it is burned, a normal maintenance activity that is cheaper than mowing, second; wear and tear on the pavement itself is accelerated under these climatic conditions. Soils beneath the pavement become soaked with moisture, which leads to soil slumps, potholing, and ridging of the road surface. It is not unusual to see, particularly in the rainy season, a section of highway that is missing one of its two lanes due to a soil slump. Potholes deeper than six inches are commonplace as are deep ruts in the pavement, caused by over-burdened trucks wearing grooves in each of the two lanes. This results in ridges in the center and at the edge and center of each lane, which may be 6 inches to a foot higher than the grooves. To clarify: when looked at in cross section the road surface from edge-to-edge is; ridge at the edge of the pavement, rut, ridge, rut, ridge in the center of the road, rut, ridge, rut, ridge at the edge. This particular phenomenon of 4 grooves and 5 ridges is responsible for an unusual driving behavior that I call "riding the ridges." Drivers, particularly of passenger cars and light trucks, seeking to avoid the damages of hitting the deep potholes in the ruts, pick two of the three ridges in their lane and drive either slightly left-of-center or on the extreme right-hand edge of the pavement. One can easily imagine the quick, and tricky, maneuvering that occurs when two motorists round a curve and encounter each other riding the left-most ridge.

The South constitutes 24.10% of the total area of Mexico and 26.88% of the population live there; 33.4% of the miles surveyed in this project, 24.01% of the artifacts and 36.54% of

those which were thickly described, were in this region. The number of artifacts recorded is lower than expected based on the population and miles, primarily because this region has the worst driving conditions in Mexico and the worst conditions for seeing a roadside memorial. However, the percentage of thickly described sites is significantly higher than expected. This is due, primarily, to which type of roadside artifacts are most frequent in the south. Table 10.01 (below) summarizes the artifact types for the three regions.

Table 10.01: Artifact Types, National Summary

	% Artifacts	% Crosses/monuments	% <i>Nichos</i>	% Shrines
North	53	58	41	49
Center	23	24	21	25
South	24	18	38	26

Because *nichos* and shrines are the type of artifacts that require more intensive study to determine their function (i.e. death memorial or religiosity), and the southern region has a disproportionate share of these types; the ethnographic method was most heavily employed in this region, in spite of the difficult conditions alluded to above. The following state summaries reflect the specific conditions and artifacts recorded in each of the nine states that make up the southern region.

10.1: Colima

Colima (2000 pop., 3,047,867) is the fourth smallest state at 5,191 sq km (2,004 sq mi), and is mainly a coastal plain that rises to the foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental. Agricultural activities include raising livestock and cultivating rice, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, copra, lemons, bananas, papayas, peppers, and maize. It is this aspect of tropical climate, and agriculture which places it in the south as an outlier, surrounded by Jalisco and Michoacan.

Colima was surveyed along two transects (see Figure 10.1.1): 85 miles of the Pacific coast transect (L3), and, for 43 miles, the southern branch of the third lengthwise transect (W3b).

There were 115 crosses, 23 nichos and one shrine at 107 locations, 4 of which were thickly described.

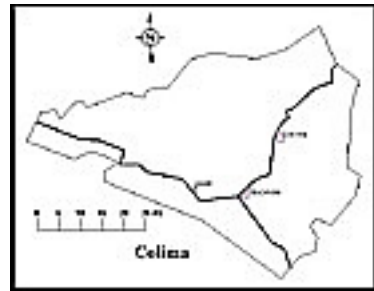


Figure 10.1.1: Map of Colima, survey routes and places.



Figure 10.1.2: Cross with retaining walls and wreath on a dangerous curve.

Site number CO43 (Figure 10.1.2) is demonstrative of principles previously discussed. Firstly, although the photo was taken in late July 1999, a relatively fresh floral wreath dominates the scene. Unfortunately the inscription dates are not clear, but the date “dic 198_” can be read to the right of the missing Christ figure. It is probably safe to assume that this is José’s death date, based on the condition of the cross and the surrounding retaining walls. Whether the wreath commemorates his death date or the Day of the Dead in November, the loved ones of José Luis Guerrero Trujillo continue to visit the place where he died. In addition to the wreath there are rocks that were placed on the horizontal surfaces of the walls to mark the visit, therefore; this place is sacred not only because of the cross-used-to-be-a-crucifix, but because of the silent prayers left behind by its visitors (see section 7.1).

Another notable aspect of this image is the sign to the left of the cross that indicates an immediate and hard curve to the left. Although it was previously stated that these memorials are usually in places where driving conditions are extremely hazardous, most images show only the

artifact and not the context within which it appears on the real landscape. The details of Colima's roadside sacred places, as observed by myself, are given in Appendix C, Table C10.1.

10.2: Guerrero

Guerrero is extremely mountainous except for a narrow coastal strip, the coast and the deep valleys are hot and rainy, but the highlands are temperate and drier. Tourism, centered at Acapulco, is the main economic activity. Agriculture (the growing of coffee, tobacco, cotton, tropical fruits, and cereals), forest products, and mining are the other chief economic activities. Mineral resources include gold and silver; and the silver artisans of Taxco are famous.

This state was surveyed along two transects: the L3 closely followed the Pacific coast from the Michoacán boundary to the Oaxaca boundary; the W5 went from the Morelos boundary to Acapulco, splitting to include Taxco and Iguala in one direction, and taking the Acapulco-Mexico City *autopista* in the other (Figure 10.2.1). 257 roadside sacred places were recorded in the 621 miles traversed, they had 314 artifacts; 204 were crosses, 96 nichos, 13 shrines, and 1 monument.



Figure 10.2.1: Map of Guerrero, survey routes and places.

Although, as section 7.10 pointed out, roadside sacred places may be observed nearly anywhere in Mexico, there are certain types of places where one is more likely to see a death memorial. Site GR250 (Figure 10.2.2), located in front of the leading edge of a guardrail, is one such place. This location has several aspects of a typically dangerous place: 1) an immovable object stands within a few feet of the driving surface, 2) the road is beginning to curve, and 3) nearby signage announces a bridge (*Puente Dos Arroyos*), the type of place where pavement is frequently

slippery and, in the rainy season, may have some depth of water flowing across the highway. Surface features of the landscape such as the sinuous winding of a road in mountainous terrain, trees, utility poles, railroad crossings, and abutments for bridges, overpasses, and guardrails are the context within which the text of roadside sacred places are read. These permanent landscape cues, along with temporary situations such as road construction and the behavior of other drivers, heighten both the observer's and the participant's alertness to a possible death site.



Figure 10.2.2: Site GR250, roadside cross at a guardrail abutment.

Site GR134 (Figure 10.2.3), located on the inland side of transect L3 about 25 miles north of the Oaxaca boundary, is another dangerous place as indicated by the sign in the background. This light blue concrete *nicho* has a flat white roof that is slightly domed in the center. The dome is a small mound of concrete and is a practical solution to the problem of setting a prefabricated cross atop the homemade *nicho*. I wonder how the deceased, “Architect Roman Mayo Gonzalez,” might have solved this problem. This local area, known as the *Costa Chica*, is home to a large population of *morenos*, persons of African and mestizo or indigenous descent which gives rise to intriguing local customs (see *e.g.* Lewis 2001).



Figure 10.2.3: Site GR134, nicho near a curve.



Figure 10.2.4: GR99, ‘backwards’ nicho.

Figure 10.2.4 shows a solution to the problem of having one's candles blown out by the draft of passing traffic (see also section 7.1). Site GR99 is on the seaward side of transect L3, 9 miles southeast of the junction of 95 and 200, which is just north of the entrance to the Acapulco Tunnel, in a small village.

As in any location where houses or people were nearby, I employed a simple technique to gather ethnographic information beyond what the place could tell me; I worked slowly. A slight bit of lingering, making sure the photo is framed just right, dictating my notes slowly, or just smelling the flowers kept me visible and accessible just long enough for someone to approach me. Previous experience in doing ethnographic fieldwork (Weir and Azary 2001) showed that people seemed to be more forthcoming if allowed to initiate the conversation, this was particularly the case where that person and I had no previous contact. Throughout this fieldwork I had scores of “casual” conversations with people I had never seen before and would never see again. Rather than approaching them and risk their feeling defensive or importuned, I simply turned the tables and let them be the aggressor. This passive technique paid off handsomely in villages and small towns where everyone knows everything about the local lore, having already spent endless hours discussing it all (see *e.g.* Richardson 1986).

In this case, as the lady who lives in the nearest house was approaching, I bid her “Good morning” and (I was facing opposite the view in the photo, which has fresh flowers in front of the cross) commented that the flowers were very beautiful. Her response was that her neighbor (the one who lives down there, [pointing] in that last house) puts fresh flowers out everyday and that it was her son who died here. After answering her questions (what are you doing and why) I was then free to ask what this type of structure is called and why it faces away from the road. She called it a *cabañita* and said that the candles get blown out, so “they” (pointing again) built this new *cabañita* with the opening away from the traffic. This practical solution may also explain the pile of concrete and bricks, which seems incongruous to the rest of the artifact, in Figure 10.2.5. In this photo of site GR136, a candle inside a tin can sits in front of a wooden spindle-type cross.

The classical design of an open portico supported by columns is aesthetically pleasing, but, considering the roadside location, needs a windbreak to protect the flame of burning candles.



Figure 10.2.5: Site GR136, nicho with windbreaks. Figure 10.2.6: GR239, well protected nicho.

Site GR239, on the other hand, has no problem with protecting the flames of a candle, nor any other aspect of the memorial (Figure 10.2.6). This nicho is enclosed within a 5 ½ foot tall wrought iron fence that is lined with chicken wire; on either side of the nicho stands an urn on a pedestal, both contain fresh red gladioli. Inside the aluminum and glass nicho box are six crosses, three wood crosses with signs of weathering are lying on the floor, and three granito clover, or botonnée, crosses according to Webber (1927) are inscribed with each person's name and birth date. Judging from that evidence, they were a mother, her 18 year-old son and 20 year-old unmarried daughter. "Hugo, Gaby, Berta: We will always remember this place where our friends, whom we will never forget, met their end. They fell on February 15, 1998" is inscribed on the middle of three granito tiers beneath the nicho.



Figure 10.2.7: Site GR133, pre-fabricated nicho.

Figure 10.2.8: GR155, a puzzling cross.

Site GR133 (Figure 10.2.7) is also adorned with gladioli and is a prefabricated granito nicho shaped like a church with two belfries and a centered cross. A niche with an aluminum and glass arched door is in the middle, and two side niches may be used to burn candles. In front are

three urns; one obscuring the view of the central niche and two on either side of an open book inscription plate. The inscription reads: “A. Arnulfo Maren Mendoza; from August 15, 1954 to January 22, 1997, R.I.P.: you lived with honesty, nobility, and courage, we regret to our souls your departure; relatives and friends.” All of these components sit on a granito platform that sits upon a larger concrete base along with a fourth small niche that contains a votive candle. In front of the base is a black pipe-cross which is assumed to be the original memorial. Both this and the previous inscription are given as they appear on the artifact (*i.e.* in Spanish) in Table C10.2.

Figure 10.2.8 shows site GR155, located in Taxco el Viejo 10 miles south of the present city of Taxco on the road to Iguala. It is a wooden spindle-type cross that has experienced some weathering and a former cross-shaped wreath clings to it tatters. It is mounted atop an antique machine, which is mounted on/into a large block of concrete. The machine appears to be either a pump or some sort of grinder, perhaps related to silversmithing which is the local claim to fame and object of tourism in Taxco. I am mystified however, as to the connection between the cross and what is beneath it. My guess is that the block and the machine preceded the cross and were the immovable object involved in a fatal crash. A small chunk of concrete is missing (and now painted over) from the left front edge of the pedestal, and may be a scar from a vehicle hitting it. This site exemplifies the weakness of ‘ethnography of place,’ *i.e.* an interpretation based solely on what one sees and unaided by local human input. Any local person would know all of the details and have a complete story to tell about it (see above); due to the lack of local input the ethnographic evidence is uncertain beyond the fact that someone died here. Table C10.2, in Appendix C, gives the location and description of sites observed in Guerrero.

10.3: Oaxaca

Oaxaca’s area of about 95,364 sq km (36,820 sq mi) varies from low-lying coastal plains to deep valleys in the south and broad, open semiarid valleys, plateaus, and the Sierra de Oaxaca in the north. Agriculture is the principal economic activity: sugarcane, coffee, tobacco, corn, cereals, and tropical and semitropical fruits are grown, and livestock is raised. The state's

population of 3,432,180 are mostly indigenous peoples, with the Mixtecs dominating in the highlands and Zapotecs elsewhere. Oaxaca de Juárez is the capital city and, although the author consciously avoided staying in larger cities, this exception is one of the most beautiful cities in the world.



Figure 10.3.1: Map of Oaxaca, survey routes and places.

Oaxaca was surveyed as part of 4 transects, one of which (L2) is effectively two transects through Oaxaca (see Figure 10.3.1). The northern branch of the central transect enters Oaxaca from Veracruz near Tuxtpec and proceeds southeast to the junction of 147 and 185 at Palomares. The southern branch of the L2 enters the state from Puebla near Huajuapán, passes through the capital on route 190, and terminates at the Pacific coast highway near Tehuantepec; and a small (11 mile) section of the same transect extends from San Pedro Tapantepec to the Chiapas boundary, the three sections total 340 miles. The Pacific coastal transect begins at the Guerrero boundary and closely follows the coastline for 339 miles to San Pedro Tapantepec. Transect W6 passes from the Puebla state line to Puerto Ángel on the Pacific coast, and W7, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec transect, runs from the Veracruz boundary to La Ventosa, near Juchitán. The combined length of these routes was 889 miles, and 448 artifacts were recorded at 344 locations, they were: 195 crosses, 232 nichos, and 21 shrines. 18% of the locations were described in detail, the following are a few examples of the crosses sighted in Oaxaca.

Site number OX249 (Figure 10.3.2) is a white pipe cross, perched precariously among a cluster of granite boulders at mile 168 of 248 on transect W6. A black metal cross that may represent a second person's death accompanies it; both the metal plate near the black cross and

the granito open- book inscription plate are nearly illegible. The open-book has “Dr. Jorge..” and the rest is unreadable.



Figure 10.3.2: Site OX249, 2 crosses among granite boulders.



Figure 10.3.3: OX02, weathered wooden cross



Figure 10.3.4: OX07, the oldest known cross



Figure 10.3.5: OX179, memory of a trucker.



Figure 10.3.6: OX244, memory of a professor.

Site OX02 (Figure 10.3.3), located 8 miles from the Chiapas boundary on route 190, is a simple, unpainted wood cross made of 1x3” lumber. The bottom of the vertical arm fits within a metal sleeve that has a bracket for flowers and is set in concrete. A rectangular inscription scroll is mounted at the junction of the cross arms and it is weathered and split in two places. Someone has wired one side of it together, evidently an attempt to prolong its existence. The man’s name was José Luis, he was a *trailerero* (a person who drives a tractor-trailer rig), he passed in May of 1995, and his family will remember him. Other details of the inscription have fallen victim to exposure in this tropical climate.

Site OX07 (Figure 10.3.4) is located 25 miles north of San Pedro Tapanatepec on route 190. The inscription plate is professionally made and reads: “Manuel Edmundo Farrera Rodas, fallecio el dia 6 de octubre de 1954.” Although several other crosses look quite old, this is the oldest know cross in the study due to the well preserved inscription. The soil around the cross has eroded, or otherwise been moved away, and it sits upon a column made of its concrete base and rocky conglomerate soil that, including the cross, extends six feet above the surrounding ground level.

The next two crosses (Figures 10.3.5 and 10.3.6) are very “monument-like” and strain the limits of the rubric that separates the four forms of memorials. Site OX179 is a colorful combination of two crosses and a raised marble platform monument with a small niche built into the bottom of the vertical wall, which I have counted as 2 crosses and a nicho. The marble monument/nicho is for a different person than the brown and white pipe cross, and the large cross may be for them both, who were evidently truck drivers. The whitewashed rocks outline a small flower garden where six rose bushes are prospering.

Site OX244 is classed as a cross, even though the cross is tiny in comparison to the rest of the structure. This memorializes a professor who died here on March 18, 1996, and likely was erected by those whose lives she/he influenced. Most of an extensive hand painted inscription on the face of the slab is no longer legible; either through maintenance or good luck, the inscription on the arch remains clear: “Men die, but not their ideals.”

A high proportion, more than half, of the artifacts observed in Oaxaca were nichos; the majority (86%) of these were of the non-prefabricated, or homemade, type. Of these, site OX25 illustrates several recurring themes and has a particular poignancy, especially for a parent. This site, located 7 miles north of the terminus of transect W7, was observed on June 9, 1999; not quite a year after the death date (July 31, 1998) and this site was already in its third stage of development (see Figure 10.3.7). Inside are two crosses, both inscribed in remembrance of the same person, that are set in the foundation in a manner that indicates that they existed prior to the

nicho. Even upon close inspection (by laying down on my stomach!) it is difficult to say which cross was the first, both had detailed inscriptions and the wooden one referred to the man as “the new Doctor”. The black pipe cross atop the nicho bears the inscription “Dr. Alvaro Espinosa Santos, Q.E.P.D. (star) 29-Octubre-1975 (cross)31-Julio-1998”. Because the honorific “Dr.” usually refers to a physician in Mexico, and the education system (*i.e.* the length of the process from primary to secondary and the various levels of the university) in Mexico is quite similar to that in the U.S.; to see that title referring to a 22 year-old is quite unusual. This young man was a very special person and one need not be a parent to empathize with his, they must be crushed.



Figure 10.3.7: OX25, ‘young doctor’ nicho.



Figure 10.3.8: OX22, nicho with beer bottle.

Both Figure 10.3.7 and Figure 10.3.8 illustrate the recurring theme of leaving a drink at a death memorial. In the first case the drink is a Coke with the cap removed and, a swig already taken from the bottle; site OX22, on the other hand, shows a liter of beer that is already finished-off. Figure 10.3.8 also clearly shows the practice of inscribing a metal cross with a welded bead.

Another recurring attribute of roadside memorials is the effort to create an enduring and aesthetically pleasing place. Figure 10.3.9 is a tin pole nicho, a type first introduced 1700 miles to



Figure 10.3.9: OX272, metal pole nicho.



Figure 10.3.10: OX86, nicho with a fine wooden cross.

the north in the Vizcaino Desert of Baja California Sur (see Figure 4.2.2c). The functional attribute of this nicho type, and therefore its ability to endure, lies in the manner of clearing roadside vegetation in Mexico. Fire is the usual way that the grasses and forbs (seen surrounding site OX272) are cleared. With the nicho made of metal and set a few feet above the growth, its longevity is greatly enhanced.

Site OX86 shows an unpainted concrete nicho with a finely crafted wooden cross attached to the rear of the structure. The cross is made of 1x3 lumber, seamlessly joined, with semi-circular concavities routed from the arms and arm ends. The wood is stained, varnished, and hand-painted with the inscription: “Sabias Wenseslao Muños Q. fallecio 12-III-’99 a la edad de 39 años”. The effort expended to make the cross reflects a priority in creating an aesthetically pleasing place to commemorate this person’s death. The front of the nicho has two bricks standing on end, probably as windbreaks, and an open soft drink bottle.



a) OX23



b) OX139



c) OX12



d) OX90

Figure 10.3.11: Various representations of multiple death events on the roadside landscape.

Figure 10.3.11 shows various ways of memorializing multiple deaths. Site OX23 (10.3.11a) is a brick and concrete open-faced nicho with six metal crosses inside: 4 are identical gray, spear-point tipped with heart-shaped scrolls and the other 2 are white with filigrees and a

rectangular scroll, the sole difference between them is that one is smaller. OX139 (10.3.11b) is a blue concrete double nicho with arched roofs, and identical black metal crosses with pointed tips, filigrees, and heart-shaped scrolls. The names (“Ramulio and Carlos Franco C.”) indicate that these were probably brothers, and the scrolls are inscribed along the edges with: “Here ended my physical existence, today began my spiritual existence” (see Table C10.3 for the original inscription). OX12 (10.3.11c) is a blue concrete triple nicho on a large concrete pedestal; the nichos are half the depth of the pedestal, gable roofed, and each has a black metal cross attached to the rear of the nicho. The site is decorated with marigolds in tin cans and attached to the crosses. Site OX90 (10.3.11d) appears to be the location of two multiple death events. In the foreground are four crosses; two concrete, one wood and one red metal, and a concrete arch roofed nicho with a cross atop the rear. These artifacts appear to be weathered more or less equally, and the metal cross and two concrete crosses bear similar dates (Jan. 21, 1989 and Jan. 20, 1989). Because the chances that two fatal accidents occurred in the same place on successive days are rather slim, I assume that these five deaths occurred in a single event (it could be that an error was made in making the cross(es) or that one victim died the following day). In the background is a triple nicho with two wooden crosses that are much more heavily weathered and discolored with mildew and mold buildup. No inscription empirically verifies a separate event yet that seems a reasonable conclusion, judging from physical appearances.

Site OX163; located on route 190, about 50 miles southeast of the city of Oaxaca, returns to the familiar theme of dangerous places, seen in various images throughout these descriptions and discussed in detail in the previous section. Figure 10.3.12 shows two views of a sharp curve and the lack of a space to pull off the road. A spot was located about 300 yards behind the point of view from 10.3.12b (right) that allowed me to park with all four wheels off the pavement, but just barely. Crossing the road was hazardous and listening was more effective than looking for on-coming vehicles. I recall thinking that I was probably pushing the limits of safety by being there. Given that my most frightening experiences were past (July 3, 1999) and I was already

somewhat hardened to the risks of this fieldwork, the thought of personal danger is more likely to be a reflection of the reality of the place, rather than a fearful state of mind.



Figure 10.3.12: Two views of a dangerous curve.

How if I, who have done this for 50 days in a row carrying only a camera and a clipboard, am scared; must the people who are building these nichos and erecting these crosses feel? In addition to all of the emotions involved in dealing with a sudden tragic death, here they were digging, toting water from wherever they parked, mixing concrete, etc., as traffic continues apace a few feet away; they cannot help but be a bit fearful on top of everything else. Yet, the weeping and working continue, with a cautious glance now and then at a truck or bus rushing straight at them, and perhaps a quick prayer that *el chofe* makes the turn smoothly. The result of this double ordeal is described in Table C10.3: six nichos, three crosses is the data, but this data has hidden emotional costs beyond time, materials, and the expression of grief.

Site OX63 (Figure 10.3.13a) shows a slightly different variation on the dangerous place theme, this nicho is located only a few feet away from a railroad track, along the side of route 175 two miles south of Tuxtepec. This nicho is simple to construct, being made of six bricks and a concrete roof that may be two paving stones mortared together. The number placard, which is the size of this sheet of paper torn in half, provides the scalar perspective.

OX62 (Figure 10.3.13b), 50 meters south of the previous site, is a light blue tiled nicho with a white metal cross centered on the rear of a gabled roof. This is a somewhat unique and ironic site due to its location in front of a business establishment that makes and sells, among others, items that may be seen as part of roadside shrines or nichos.



Figure 10.3.13: Dangerous and ironic places; a) by a railroad track, b) by a monument vender.

Figure 10.3.14 presents four views of nichos that feature cut flowers, permanent plantings, or artificial flowers as items that are commonly associated with roadside death memorials. Site OX134 has a bouquet of artificial flowers in a pot that is set into the concrete apron that extends the foundation of the nicho. An empty vase is also visible in this image, indicating that fresh cut flowers are also intended. The concrete of the nicho is only partially cured, and the white metal cross adjoining its rear has yet to receive a painted inscription; indicating that this is a new site and likely, based on what is usually seen, will have finishing touches applied to the nicho at a later date.

Site OX33 has two vases of fresh flowers on either corner of the open front; one of gladiolus (*Gladiolus spp.*), and the other of red and white carnations (*Dianthus caryophyllus*) garnished with sprigs of baby's-breath (*Gypsophila elegans*). Inside is a votive candle that is still



a) OX134 b) OX33 c) OX248 d) OX26

Figure 10.3.14: Roadside memorial nichos with flowers or planted flowering shrubs.

burning, indicating very recent visitation; this was a frequent occurrence during this fieldwork.

The feeling that I had just missed an opportunity to speak with a person who could enrich my understanding of a particular site, added an element of frustration which tended to enhance any negative emotional state operative on that particular day.

Site OX248, located in the rugged Sierra Madre de Oaxaca 79 miles north of Puerto Ángel, is a small arch-roofed nicho dating from 1996. Flowering oleander shrubs (*Nerium oleander*) are planted on either side of the nicho. This shrub species is seen frequently around roadside memorials, probably because: it requires little or no maintenance, does well in poor soils and dry conditions, and is easily propagated (*i.e.* it does not cost anything, one only needs access to a parent plant to start cuttings). The cross is inscribed “In memory of Miguel Angel Cruz Flores with the immense love of your mother and loved ones.” (see Table C10.3 for the original Spanish).

Site OX26 is a light blue concrete nicho with a vase of pretty flowers inside. I have not made the effort to identify this particular bouquet as other than “pretty” because the point of putting or planting flowers in and around these places seems to be just that. They are pretty. They further enhance the aesthetic value of a place, and the memorial they decorate, that would otherwise be nondescript without them. No place was ever intended to exist in these places; they were purposefully created and part of the purpose, it seems, is to create a nice place, one that is sensually pleasing. Flowers help to accomplish that goal.

Most (86%) of Oaxaca’s nichos are of the homemade variety, which, although certain styles are more popular than others, leaves considerable latitude for variation. Figure 10.3.15 shows a sampling of nicho shapes from the state of Oaxaca.

Both sites OX21 and OX95 have a cross deeply embedded in the rear of the nicho, indicating that the death was first memorialized by the cross and the nicho was a later improvement. OX21 is the shape that I usually describe as “flat roofed”; a variation on this basic design is the shed roof in which the front wall is higher than rear. The shape that OX95 most nearly resembles is a gabled roof with a flat ridge although, due to the narrow width and steep pitch, it is nearly an angular arch. OX58, on the other hand, is an arched roof shape that is nearly flat due to its broad width. This site has an unusual addition of a partial front wall, probably to act as a windbreak, as discussed in section 10.2. Another noteworthy feature of this site is the

partially failed attempt to make a concrete cross to stand upon the rear of the nicho. While the concrete structure itself is quite durable, the cross is not; which is probably why most nichos feature a cross made of a different material. Site OX28 is a gabled shape with the ridge flattened. The simplicity of its design is the result of using materials that are easily and quickly obtainable, or already sitting around one's house; a few homemade concrete bricks, two paving stones and a bag of cement, combined with a cross obtained from a local metalworker and a bit of labor are the basic ingredients of this nicho.

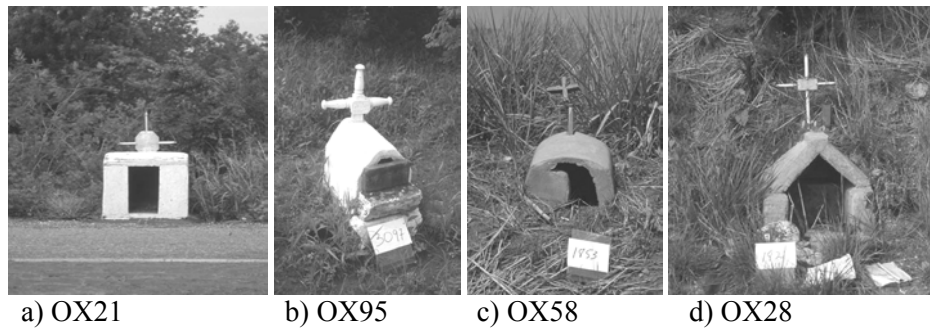


Figure 10.3.15: A sampling of the various shapes of homemade nichos in Oaxaca.

The appeal of these nichos, as opposed to the polished beauty of the pre-fabricated ones, is the rustic quality of an attempt to create a beautiful and durable memorial to a loved one. Most folks who make one of these have probably never done it before. What one sees on the roadside is the humble effort of a person building something they would rather not be building, and doing it for the first time in their life. When these circumstances are taken into account, even the most poorly made structure has a bit of beauty to it.

Site OX242 is one last example of a rustic homemade nicho, this one is a shrine of religiosity rather than a death memorial. This small roadside shrine is on the outskirts of the



Figure 10.3.16: OX242, a rustic nicho/shrine to the Virgin of Juquilla.

village of La Soledad, 32 miles north of Puerto Ángel on route 175. With thick stakes and a wall for support, a corrugated tin roof, and an old apartment-size refrigerator for protection, the small statue of the locally popular Virgin safely awaits all who would pay homage to her. Two bouquets of fresh flowers and 5 votive candles testify that her vigil is not a lonely one. Table C10.3, in Appendix C, details the locations and descriptions of artifacts observed in Oaxaca.

10.4: Chiapas

This state's 28,732 sq mi (74,416 sq km) area is crossed by mountain ranges, separated by subtropical valleys, that rise from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and extend southeast into Guatemala. The Sierra Madre de Chiapas parallels the Pacific coastal plain and reaches an altitude of 13,310 ft (4,057 m). Much of the state is forested by; its average temperature is 20° C (68° F) and rainfall is heavy from June to November.

Chiapas is the end of the road in non-peninsular Mexico, both in spatial and social terms. Its 3,920,515 citizens are among the poorest and most rural in the country, 25% speak a first language other than Spanish. Their agriculture is mostly for subsistence; coffee, cacao and rubber are the main cash/commercial crops. The people of Chiapas have a history of rocky relations with the federal government, the latest chapter of which (the Zapatista Rebellion) is currently on-going. Tourism is an important source of income to the people of Chiapas and, somewhat covertly, the support of the Zapatistas.

Chiapas was surveyed along six transects: 1) W8 extends from the junction of routes 186 and 199, near the Tabasco boundary, to Ciudad Cuauhtémec near the Guatemala border, 2) B2 proceeds along route 211 from there to junction of 200 at Huixtla, 3) L3 runs from the junction of 190 and 200 at Arriaga and terminates at the same junction as B2, 4) The final section of L2 runs from the Oaxaca boundary on route 190 and terminates at San Cristobal de Las Casas, 5) L1b terminates in Chiapas where it runs from the Tabasco boundary to the same junction of routes 186 and 199 and, 6) The Yucatán peninsular transect (P1) begins at that same point and runs for 13 miles to the Tabasco state line (see Figure 10.4.1).



Figure 10.4.1: Map of Chiapas, survey routes and places.

These transects total 691 miles of roadside surveyed which recorded 364 artifacts at 310 locations; 150 were crosses, 206 nichos, and 8 shrines; a high percentage (47% or 146 locations) were described in detail and an extremely high proportion (193 or 94%) of the nichos were of the homemade variety. If one were to choose a single word to capture the essence of both the artifacts and the research experience (see Chapter 9) in Chiapas, “colorful” would be an appropriate choice.

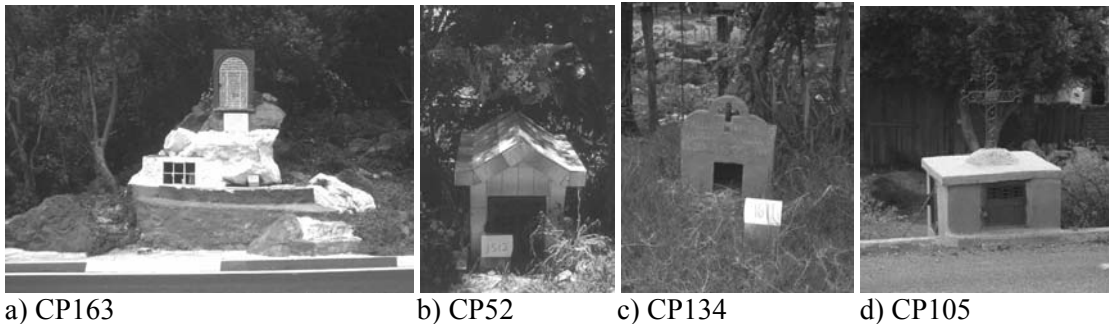


Figure 10.4.2: Colorful nichos.

Figure 10.4.2 presents a selection of colorful nichos encountered in the state of Chiapas (see CD-ROM for a fuller appreciation of these images). Site CP163, located 73 miles southwest of the state capital (Tuxtla Gutierrez), memorializes a fallen driver. Existing boulders and the curb of the road are concreted into and painted in the memorial color scheme, which is the Mexican tricolor of green, white, and red. The site prominently displays the name of the man’s employer, who donated the memorial. The sponsoring of a roadside memorial to a professional driver by the employer is encountered so frequently that it seems to be a type of survivor’s benefit (see section 4.3, site SN508). This custom tacitly recognizes the inherent danger of the

occupation and symbolically aligns the corporation with the popular version of Christianity that underlies the custom.

Site CP52 is located 68 miles north of Comitán on route 185. It is finished in glazed tiles that grade from white to light brown. The death date on the cross atop the nicho is 7 May 1993. A tattered wreath and wilted flowers verify that the site still receives some attention, probably at the Days of the Dead. CP134, a turquoise concrete nicho with a flat roof and a trefoil façade, is located one mile south of Ciudad Cuauhtémoc near the Guatemala border. The face of the façade is inscribed in yellow/tan paint with the death information; the same color is used to highlight the niche opening and a cross cutout that is centered under the pinnacle. Site CP105 is a tan concrete nicho with a fancy metal outline cross centered atop the flat roof. This nicho is located 2 miles south of Comitán and has two metal doors that are both padlocked. All four of these sites draw one's attention through using a color scheme that contrasts with the local surroundings, either subtly (CP134) or dramatically (CP163).

Figure 10.4.3 features a selection of nichos in shades of blue. Each of the sites are described in Table C10.4 in Appendix C, however some notes which point out certain features and conditions of these images are in order. One interesting aspect of this collage is that all except CP126, which has no door, and CP87, whose door is not visible, are locked. CP131 has pebbles on the roof and the ledge of the pedestal, an associated object with which the reader is by now familiar.

Three of these photos also evidence different types of fencing in the background. CP51 is nearly up against a chain link fence which, if no other data were available, indicates a location that is less rural and more urban; it is, in fact, just 3 miles from the city of Comitán. CP90, although the actual fence is not discernable, clearly shows a 'climb-over' gate in the background, a common way of dealing with barbed wire fencing which is usually associated with livestock. And CP96 shows, in the upper right, part of stone fence that survived my image cropping. This is

also a common type of fence throughout Mexico and is usually for keeping stray livestock out of a crop field, as opposed to barbed wire, which is to keep livestock in a particular field.

Another aspect of an image that may fall out during the image processing is where the photograph was taken from; CP87 is clearly taken from the driver's seat of my vehicle in the uncropped version (see the accompanying CD-ROM). The nicho is on the right side of the road and I am leaning as far toward the passenger side as possible, but not quite far enough to not include the door. On busy and/or sinuous roads this positioning of the observer happened too frequently,



Figure 10.4.3: Nichos of Chiapas in shades of blue.

and it was always a nerve-wracking experience. The condition that necessitated this approach was the lack of roadside space to park and the inability to see on-coming traffic at a distance; the result was an attempt to simultaneously frame a photo while listening for approaching traffic. The experience of researching a landscape seems seldom limited to the visual.

Figure 10.4.4 presents another selection of nichos, these in varying shades of pink. Again, doors, where they exist, are locked; thus creating a place that is both public, due to the roadside location, and private. Site CP98, with a black and a pink cross atop the nicho and a blue wooden cross off to the right, presents an interesting exercise in interpreting color symbolism. Previous

encounters with pink crosses indicated a little girl (site BN134) in one case, and an elderly lady (BS108) in another; this last was juxtaposed with a blue cross for her husband. In this case the pink probably indicates a girl and the black an adult man; the blue may be for an adult female. The point however, is that color symbolism seems to be a personal matter and is inconsistent from one site to another and an interpretation based solely on color (as above) is questionable.

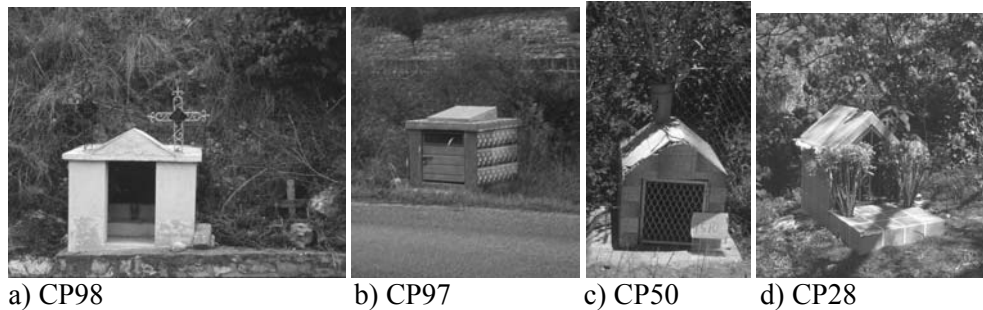


Figure 10.4.4: Nichos in Chiapas, shades of pink.

As mentioned above, this fieldwork was seldom solely a visual experience and the nichos in Figure 10.4.4 offer the reader entry into an appreciation of the tactile sensory experience. Site CP98 is a concrete/stucco structure, a rough surface to the touch; depending upon how the concrete is finished, this type of surface may be rough enough to cause an abrasion. CP97 features a heavy grade metal door, depending the time of day and the aspect, these can be quite hot. CP50 and 28 are made of glazed tiles, a smooth surface that is slick when wet. Both the tile and the concrete are relatively brittle, prone to chipping, cracking, and deterioration in chunks. The metal doors and crosses, on the other hand, are hard and resilient; they should last much longer on the side of the road than concrete. Not every photograph represents an artifact that I touched, but my body did have some experience of the place. Usually I stood or knelt on one knee to take the photo, often I sat or even lay down on my belly to get the desired angle. Frequently during the summer my clothing became saturated with perspiration as I worked, occasionally I left some of my blood, and every now and then a tear fell at one of these places. The reader (hopefully) will not have such an expulsion of body fluids over this text, nor is its texture an

unfamiliar one; but these images give at least a glimpse into the textures and colors of the roadside places under discussion.

The majority of nichos in Mexico are finished in various shades of white. Figure 10.4.5 shows a selection of white nichos observed in Chiapas, in a variety of sizes, shapes, and settings. None are large enough to classify as a shrine, they range in size from 2m tall by 1 x 1.5m (CP82) to .75m tall by .25 x .5m (CP216). The shapes are a variety of gabled (CP63, 216, and 78), flat (CP82 and 132) and arched roofs (CP125); and all except CP82 display the cross symbol. The settings range from tropical (CP132 and 78) to pine forest (CP82 and 63) to hardscrabble (CP216). CP216, CP82, and CP132 show a fence that bounds adjacent private property; CP82 also shows the road and a ramp to access the nicho from the road. The between-ness of these places, situated between a public road and private property, repeatedly recurs throughout this study and in the images presented in this text.

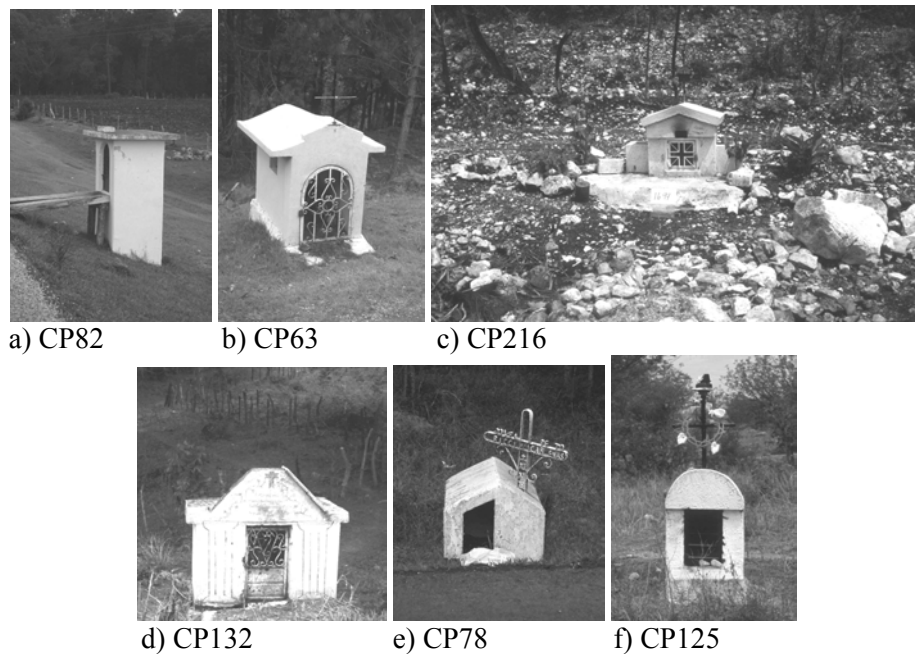


Figure 10.4.5: White nichos in Chiapas.

Where roadside memorials are situated in relation their surroundings is their physical context on the landscape. This context often speaks volumes on why the artifact is there rather than 100 meters away, for example, and what that situation means to the observer as a person

seeking to understand both text and context. Figure 10.4.6 presents several images of a physical context that contrasts with a previous example in section 7.5.

These images are presented here as a continuum from a higher to a lower altitude. CP244, 254, and 251 were at various locations in the Sierra Los Altos de Chiapas between Chiapa de Corzo and San Cristóbol de las Casas. CP149 was in the Sierra Madre de Chiapas, 27 miles north of Huixtla. All were part of the ups and downs, twists and turns of roads that crossed and re-crossed the 2000m (6562 ft) contour.

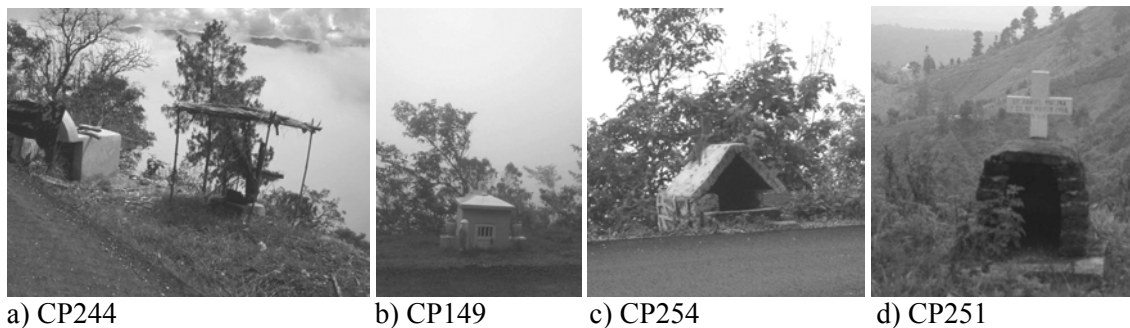


Figure 10.4.6: Roadside memorials in a landscape of clouds.

Site CP244 shows the physical context of a roadside that is (just barely) above the clouds. This cross, made of sticks with a makeshift shelter, is quite recent; freshly cut, unused sticks lie behind and in front of the guardrail stanchion. As the tilt of the shelter shows, there is less than two feet of level roadside before the landscape gives way to a precipitous drop into oblivion. As in all of these photos, there is no debris to mark that an accident occurred here; one assumes that the vehicle went over the edge at the point marked by the memorial.

Sites CP149 and 254 are older; more well established memorials that were in the clouds when the photos were taken. The background is a white sheet of clouds. Both sites feature a wooden cross abutting the rear, but not built into, the nicho; indicating that a cross first marked the spot, and a nicho was added later. CP251 is slightly below the level of the clouds; here we can see land in the background. As with all of these sites, there is a steep drop from very near to the surface of the road and the opposite side of the road resembles Figure 7.5.5; a paucity of roadside is common in most of Mexico's mountainous terrain.

My field notes include some rather colorful commentary immediately preceding CP149. Expletives aside, the important details are: the road was quite sinuous, there were no guardrails, visibility varied between 10 and 20 feet which headlights did not enhance, and these driving conditions were the source of feelings of tension and anxiety. Taking the photo involved leaving my vehicle in the traffic lane with the emergency flashers on, which further enhanced the tension and anxiety levels.



a) Mule wagon and tractor-trailer



b) Women carrying firewood



c) Highland Maya sheepherders



d) Equine-induced traffic jam

Figure 10.4.7: Sharing the roadway with non-motorists and animals.

In even the best of driving conditions one would experience some degree of anxiety and tension with such limited visibility. In Mexico expected encounters only begin with one's fellow motorists; a condition which magnifies the intensity of hazardous situations. Figure 10.4.7 shows a variety non-motorist situations that one commonly encounters while traveling through Mexico. The road is a shared resource used by local farming families, whether they are gathering wood for the hearth or contributing to the family's livelihood (Figure 10.4.7a-c); and, as in any rural area, livestock are liable to escape their designated foraging area from time to time.

In addition to human and animal encounters, the roadway itself is often unexpectedly hazardous. Poor maintenance, especially in the poorer states in the south, along with topographic

and climatic conditions combine in creating a road surface that impedes rather than facilitates traffic. Figure 10.4.8a and b are examples of roads losing a lane due to erosion, probably a by-product of the monsoon rains. In the latter case, the boulder has been there for some time, the opposite side has an advertisement painted on the rock. In Figure 10.4.8c both lanes are being repaired, creating an abnormal travel condition.

These conditions are pointed out as ‘typical’ but may lead one to the conclusion that driving in Mexico is a situation that is constantly fraught with danger. This is not particularly so, in my opinion. The point here, and in the previous chapter, is that driving in Mexico is consistently different from driving in the U.S. Situations may be shocking or unusual to a European or Anglo-American are the norm in Mexico and Latin America, they are the expected. The danger lies in not acculturating quickly enough, i.e. developing driving habits that anticipate conditions that would be unexpected in another country.



a) Lane out, erosion below. b) Lane out, erosion above. c) Road out and being repaired.
Figure 10.4.8: The road as a travel hazard.

Roadside memorials are occasionally found where ‘unusual’ road conditions prevail. Figure 10.4.9a, site CP86, is a white tile *nicho* at the side of highway 190 in a location where a currently dry riverbed (*arroyo seco*) crosses the road. The cross atop the *nicho* reads: “Dra. Sofia Arevalo Z. 18 Sep 71, 30 Sep 97”; indicating the site of another young physician’s death (see Figure 5.3.7), this one a lady doctor (Dra. Is the abbreviation for *Doctora*, a female doctor).

Site CP106, shown in Figure 10.4.9b, is a green, shed roofed, concrete *nicho* that appears to have been moved to a new location in anticipation of a road widening project currently under way. To the left of the *nicho* are the surveyor’s stakes showing the new pavement’s elevation.

The base of the nicho's foundation, which is normally below ground level, is visible with no soil beneath it and there are scuffmarks on the face that indicate the nicho was probably scooped up by heavy equipment and put in its current location. To the right of the nicho is a pile of debris that includes chunks of asphalt and a road sign, which was probably moved by the same machine that re-placed the nicho.



Figure 10.4.9: a) Nicho near an *arroyo seco* and, b) nicho moved to a new roadside.



a) CP164

b) CP104

Figure 10.4.10: Apparently 'old' nichos.

Occasionally the observer, ever struggling to wrest information from mute place, is humbled by the silence. Figure 10.4.10 shows two such places; nichos that appear to be old, tell no tale, offer no clues. They simply are, mildew and all, where they are; no associated artifacts, inscriptions, or dates offer themselves up to the probing eye of the beholder. One cannot even say with assurance, in this humid climate, that they are old. Their story, like death itself, is silent.

The silence does, sometimes, expose different faces of death. Death is not, after all, the same to all people or creatures. Figure 10.4.11 offers a glimpse of two views that run counter to the standard point of view that prevails in the United States (see e.g. Becker 1973; Mitford 1998).



a) Life goes on at CP67.

b) Death is welcomed at CP170.

Figure 10.4.11: Nichos in the foreground, life/death in the background.

Site CP67 is one of many places where a roadside memorial is framed by people going about the business of living. In this case the people in the background are busy tending a field that will produce life-sustaining food, they are both living and assuring that life goes on. Mexicans, although they are often characterized as being fatalistic, are realistic about death. They accept that death is part of life and do not bother to sanitize it or insulate themselves from its reality. Unlike in the U.S., for example, a dead Mexican is only embalmed if they died in *el Norte* and the body is shipped home for the funeral. No effort, according to an undertaker I interviewed in Tepic, is made to make the body look alive or attractive. Nobody at a Mexican funeral would ever say “My doesn’t he look good!” a statement I have heard at every wake in my life. The reality is he or she does not look good, they are dead. That is as bad as it gets in life! But in Mexico the reality is of a different sort (see Chapter 5) and the dead body is just a corpse. Life goes on.

Site CP170 shows an entirely ‘other’ point of view about death. Here, looking closely at the birds perched in the tree behind the nicho, death is a welcome and life-giving event; it is in fact, dinnertime! These carrion-eating, vultures (there were 50+ of them moments before this photo) provide an eerie context for the nicho of Baldomero Farfan Solis who died here on Oct. 20, 1991. Both vultures and roadside death memorials are quite common throughout Mexico, but the coincidence of seeing them together was unusual, to say the least.

Site CP205 (Figure 10.4.12a), located about 25 miles west of Tuxtla Gutierrez on route 190, is a unique case of displaying Masonic symbolism on a roadside memorial. Freemasonry has a long history in Mexico; the York and Scottish rite lodges served as *ad hoc* political parties

during the struggle to determine newly independent Mexico's form of government (ca. 1810; the Yorquinos were federalists, the Escoceses were centrists) (MacLachlan and Beezley 1994). The public display of their symbol, however, is rare; probably due to longstanding Roman Catholic opposition to Freemasonry. During my Mexican travels, including occasional cemetery visits where this symbolism is usually common (in the U.S.), I saw no other Masonic symbol.



a) CP205, Masonic nicho. b) CP93, fenced-in cross. c) CP94, empty fence.

Figure 10.4.12: Unique roadside memorials.

Site CP93 is a wooden cross, uncharacteristically staked directly into the ground (rather than set in concrete), and enclosed by a wooden fence. Inside the enclosure are bouquets of fresh flowers. Both the fence and placement method of the cross are unique. CP94, only 100m south of CP93, presents the observer with a dilemma. The fence is the same as the neighboring death memorial, yet there is no cross. Without the symbol is this still a death memorial? I recorded it as a cross-type memorial with no cross. My rationale is that the fence-type is unique to this location, and that the neighboring cross is not permanently set; therefore it is most likely a cross-type memorial whose cross has deteriorated, broken off, or otherwise gone missing.

Figure 10.4.13 shows three multiple death locations and a variety of ways to memorialize these type of places. Site CP207 was personally significant because it was the first place I could stop after the event discussed in the previous chapter. It is a cluster of six small nichos memorializing eight deaths that occurred here in a single event. Adjacent to this site is another nicho and two crosses, also with the same death date and assumed to be from the same event. Excepting the white, partially pre-fabricated nicho, these are all very simple, inexpensive, and easy to make memorials; in this they reflect the poverty that is the major problem in Chiapas.



a) CP207, six nichos.



b) CP241, three crosses.



c) CP300a, nicho exterior.



d) CP300b, nicho interior.

Figure 10.4.13: Three treatments of multiple death sites.

Site CP241 memorializes three people with green wooden cross pommées (Griffith 1966) decorated with boughs of juniper. Placing evergreens at a death site is symbolic “...of the soul’s immortality” (Drury 1994, 102), or at least someone’s belief in the same. Site CP300 memorializes seven people with wooden spindle-type crosses inside a large concrete arch-roofed nicho. The inscription above the opening indicates a work-related affiliation between the deceased persons and those who made the nicho. Each cross also has a metal inscription scroll that includes, in addition to the deceased’s name, the abbreviation that is above the portal; probably the acronym for a private or governmental corporate entity. There are numerous fresh and artificial floral bouquets inside the nicho and the exterior is festooned with white paper flowers on blue stringers.

Many crosses, monuments, nichos, and death shrines feature handicrafts and artisanship in the articles associated with them; these artistic efforts, however, are also displayed to good effect at shrines of religiosity. Site CP166 (Figure 10.4.14, below) was ‘accidentally’ observed when I pulled off to the side of the road for a moment to enjoy the view after driving to a mountain summit. This large shrine, perched on a bluff above the highway, was actually

‘invisible’ from the road and would be missed altogether in busy traffic. The climb up to the shrine is made easier by a set of stone steps. A close look at the well-maintained interior is reward enough for the effort.



Figure 10.4.14: Exterior (a) and interior (b) of CP166, a Guadalupe shrine.

The altar is nicely decorated with a variety of fresh and artificial flowers, candles, and religious articles including a statue and prints of the Virgin of Guadalupe and a photo of the pope. The main altar cloth, hand embroidered with an image of the Virgin and four bouquets of roses, is quite impressive in its own right and even more so in this setting. The view, by the way, was awesome! Table C10.4 in Appendix C presents the locations and details all of the sites observed in Chiapas.

10.5: Veracruz

Veracruz (2000 pop. 6,901,111) is a long (430 miles), narrow (30 to 100 miles) state that dominates Mexico’s eastern, Gulf of Mexico, coast. It is a good example of altitudinal zonation, rising from a tropical coastal plain into the temperate valleys and highlands of the Sierra Madre Oriental. The state shares with neighboring Puebla the highest peak in Mexico, Citlaltépetl (also known as Orizaba Peak), a 18,700 ft (5,700 m) high snowcapped volcano and most of central Veracruz is mountainous.

Abundant rainfall and extremely fertile soil permit the cultivation of numerous crops. The state is a leading national producer of coffee, sugarcane, corn, and rice, and produces a wide variety of other crops. Cattle raising is practiced in upland semitropical and temperate zones. From the tropical forests come dyewoods and hardwoods, chicle, and rubber, and in the colder

regions maguey, various cacti, and coniferous forests are found. The state's principal natural resource and dominant industry is oil. The state is home to the Huastec and Totonac peoples, and the conquest of Mexico began in 1519 when Cortez first set foot upon the shore of Veracruz.

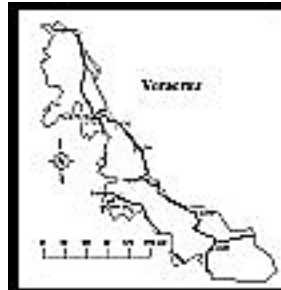


Figure 10.5.1: Map of Veracruz, survey routes and places.

My survey of Veracruz identified 647 artifacts at 497 sites along an 865-mile route. There were 370 crosses, 233 nichos, and 44 shrines; 13.7% (or 68) sites were described in detail. The main transect was L1, the eastern coastal transect; L2 the central lengthwise transect also passes through Veracruz, and three of the widthwise transects (W5, 6, and 7) originate in the state (see Figure 10.5.1).

The first 124 miles of transect W6 is unusual because, although there were normal numbers of crosses and nichos, I recorded only shrines and closely inspected but one of them. This section, as far as I know, is the only part of the fieldwork that suffered due to my emotional state. Personal grief (see Chapter 3) and road stress (Chapters 6 & 9) overwhelmed me; this, combined with a strong sense of purpose, resulted in a state of mind where I could neither stop moving nor continue looking.

Even when fully focused on looking, seeing is no simple matter and an unknown number of artifacts are missed for a variety of reasons (section 10.6 provides a detailed discussion). Site number VZ488 (Figure 10.5.2) is a good example of an artifact hidden in tall vegetation, a problem that may be particularly acute in the tropical south where roadside vegetation is frequently four feet tall or more. This particular site features two nichos about 5 meters apart, one (on the left) is only barely visible from the roadside. While wading through the dense grass

between them, I tripped over something solid about half way between the two. Only after parting the vegetation was I able to see that there is a third nicho at this site.



Figure 10.5.2: Three nichos, one hidden in tall grass.



a) Cross on a stake. b) Sheltered stake cross.
Figure 10.5.3: Crosses attached to stakes.

One possible solution to the problem a tall roadside vegetation is mounting an artifact on a platform or, in the case of crosses, a pole or wooden stake. Figure 10.5.3 shows two examples of this technique. Site VZ258 (Figure 10.5.3a) is a stained and varnished, spindle-type cross that is wired to a wood stake. A bucket is attached to the cross for fresh flowers and there are also paper flowers on the cross. Site VZ40 (Figure 10.5.3b) is constructed in a similar fashion, with the addition of a shelter made of stakes and corrugated tin. A container with fresh red and white carnations sits in front of the cross and there is a decorative foliage plant to one side. This cross has a framed photograph of the deceased mounted in the center of the cross. The situation of the cross, at the bottom of a slope, necessitates the placement of sandbags and rocks below the concrete pad; this protects the structure from erosion during heavy rains. These strategies assure visitors that the cross can be located in the future and, in the second case, that it will probably be intact.

Occasionally a roadside memorial seems to outlast its intended future use; this may be the case at site VZ283 (Figure 10.5.4a). This wrought-iron cross has a spray of rays about the junction, filigrees on the arms and a center scroll. The cross is heavily oxidized and the concrete in which it is set is partially out of the soil. The right arm is one-third buried in the adjacent tree and the cross leans in that direction. After gently cleaning the tin scroll with a stiff brush I was still unable to discern any details of the inscription; later magnification of the image also failed to clarify the death date. Undoubtedly this artifact is has been in this location for a long time, it is now part of both the human and natural landscape, and continues speak of some long ago grief.



a: Tree and metal cross.



b: Eleven crosses and a sharp curve sign.

Figure 10.5.4: Artifacts situated in a way that “speaks.”

Figure 10.5.4b shows three cross clusters and four separate crosses (11 total) with a hazardous curve sign at sites VZ183-9. While the location of death memorials adjacent to hazardous road conditions is common (see Figure 10.1.2 and the discussion in section 10.2), these seem to be adding something more to the landscape than the crosses and their inscriptions. It is as if the sign is saying “Watch out” and the crosses are adding, “Really!”

Site VZ267 (Figure 10.5.5) is an unusual nicho because of its star-shaped body. A black metal and glass niche opening in the center of the *granito* star contains a votive candle, urns on either side of the star have fresh flowers, and a statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe is mounted on each of the two horizontal arms of the five-pointed star.

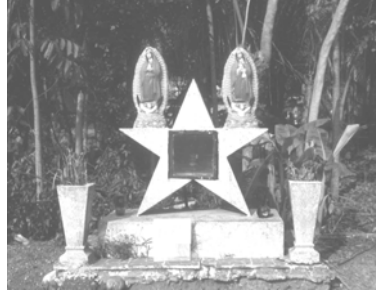


Figure 10.5.5: Star nicho with Guadalupe statues. Figure 10.5.6: Boy ‘hanging out’ at a shrine.

Figure 10.5.6 shows site VZ74, a white concrete and stone nicho-shrine. The stones are painted red and green and a statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe behind the wrought iron and glass door announces to whom the shrine is dedicated. The boy in the picture was there when I arrived; he was not waiting for a bus or a ride and, evidently, felt no reason to give up his spot for my photograph. He was just ‘hanging out’ and this shrine was a good place to engage in his inactivity.

The sites recorded in Veracruz are listed in Appendix C, Table C10.5.

10.6: Tabasco

Tabasco has an area of 24,661 sq km (9,522 sq mi) and a population of 1,889,367. Its low, flat territory is covered by swamps, lagoons, and rain forests and is crossed by numerous rivers, the Grijalva and the Usumacinta are still used for travel and transport. Predominantly agricultural, Tabasco is known for its tropical produce, which includes cacao, sugarcane, bananas, pineapple, vanilla, and chicle. Since the 1960s, petroleum extraction has become important, and the capital city of Villahermosa reflects the prosperity of an oil-town.

Except for a short section (6 miles) of the first peninsular transect (P1), the state was surveyed as part of the Gulf of Mexico route (L1) which forks at Heroica Cardenas, with one branch following the coastline on various routes to the Campeche state line and the other taking the main highway (186) to the Chiapas border (Figure 10.6.1). This was accomplished in trips through Tabasco, in May 1999 and January 2000, during which 108 artifacts were observed at 97 locations; they were: 39 crosses, 64 nichos, and 5 shrines.

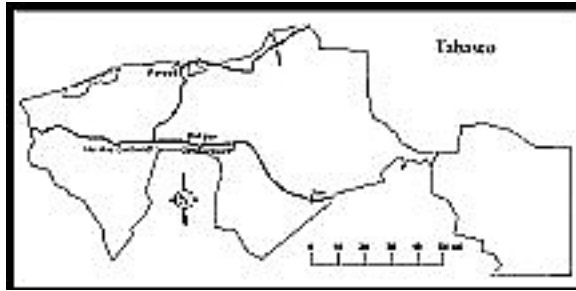


Figure 10.6.1: Map of Tabasco, survey routes and places.

The left, or coastal, fork of the L1 includes a 40-mile section that was surveyed driving coastward in May and inland in January. Although both surveys recorded 19 sites; four sites were recorded in January that were not seen in May, and four that were visible in May were apparently invisible in January. Admittedly this is a small sample, but the fact that 4-of-19 locations were “invisible” both times gives an indication that some portion of what may be seen is missed and not recorded.



Figure 10.6.2: TB 65, a nicho in tall grass with an ornate cross

Figure 10.6.2 (above) and Site VZ488 (see section 10.5) are examples of one of the many reasons why a roadside structure may be hidden from view even at close range. In this case the ornate cross, a nice bit of artisanship, stands out on the landscape as well as the upper half of the open-faced nicho. Some other reasons an artifact may be unseen are, on the driver’s right: large vegetation, rock outcrops, or human constructions in the line of vision, road cuts, bridges, abutments or overpasses immediately in front of the artifact, and a sharp curve to the right aggravated by terrain variations. On the driver’s left: as above, substituting left curves for curves to the right, and the added factors of oncoming traffic, particularly busses and trucks, and, where a multi-lane highway is divided, the left lane may not be clearly within sight.

Sites TB45 and 51, Figure 10.6.3, are good examples of nichos constructed *in situ* and finished with glazed tiles, a construction technique that is particularly prevalent in the south.



Figure 10.6.3: TB45 (left) and TB51, nichos finished with glazed tiles.

The hard, smooth finish of this material seems to hold up well under the humid tropical conditions of southern Mexico, and offers the opportunity for selecting more sophisticated and/or finishing touches than tinted stucco. TB45's tiles are a cocoa-brown than grades to cream-white, and TB51 uses a combination of solid sky-blue, white, and aqua tiles with yellow edge molding tiles. The latter has a front deck that is concrete in the middle and was hand inscribed while it was wet: "*Falleció el Sr. Rodolfo Gonzalez. Pedraza. El dia 7 de Julio del año de 1975 a la edad. de 60 años. D.E.P.*" (Mr. Rodolfo Gonzalez Pedraza passed away [here] on July 7, 1975 at the age of sixty. R.I.P.). Sr. Gonzalez' date of death testifies to the durability of this building technique in this hot, humid environment.

Table C10.6, in Appendix C, enumerates the type and location of the artifacts observed in Tabasco.

10.7: Campeche

Campeche covers 50,812 sq km (19,619 sq mi) of the western portion of the Yucatán peninsula, and the population is 689,656. The first 199 miles and the last 233 miles of transect P1 were within the state of Campeche (Figure 10.7.1). A total of 78 artifacts were recorded at 60 locations, they were: 31 crosses, 43 nichos, and 4 shrines. Although Table C10.7, gives a complete accounting of the fieldwork results; several specific examples are notable.

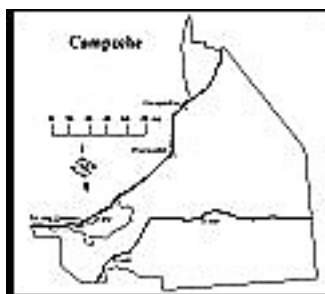


Figure 10.7.1: Map of Campeche, survey routes and places.

Site number CM52 is located 12 miles east of Ciudad Carmen on a beautiful stretch of route 180 that is built upon a long spit that, only barely, separates the Laguna de Términos from the Bay of Campeche. Figure 10.7.2 shows how rapidly even durable materials can deteriorate in some environments, in this case salt is the main agent of decay and the cause of the oxidation stains on the concrete pedestal and the metal cross arms. This is a triparted cross fleurée, according to Webber's classification scheme (1971), with the middle limbs terminating in a fleur-de-lis and fancy filigrees in the right angles of the cross members. The center inscription plate is inscribed: "*Sra. Marcella Garcia de Padilla, te recordamos con mucho carino, 4 jul 1999*" (... , we remember you with much affection, July 4, 1999). This photo was taken six months and 11 days after the inscription date.



Figure 10.7.2: CM52, a metal cross near the Bay of Campeche.

Site CM22 (Figure 10.7.3) is an example of a multiple death site with multiple types of memorials; there are 4 crosses on the left, and two tiny nichos on the right, one of which has a white wooden cross attached. The eye-catching aspect of this site is the beautiful flowering bougainvilleas behind the crosses which, it seems, someone is caring for and attempting to train along a stick placed there for that purpose.

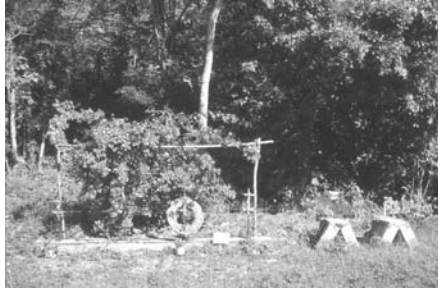


Figure 10.7.3: Site CM22, four crosses, two small nichos and bougainvilleas.



Figure 10.7.4: Crosses and shelter for four men, two who were professors.

Site CM07, in Figure 10.7.4, another multiple death site, is an example of memorial improvement or expansion over time. There are four wood crosses, four blue rebar crosses, and an open shelter made of four square, concrete posts that support a concrete gabled roof. Judging by the weathering of the materials I would say that the four wooden crosses were the original memorials, with the metal rebar crosses and then the shelter added later. Another interesting aspect of this memorial is that the occupation of two of the four men who died here is given in the brief inscriptions (see Table C10.7 in Appendix C); in this case the men were professors.

10.8: Quintana Roo

Quintana Roo occupies most of the eastern part of the Yucatán peninsula and is dominated by tropical lowland forests, inhabited by scattered communities of Maya. It has an area of 50,212 sq km (19,387 sq mi) and a population of 873,804. Henequen, chicle, and cotton are the main agricultural products. Tourism at Cancun, Cozumel, and Isla Mujeres is the dominant economic activity of the state.

Quintana Roo was surveyed along the P1 transect for 321 miles from the Campeche boundary on route 186, north on the 307 near Cancun, and west on route 180 to the Yucatán state

line (Figure 10.8.1). The farthest east boundary transect (B1) lies entirely within Quintana Roo. It is an unmarked, paved, state route that parallels the Río Hondo, the international boundary between Mexico and Belize. 54 artifacts were recorded at 43 locations along the 375 miles of these two transects. Fifteen were crosses, 37 nichos, and two shrines. This state has the lowest density of artifacts-per-mile and the second lowest density of population.



Figure 10.8.1: Map of Quintana Roo, survey routes and places.

Figures 10.8.2 and 10.8.3 are examples of the 16% of sites in Quintana Roo at which multiple artifacts memorialize multiple deaths in that place. Site QR09 is a double nicho of the side-by-side variety (the other type is the double decker, with one atop the other). Although the names are no longer legible, the structure has two qualities of special interest. Firstly, it is made of concrete and is monolithic. Usually nichos built *in situ* are made in stages, with the foundation and/or pedestal being poured first and the nicho built upon it later. There is usually doubt if the nicho is solid concrete or if it is made of some other material that is then stuccoed. Here, as there are no seams, it is clear that the foundation, walls, and roof were all constructed in one pouring of concrete.

The second interesting aspect of these nichos is the wooden crosses that, for lack of a better term, I call “spindle types.” The pieces are turned, or lathed, and finished; much like the balusters of a staircase, spindles of a chair back, or legs of a table. The two pieces are then mortised together at right angles to form a cross, with the un-turned joint serving as a small inscription plate. Although the process of making one of these crosses is not extremely complex, it does require special tools and is quite likely a side business for cabinetmakers.



Figure 10.8.2: Site QR09, a side-by-side, double nicho.

Site QR01 (Figure 10.8.3) shows a pair of nearly identical nichos that are finished in glazed tile. They sit about 20 feet apart on the north side of route 186, approximately 21 miles east of the Campeche state line. The nichos have white tiled exterior walls, including the pedestals down to ground level, and green tiled roofs. Both have a metal “cross voided” atop the rear (Webber 1927, 129), generally referred to in this text as “outline crosses,” the arms of which terminate with a fleur-de-lis and feature heart-shaped inscription plates at the arm junctions. Both have aluminum framed, tinted glass windows on three sides and a front door which is etched, in the case of the 48-year-old woman, with an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe; and for the 28-day-old infant, the Niño de Atocha. This last has statues of Jesus Sacred Heart and an angel, and both have votive candles inside.



Figure 10.8.3: Site QR01, ‘identical’ nichos finished with glazed tiles

Site QR05 (Figure 10.8.4) is one of only two artifacts seen along route B1 and has an unusual shape. Made of white concrete/stucco, the front is a arched roof that slopes downward to the rear and the side walls taper together from front-to-rear and join to a rear wall that is approximately half the width of the front. This nicho features a ventilation pipe in the rear, a padlocked metal gate, and a metal, rayed cross “fusilée” (119) atop the front apex of the roof.

Inside are 2 votive candles and two crosses, one with a heart-shaped wreath on January 13, 2000, probably placed there on the Day of the Dead in November.



Figure 10.8.4: Site QR05, unusually shaped nicho along the Belize border.

Table C10.8 in Appendix C gives the details of the field observations for Quintana Roo.

10.9: Yucatán

The state of Yucatán (2000 pop., 1,655,707), located on the Gulf of Mexico and Campeche Bay, has an area of 38,402 sq km (14,827 sq mi) and occupies the north central Yucatán Peninsula. The capital is Mérida, and the majority of the inhabitants are Mayan. Yucatán is a sparsely settled state, with henequen as the main agricultural crop, complemented by corn, rice, fruit, sugarcane, and beans. Petroleum is extracted along the coast, and fishing and tourism are also important. Yucatan is known for such famous archaeological sites as Tulúm, Chichen Itza and Uxmal.



Figure 10.9.1: Map of Yucatán, survey routes and places.

Yucatán was surveyed as part of transect P1 along route 180 from the Quintana Roo boundary, west to Mérida and, from there, south to the Campeche state line, a total of 190 miles (Figure 10.9.1). 33 artifacts were recorded: 4 crosses, 25 nichos, 3 shrines, and one monument; of

the 31 states, only Quintana Roo has a lower density of roadside sacred places than Yucatán. This notwithstanding, several were particularly interesting.

Figure 10.9.2 shows site number YC28, a concrete broken pillar monument, similar to those one might see in many older cemeteries in the United States. The site is located 44 miles south of Mérida and 9 miles north of the Campeche boundary on the east side of route 180. A broken pillar, like a broken tree or tablet, symbolizes a life cut short; in this case that of Teresa who was 39 years old in 1970 when she died. The monument is mould and mildew stained and the inscription, which is professionally chiseled into the pedestal base, is only partially legible; but it has withstood nearly 30 years of Yucatán's hot, humid climate in otherwise good condition. This monument is a rarity in Mexico because of the absence of any religious symbolism.



Figure 10.9.2: Broken pillar monument.



Figure 10.9.3: Nicho with “soccer field” deck.

Site YC13, located 18 miles east of Mérida, is unusual in the respect that a statement about the deceased is imbedded within the standard architectural elements or “fixed-feature elements” (Rapoport 1982, 86) of the structure (Figure 10.9.3). The teal-green concrete/stucco nicho has a decorative white cross botonnée (Webber 1927) with two winged angel heads in the junction, mounted atop a globe which sits on the front gable apex. There are two more globes on the roof edge at either side of the front, one of which has a stylized cross patée mounted atop. The right-side of the roof surface has a painting of a wooden cross entwined with a flowering vine. The front wall, on either side of the black wrought-iron door, has an inscription that includes the man's name, birth and death dates (22 years-old), and “Remembrance of his wife, daughter, parents and brothers” (see Table C10.9 for the full Spanish inscription).

These religious and remembrance elements are normal and others like them may be observed at thousands of nicho sites in Mexico. It is the front concrete deck, tinted dark or “grass” green and painted with the white lines of a soccer field, which makes this nicho special. This simple design actually speaks to the observer in a symbolic silence that tells something about this young man. If the observer were a local, maybe they would see the soccer field and immediately associate his name to a locally renowned soccer player, or maybe not. Perhaps, like 100 million others in Latin American who spend their Sundays glued to a TV screen, he was simply a *fútbol* aficionado. In any case, there can be no doubt that soccer was a big part of the life of young José Luis, because in death he is remembered with a *fútbol* field up front.

The addition of an element of the memorial that identifies the deceased as more than a name, allows one to search personal experiences with people to get a generalized view of that person as a human being. A memorial that identifies the person as a professor, attorney, engineer, accountant, mechanic, football fan, little girl, or truck driver gives the observer cues and clues to how that person lived, what personality traits, values, and behaviors seem to be common among the people one knows, who share membership in that cohort. It gives, in short, a flesh-and-blood reality to the life that ended in the very spot where one stands. Even if this subjective/fantasy exercise is totally erroneous, it has value. After seeing, or in your case reading about, thousands of roadside memorials, it is easy to forget that for every cross, every nicho, every monument; a real person lived, touched the lives of others, and then died. These are not just humanly built structures, they are symbols that refer a person’s life, and any attempt to connect with that life is inherently an act of participation.

CHAPTER 11: SYMBOLIC/POETIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE TEXT

Chapters 4, 7 and 10 have focused on presenting descriptions of the roadside landscape in Mexico. This is the “text” as a cultural landscape of some 10,000 artifacts that are intended to make sacred, the 7,000 sites in which they are placed. This “reading” occurs through an adaptation of the anthropologists’ ethnographic methodology. I observed, participated, and will attempt to interpret according to my training and abilities. Before launching upon that endeavor, however, it might be helpful to summarize the poetic or symbolic attributes that were noted in above-mentioned chapters. This chapter, in setting the stage for the next, acts as a sort of pre-conclusion that focuses upon the expressive attributes of artifacts identified during the fieldwork.

The poetic attributes of roadside sacred places may be organized into three broad categories: the site and situation of the artifact upon the landscape, physical attributes of the artifact, and the objects associated with the artifact.

11.1: Site and Situation of Artifacts

‘Site’ refers to the exact, or absolute, location of a place on the Earth’s surface; this includes the area covered by the place of interest. Baton Rouge, for example, may be located on a map at certain coordinates; no other place occupies those exact coordinates. We also know that Baton Rouge is more than just a point, at ground level; it covers several square miles of area, and all of that area is ‘Baton Rouge.’ The same is true of the sites discussed in this text; they are all at a specific location. The method used to determine that location suffers some error and variability, but the site remains in the approximate location specified and includes a variable amount of landscape surrounding the artifact(s).

It is this ‘variable amount of surrounding landscape,’ that is most easily identifiable as a site. Many times throughout the text, images and descriptions reveal an attempt by the creators of sacred places to expand sites beyond a particular artifact. Examples of this are: installing fences around artifacts, building shelters over them, outlining a walkway or area with whitewashed rocks, building a staircase or walkway, and planting trees or ornamental shrubs around an artifact.

Fences, shelters, and other demarcations of the expanded site are ways of separating one place from another. They say that the side of the road is a place of a particular sort, and the marked-off area is a place of a different sort. Shelters have the added dimension of 'a place that somebody cares about;' and is oppositional to the 'useless' surrounding roadside.

Planting trees, shrubs, and flowers is also indicative of a 'cared about' place. Plantings may bring into play the iconographic symbolism of individual plants (see e.g. Drury 1994; Biedermann 1994). I have chosen, however, a more pragmatic approach. Plantings reflect what is possible to grow in a certain location, personal preferences, or local customs. But in all cases, plantings show that somebody cares about the place and has taken a culturally appropriate action to expand the place beyond an artifact or group of artifacts; thereby separating and distinguishing 'this' place from the surrounding landscape.

The 'situation' of artifacts refers to where they are in relation to other places. Situation may include other artifacts, the surrounding landscape features, and, at a larger scale, urban/rural-ness, and the state or region which surrounds the artifact. The larger, or 'macro-scalar' situation is usually assumed and seldom mentioned; within the text and tables, only urban-ness is specified, because state and region are givens, and 'rural-ness' is the norm. During the fieldwork, the 'micro-situation' is usually the most noticeable aspect of a roadside sacred place when one approaches an artifact.

There are three ways that an artifact is situated in relation to others: either it is one among a cluster of artifacts at a site, part of a cluster of sites, or it is alone and not within sight of another artifact. Artifacts are clustered at a site in two ways: either parallel, or at right angles to the road.

Parallel clusters indicate a multiple death site and usually reveal more about the site than the individual artifacts. Exceptions, for example site TM44 (Figure 4.11.2), are discussed in the text because they are unusual. Linear or parallel clusters, like a cluster of sites, usually occur in predictable locations on the landscape: where the road curves sharply, on long and/or step grades, at intersections and junctions with railroad tracks, and where two or more of the above coincide.

These are dangerous places where a death is more likely to occur and numerous examples (e.g. Figures 4.1.3 and 10.3.12) are discussed throughout the text.

Perpendicular, or ‘stacked,’ clusters are sites where one person died and artifacts were added over time; each new artifact is in front of, closer to, or more visible from the road than the older one(s). Sites CH92 (Figure 4.6.3), ZT193 (4.5.5b), OX21 and 95 (Figure 10.3.15), and many others in the text, demonstrate that people are visiting these artifacts over a long period of time. These stacked artifacts express the desire of the survivors of the deceased to improve upon the memorial, usually as financial conditions permit. Each new layer is invariably of more enduring material, larger, or more esthetically pleasing. This indicates not only a respect for the dead by their survivors, but also that the dead are still within the cultural system. A ‘respectable’ memorial confers status or respect upon the deceased in the eyes of passersby; a message that ‘somebody,’ as opposed to a ‘nobody,’ died here.

Most of the 200+ images in this text show, in greater or lesser detail, the situated-ness of the artifacts. In almost every case there are, either shown or implied, three distinct places: the road, property (mostly private), and a zone that separates these two. Roadside sacred places are invariably in the zone that is neither road, nor property. They occur in a margin of between-ness. Their physical situation is transitional or marginal.

Coinciding with this physical situation, there is a marginal ethnography; i.e., observations that occurred between places of interest. People see that this land area is currently unused and remedy that situation, in accordance with their needs. They were observed cutting and gathering fodder or grazing their livestock along the roadside and in the medians of divided highways. In the poorer areas where there are large numbers of landless peasants (Southern Mexico, especially Oaxaca and Chiapas), one sees corn planted in this zone of marginality. It is the perfect place; the road is an impermeable surface, so rainfall drains immediately onto the area where seed is sown, maximizing the amount of water available to the plants. And, best of all, it is free. It belongs to ‘the government,’ which is both everyone and no one.

This marginal zone also expands or contracts, according to the landscape within which it is situated. In the arid north this zone tends to be larger than the 20 meter Federal right-of-way (Figures 4.2.4 and 5). In mountainous (Figures 7.5.5 and 10.4.6), urbanized (Figure 10.3.13b), and intensively farmed areas (Figure 4.1.2a) the zone contracts, due to lack of physical space or the value of land. The marginal, ironically, becomes dear as it becomes sparse.

The ‘neither/nor-ness’ of the physical situation coincides with its intellectually marginal place. Creating a sacred place in this zone is both illegal, by rule of law, and non-criminal, by rule of common sense or common knowledge (section 4.4 and Chapter 9). It is neither legal nor illegal; “anyone [has the right to] do this in Mexico” as the bereaved brother pointed out in Chapter nine.

11.2: The Physical Attributes of Artifacts

This section, following the architect Rapoport (1982), treats the physical attributes of artifacts as “fixed features... [whose] size, location, sequence, [and] arrangement... communicate meaning.” (88) These basic architectural elements, walls, roofs, floors, etc. change only rarely or slowly, once they are put in place. Here the focus is on the shape, color, and texture of these elements as important communicators of meaning.

The most important element of all roadside places is shape; a fixed and, in the case of crosses, defining element of the structure. Excepting monuments (discussed below) all roadside places that are sacred, are defined as sacred by the presence of the Christian cross shape. The place is symbolically connected to Christian thought, ideals, and worldview through the display of some variation upon the cross shape.

Perhaps no artifact represents the desire to communicate this affiliation with the cross shape so well as PB267 (see Figure 7.10.11). All four sides of this blue tile nicho are crosses. Each cross-shaped wall is connected to the adjacent wall with wrought iron fancy work, which includes a cross. Atop its roof there is a black metal cross. The cross theme, built into the structure, is repeated nine times. While this artifact represents an extreme, examples of the norm

within the text are too numerous to recount; crosses (by definition), nichos and shrines all display, displayed at one time, or intend to display this shape.

The cross is the “most universal of the simple symbolic figures, its importance is in no way limited to the Christian world. First of all, it represents spatial orientation, the intersection of vertical (above/below) and horizontal (right/left) axes, the bringing together of multiple dualities in a single whole that, moreover, suggests the human form with the arms extended.” (Biedermann 1989, 81) Crosses are featured prominently in cosmological representations across cultures. In Mexico, the Aztec Codex Fejérváry-Mayer (Figure 11.2.1) is a particularly good example of the symbolism referred to above, and in addition includes ‘trees of life’ or ‘world trees’ such as those featured at the Temple of the Foliated Cross at the Mayan ruins in Palenque.

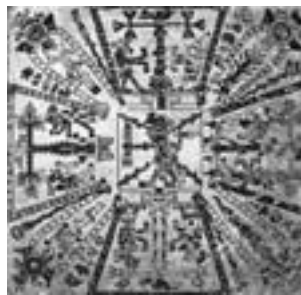


Figure 11.2.1: Cross of the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer.

These ancient, or pre-Christian, symbolic references to the cross shape reinforce, rather than dilute, its contemporary Christian symbolism. When a cross marks the place where somebody died “the place [becomes] sacred because [the cross] symbolizes Jesus Christ” (Chapter 9). This symbolism is at the level of conscious awareness. On a more abstract level, the cross also symbolizes the Christian or cosmic reality of heaven, earth, purgatory, and hell on the vertical axis; with earthly reality as the horizontal axis. The point of intersection, death, takes one out of one plane and into another. On this level of abstraction the cross is symbolic of both what happened and what is currently happening in the ‘life’ of the deceased person. It says: “s/he died here and he is now there”, which is usually assumed to be purgatory.

Shapes other than crosses are also important, but less prevalent, at roadside sacred places. Monuments that prominently feature statues are usually straightforwardly symbolic of a heavenly personage. The Sacred Heart of Jesus is the most common, and several examples were discussed in the text. The rare, but perhaps more intriguing, monuments are those which eschew religiosity in favor of a more secular-looking memorial. Two of the examples discussed in the text are from opposite extremes of Mexico: Baja California Sur (Figure 4.2.3b), and Yucatán (Figure 10.9.2). Both feature Classical architectural shapes; simple Doric columns supporting a gabled roof in the first case, and a broken column in the latter.

The choices of non-religious memorial types coincide with Edmonson's (1968) analysis of *dichos*, or inscriptions on trucks; which have several distinctive strata of cultural identification, first among them is the Classical. Edmonson concludes that; "the truckers identify themselves with a single cultural tradition leading back to Spain, Rome, and Greece in a relatively unilinear sequence." (84) The placement of Classical architectural structures along the roadside as death memorials seems to be a parallel manifestation of "...a community of attitudes and opinions" (81), which have remained consistent through time. These structures avoid a religious affiliation by confirming membership in the culture(s) that preceded Spain; their message is not anti-religious, rather it avoids the issue by seeking out an older cultural identification. This type of memorial is particularly appropriate for a civil servant (Figure 4.2.3b) or one of the 5% of the population who do not claim Christianity as their primary religion. Both of the examples referred to above feature a broken object (tablet and pillar), symbolizing a life abruptly ended; and, through their shapes establish an association with death.

One final manifestation of shape as an expressive attribute refers only to the more complex structures of nichos and shrines. With few exceptions, these buildings declare their sacredness by featuring a cross in the design or added, usually, onto the roof. Some go a step further by simulating other, easily recognizable, sacred structures through the inclusion of a façade. Figure 4.1.2a mimics California mission architecture, and Figures 7.10.3 and 10.2.7

simulate churches with belfries on both sides and a cross in the middle. This latter is the most frequently encountered of ‘church-type’ shapes. Figure 10.2.7 also displays urns, a feature that distinguishes it as a death memorial; urns have the practical function of holding flowers, and also exemplify nineteenth-century funerary motifs (Linden 1979/80; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966), which remain popular in Mexican cemeteries.

The basic architectural elements, in addition to their shapes, also have distinctive textures and colors. Texture is the result of the building material and usually expresses permanence. Concrete and stucco, glazed tile, and metal structures exude permanence because of their ability to withstand wind, rain, and fire. A polished metal surface (Figure 4.2.2c) or a finely finished paint (Figure 4.9.6) or varnish (Figure 4.9.5) job also indicates good artisanship and attention to detail. Some textures may also symbolize wealth, or lack of it (see the discussion of Figure 4.7.3).

Another aspect of texture arises where a surface is engraved, welded, or painted with an inscription. Inscriptions usually give, at the least, the vital statistics of the deceased; i.e., name, date of birth, and/or date of death. Occasionally only the person’s initials or a nickname appear on a roadside memorial; this case arises where the object lacks space for more information. The most interesting, informative, and poetic inscriptions occur where a surface is specifically dedicated for the purpose of inscribing. In these cases the words generally make reference to the personal qualities of the deceased, religious beliefs, and/or grief of the survivors. All imply solidarity with the deceased, and the word choice can be very poetic, sometimes including rhyming, metonymy, metaphor, personification, simile or other rhetorical devices. Inscriptions are the most expressive aspect of memorials because of their direct use of language to convey symbolic meaning.

Color is also symbolic, especially in the case of crosses. Monuments, nichos, and shrines are predominately white. Colors other than white tend toward softer, pastel shades and the choice seems a matter of an individual aesthetic values. The symbolic message seems to be that these are places meant to have a dignified beauty. One notable exception to the use of pastels is the

Mexican tri-color (red, white, and green), which is usually symbolic of nationalism or of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The color symbolism of crosses is inconsistent and, at times, baffling. White recalls the color of bones and pallor of the corpse, or may symbolize purity. Black signifies darkness and the silence of night; or, as the antithesis of white, may symbolize the impurity of worldliness. Blue symbolizes things of the spirit but may also, through association with the Virgin Mary, represent virginity. Crosses for men tend to be black, indicating their worldliness; except when adjacent to a pink cross, when blue indicates the male. Women, except in the previous example, usually have white crosses, and children have blue.

Color symbolism does not necessarily hold where there are no contrasting colors, and these three colors represent only the most straightforward of examples. It seems the symbolic value of color is somehow muted by the individualistic nature of its usage; and color symbolism must be approached on a case-by-case basis, rather than attempting to formulate a universal code. While color symbolism may seem to be frustrating, a far richer ethnography lies in the poetic and symbolic attributes of objects associated with the roadside artifacts.

11.3: Objects Associated with Roadside Artifacts

The objects that are associated with roadside sacred places are non-structural, or “semifixed-feature” (Rapoport 1982, 89) elements. They may be removed or replaced, and in some cases are renewed at regular intervals. These elements of the structure offer much greater latitude for personalization and the creation of a ‘unique’ place. The most frequently observed objects include: flowers, wreaths, votive candles and pebbles, religious articles, statues, prints and various other depictions of heavenly personages, photographs, vehicle parts and replicas, symbols, logos, and perishables such as food, drinks, and cigarettes.

Flowers, as alluded to in Chapter 3, have been associated with death for 60,000 years (Constable 1973); usually in direct connection with the corpse. In contemporary Western society, the church, home, funeral parlor, or other place associated with the funeral is bedecked in flowers

and wreaths; and graves are decorated with them at the funeral and regular intervals thereafter. This custom is extended to roadside death memorials, and the usual dates for renewing floral arrangements and wreaths are the date of the death, and November 1st and 2nd, the Days of the Dead (Cortez Ruiz, Oliver Vega, et al. 1996). Flowers may be fresh-cut, potted, or artificial; wreaths are always artificial and, like flowers, are either made of paper, fabric, or plastic.

The choice of which flowers are used seems to be a matter of personal preference, some, like gladioli (Figure 10.3.14b) are commonly associated with funerals and are therefore symbolically connect to the death event. Marigolds' ritual association with death is deeply embedded in pre-Hispanic Mexican culture, yet Green classes them among the "non-representational objects associated with [death occasions]" (1972, 248). One could argue, however, that their presence is symbolic of a certain degree of cultural continuity that reaches beyond Christian symbolism. As with most symbolic interpretation, one could keep digging *ad infinitum* without ever reaching a conclusive completion. As Geertz (1973) put it: "it is turtles all the way down" and at some point each ethnographer must admit the intrinsic incompleteness of their work. I shall stop at personal preferences that are aesthetically pleasing, the point of flowers seems to be to make the place 'prettier' and they accomplish that goal.

Votive candles and pebbles, as discussed in section 7.1, are, or represent, prayers for the deceased. The connection of candles to prayers is certainly the conscious intent of those who leave them; a visit to any Catholic church will confirm that this custom is universally practiced within Roman Catholicism. Pebbles at roadside memorials are probably a combining of ancient custom with the Christian symbolism of the candle. The pebble is not subject to being extinguished by wind or the draft of passing vehicles, and is therefore, a practical solution to a problem inherent in the memorial's location. Rocks and pebbles may also symbolize the eternal or divine (Biedermann 1989, 286), and the flame of a candle may also symbolize the Holy Spirit (129).

Religious articles such as: rosary beads, scapulars, medals, statues, prints and various other depictions of heavenly personages are the most commonly encountered objects associated with roadside memorials. Roadside shrines of religiosity have these, plus a separate genre of objects relating to miracles and miracle requests, the treatment of which is beyond the scope of this work. These articles are an affirmation of the religious affiliation of the survivors and, probably, of the deceased as well. Scapulars and medals are personal items, worn around the neck, and may have belonged, or are similar, to one worn by the deceased; rosary beads may also have been the property of the deceased. These items may also represent a heavenly personage (the Virgin Mary) that was a favorite of the deceased or who is being sought out to aid in the cause of delivering the deceased from purgatory.

Statues, prints and other depictions of saints serve as a focal point in the directing of one's prayers for the dead. The most popular saint, by far, is the Blessed Virgin Mary; and, of the multitude of her manifestations, the Virgin of Guadalupe is dominant throughout Mexico, followed by the Virgin of San Juan de los Lagos (Northern Mexico), the Virgin of Juquilla (Oaxaca and the surrounding states) and other regional favorites. As the mother of Christ she is considered the ultimate intercessor; what son, after all, would deny the request of his mother? Her motherhood extends beyond Christ, who "...when dying, made her the Mother of all. She knows that mothers take special care of their weakest, sickest and neediest children." (Ball 1995, 85) The Virgin's association with death, derived from her presence at the crucifixion, warrants a separate chapter in The Catholic Book of the Dead and Our Lady of Mt. Carmel is "...one of the most ancient and strongest of Marian devotions" (90) in this regard (see Figure 4.6.3 and the interpretation in the following chapter of site CH100).

Next to the Virgin Mary the most popular saint found at roadside memorials throughout Mexico is San Judas Taddeo, or St. Jude the apostle. Not to be confused with Judas Iscariot, he is traditionally identified as the brother of James and the author of the Epistle of Jude in the Bible's New Testament. "St. Jude enjoys great popularity as a powerful intercessor for those in

desperate straits” (Attwater 1995, 215); Bunson, et al. (1998) expand upon this saying that he is “...venerated as the patron saint of lost causes.” Jude’s feast day, October 28, is near to the Days of the Dead (November 1 and 2). Although the feast day for Jude may be just a coincidence, his reputation for helping those in dire straits certainly makes him one to consider for helping get somebody out of purgatory.

Discounting the image of Christ on crucifixes (which I consider as a uniquely Catholic type of cross), images of Jesus rank third in frequency among roadside memorials. The most popular depiction is of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which is a representation of Christ based upon the visions of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque in 1673-4. The cult that arose around the Sacred Heart aspires to attain twelve promises resulting from a structured devotion. Among them are: sanctuary throughout life and in death and, a blessing upon places where the image of the Sacred Heart is displayed (America 1967). According to Trinitarian monotheistic belief, placing a Sacred Heart image at a death site is a direct supplication to the Supreme Being; unlike the previous examples where an intercessor is involved.

Many other saints enjoy a small, usually regional, popularity; St. Francis, however, rivals St. Jude as the second most popular in northern Mexico. Although there is some confusion as to which of the forty-two saints bearing the name Francis is venerated (Nabhan 1991), the images and statues are always garbed in the brown robes of the Franciscan Order. This indicates that it is St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscans, that is the subject of devotion. There does not seem to be any particular logic that connects the north, more than any other region, to this particular saint. Discalced Franciscans did their missionary work throughout Mexico with more or less the same zeal. Father Eusibio Kino, however, was, and remains enormously popular as the individual who brought Christianity to Sonora. Kino wore the black robe of a Jesuit and his favorite saint was, of course, St. Francis Xavier the founder of his order. Whether the particular saint being venerated is a case of mistaken identity or not, the

pilgrimage at Magdalena, Sonora takes place on Assisi's feast day; and there is no clear symbolism attached to the St. Francis images that adorn roadside memorials in the north.

The objects associated with roadside sacred places discussed up to this point, in one way or another, reflect back upon a tradition of Christian culture. The next group of items symbolically links these places with the culture of modernity and modernization in Mexico.

The most prevalent of the modern objects associated with roadside memorials are those representing a vehicle; in many cases it is apparently the vehicle that was involved in the fatal accident. Figures 4.1.3 and 4.6.3e, with pieces of vehicle parts strewn about near the memorials, exemplify the most commonly encountered example of vehicle parts at a memorial site.

Highways are not maintained quite so well in Mexico as in more developed countries, the roadside even less. It is not unusual; therefore, that an accident site frequently includes the debris created by the event. These bits and pieces of the vehicle are strewn about the site or gathered about the memorial, usually in a haphazard manner. 4.1.4b features a wheel and other parts of the racing motorcycle that did in its owner. This example is a case where the parts remaining from the accident were incorporated into the memorial in a way that 'tells the story' of how the man met his end. Even without closely inspecting the site, one sees the motorcycle wheel and racing number; it is obvious to a passing motorist that a racer died in this place.

Figure 4.9.6, where the nicho is made entirely of auto parts, is an anomaly in this genre. The kinds of parts used are internal engine parts that would not usually become exposed as a result of an accident. These parts were gathered up from a mechanic shop and welded together as a representation of the deceased's affiliation with mechanical work. The symbolism here is of automobiles in general, rather than of a particular vehicle.

Vehicle logos, emblems and replicas, also a common sight at roadside memorials, represent the idea (as opposed to the physical presence) of particular types of vehicles. Figure 4.6.3f displays the Chevrolet symbol, affirming that the deceased was a "Chevy person." At site CH100 (Figure 4.6.3a) the nicho contains a toy Harley Davidson chopper. Harley aficionados,

unlike the Chevy or Ford person, are distinctive. When entering a small store with a chopper parked in front, it is immediately obvious which of the other customers owns the Harley. Riding a Harley confers membership in a cult-like in-group, and the representation of a Harley at this memorial strongly implies this person's inclusion in that group. Membership in a slightly different group is represented in Figure 4.4.3c, which displays a truck emblem in the center of a cross. Although the make of truck is unknown (it may be an old Scania design), the size of the emblem indicates that it came from a truck. In-group members, no doubt, would know immediately which brand of truck this person drove; that is, it seems, the point of these representations. Passing motorists who are members of the in-group, see not only the place where some one died, but can immediately recognize that he/she 'was one of us.'

The use of logos and symbols as identification with a group, gains a level of specificity where a corporate entity becomes involved. Figures 4.12.2, 3, and 4 show how employers and co-workers add corporate identification to a memorial. This level of symbolism not only identifies the deceased but the company or government agency; in effect, it becomes a type of advertising that says 'we take care of our own.' Personal photographs of the deceased (e.g. Figure 4.9.6) add the ultimate degree of personalization and specific identification. These associated objects (photographs, vehicle parts and replicas, symbols, and logos) celebrate modern technology through display of its products or byproducts. Logos, especially corporate logos, are manifestations of modern marketing techniques and are consumer oriented. The presence of Chevy, Harley, and BMW symbols attests to Mexico's membership in the global economy and the culture of modernity.

The final set of objects associated with roadside memorials combine pre-modern ideas about how the world works with the contemporary reality of people's day-to-day lives. Perishable items, such as food, drinks, and cigarettes, are encountered throughout Mexico. Figures 10.3.7 and 8, for example, show bottles of Coca Cola and Sol beer left at nichos, site SN329 has packs of cigarettes, and site SN387 a package of Carnation drink mix and a bottle of

water, left just outside the nicho. These modern products are taken to be favorites of the deceased, and are left as an offering or a comfort to the departed spirit. The final chapter will offer a more detailed interpretation of this type of associated object, along with a generalized interpretation of roadside memorials as a phenomenon.

CHAPTER 12: CONCLUSION: MESTIZO CULTURE, PLACE, POETICS

Hey, you there on the side of the road
Broken and unspoken in a nameless no place
By the streaming, screaming highway.
Hey, you with the smashed and bleeding body
Where do you think you're going now?
All alone, away from home and fading fast,
Don't you know? That there ain't no place to die.

12.1: Mestizo Culture: The Poetics of Place, in Particular

The idea that “there are things, there are words for things, and there are ideas-behind-words-for things” (Short 1991, *xvi*) sets the stage for interpretation of the poetic or expressive attributes of the landscape and its places. I refocus now on site CH100 (Figure 4.6.3a) as an example of a typical roadside memorial site in Mexico.

The main features of this site that constitute its representative-ness are the main artifacts: a handmade nicho, i.e. one that was constructed *in situ*; and two crosses, each of a different material, one wood and the other metal. The implication of these artifacts, since all memorialize a single person, is that the site is accretionary; a frequently observed attribute in all regions of the study. As with all sites in this study, CH100 is nearby to the pavement of the highway; being located in the median of a divided highway it is, in this respect doubly typical. In addition to these structural and situational aspects, the site also displays a typical array of associated articles and objects.

The site features an abundance of flowers, a traditional expression of grief or sorrow that, within a Eurocentric context, cuts across cultural dividing lines. Symbols of piety are also prominent, including three crosses, and three divine personages are specified as preferred benefactors. A specific method of enlisting their aid (prayer followed by lighting the candle) is implied by the presence of a votive candle.

Because of the memorial's roadside location it is also understood that this man did not die in a proper place or manner. He died suddenly and without the benefit of a last confession or the last rites. No matter how well he lived, he was human and is now suffering in purgatory. The

prayers are for his speedy release and should be directed to the appropriate benefactors. St. Jude “...enjoys great popularity as a powerful intercessor for those in desperate straits” (Attwater 1995, 215) and, within this cultural context, is especially appropriate. The reference to *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* has both a direct and indirect interpretation. Being one of the innumerable manifestations of the Virgin Mary, she is the ultimate intercessor. Symbolic references to Mary (which may include the two blue crosses, since blue is commonly associated with the Virgin) have at heart both respect for motherhood and the interconnected concept of *mariaismo* (see Paz 1985, 85; Ehlers 1991; and Burkhart 1993 for various slants on this concept), which makes Mary the model of mothers in Hispanic culture.

The specific reference to Mary as *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* has a less direct but equally cogent contextual symbolism. Devotion to her is connected to the discalced Carmelites, a branch of the monastic order of nuns and friars founded by Teresa of Avila. The sixteenth century Christianity that was brought to Mexico from Spain used three major models to establish the paradigm for a proper death: Christ (Richardson 1971), King Philip (Eire 1995), and St. Teresa of Avila (Eire 1995, 371-510). (Philip II, reigned over the Spanish empire from 1556-98; Teresa lived from 1515 to 1582; their influence upon religious thinking in the formative years of New Spain was substantial.) This last is particularly powerful because, in addition to her own death, “...it was commonly believed...[that Teresa] had gained Philip’s release from purgatory in eight days...a nearly impossible feat...[since] anyone could easily discern that he deserved a long stay in purgatory.” (371) Clearly, since Teresa was a devoted member of the Carmelite order, her power as an intercessor was due to her benefactor, Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. The average Mexican may not be aware of this depth of detail and may use this particular image because ‘everyone knows the *Señora del Carmen* is a good one for death’, or, quite simply, because it is a pretty picture. In the end, how each observer interprets the symbolism is less important than its existence. That the connection, and subsequent practice, remains intact into the 21st century, and is inherently Medieval is the more important point.

The final image is of Jesus Christ, who serves a dual role in this complex. As the Son in Trinitarian Monotheism, He is the personage to whom the others address their supplications; He has the power to deliver a suffering soul into heaven. Also, as stated above, He is the primary model of a proper death and may, therefore, be sympathetic toward one who missed the opportunity to die properly.

The nicho complex gains yet a different type of specificity with the symbols of modernity, the photo of the deceased and the toy Harley. The message of the complex may be read as: “Here died Señor Parra G. (this one here in the photo, the one that rode a Harley), pray to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, St. Jude, and Our Lord and light a candle for him that he may live forever among the saints in heaven.”

This interpretation reaches deep into the history of the particular aspect of Mexican culture, i.e. religion, which is prominently displayed. Minute details like the candle, reveal that ritual behavior is suggested. Taking into account where the display occurs (the roadside) explains why the ritual is necessary. Someone died, suddenly and unexpectedly, in this place; without the benefit of ‘proper’ or sacramental preparation and, as a consequence, that person’s soul, spirit, shade, or ghost may not yet be at rest in its proper place. The prayers, candle, photograph, flowers, crosses, and images of sacred personages all serve a dual communicative capacity. They aid or enhance communication between the family, friends or other survivors who visit the memorial and the heavenly personalities they address seeking intercession on behalf of the deceased. They also communicate with passersby; motorists see the structures and symbols, recognize their intent, and, as I frequently observed, may even bless themselves as they pass. This action may be interpreted as a form of prayer in behalf of the anonymous soul who is associated with this particular location. There may also be other communicative purposes for items left at roadside memorials.

Occasionally throughout the text, articles associated with a site or artifact such as drinks, food items, and cigarettes are described (See the Appendices for sites: GT08, SN329, and

OX335; and BN07 at which cigarettes were noted, and SN387, SN445, SN527, SA127, NL41, OX22, OX25, and OX335 where drinks are noted.). These sites are atypical and may represent an extreme of ‘traditional’ culture that, may or may not, be consciously reproducing medieval ideas on the contemporary landscape. These sites mimic the custom of leaving *ofrendas*, or offerings, at an altar in one’s home for the deceased during the Days of the Dead when “the dead return from the hereafter to visit their relatives” (Cortez Ruiz, Oliver Vega, et al. 1996, 19) making their way to their earthly homes via the cemetery. (See Figure 12.1: note the Carnation instant drink mix, the bottle of water, and Coke can. You or I could combine the mix and the water in the can to make a refreshing drink, possibly a favorite of the deceased.) Many scholars interpret this complex ritual as “worship of the dead” (7) thereby connecting contemporary culture with pre-Hispanic customs that supposedly go back “to at least 1800 B.C.” (7). Although this may be splitting hairs, I believe that ‘worship’ is a bit strong in describing contemporary relationships with the dead in Mexico. As Geary (1994) points out: “ancestors [who had] enjoyed divine or quasi-divine veneration,” became “an age class that continued to have a role and to exercise rights” (36) in newly Christianized, European culture. There is no reason to believe that the same process did not occur in Mexico, and that this custom is simply a communication from one ‘age group’ in a family to another.

This is more than being respectful to one’s elders (so to speak) it has pragmatic purposes. Esteban’s family (see section 4.4) sought out a more distant relative to get ‘official’ permission to build a shrine where his cousin died; they used their contacts to influence the outcome of their desires, they greased the wheels of bureaucracy. The same strategy might be used when communicating with dead members of one’s family, extended family, or community. Perhaps grandfather or grandmother ‘knows somebody who knows somebody’ up in heaven; it would be wise to be on their good side when one’s own time comes. So offerings during the Days of the Dead are a way of communicating to the dead, they say: “Hey *abuelo y abuelita* (Grandpa and Grandma) we still love you and care about you, see we’ve even put out all your favorite foods!”



Figure 12.1: Site SN387, an example of an *ofrenda* at a small nicho.

But what about at a roadside memorial, is it the same communication? Possibly, but it may also specifically address the conditions of the death. The communication is still a respectful manipulation of the dead by the living, but in the case of sudden, premature death another element is added. Occasionally the dead “do not automatically join the world of the dead” (Cátedra 1988, 253); this is true of, “above all the ill-fated dead ... those who died violent deaths” (Schmitt 1998, 12). These spirits have an especially rough time of it. If one can imagine: one moment you are driving along, maybe listening to some music, maybe in a hurry to get somewhere and then a split-second later you are without a body but unaware of that fact, dead but still walking about. In a desperate state of confusion, the dead are in the wrong place. Being “out of place” (Cresswell 1996) they jeopardize their future well-being and that of the living. Their presence, as disembodied spirits, may inconvenience those living nearby (Cátedra 1988, 253), requiring intervention from a saint (Weckmann 1992, 271-2), or, according to the Mendicant preachers (who were in charge of the Christian missionary work in Mexico), may necessitate special prayers, almsgiving and (paid) masses to placate and send them on the way to their proper place (Schmitt 1998, 133-40). What better way to avoid all these problems and inform them, than by laying out their favorite drinks, foods, and smokes? They cannot partake of them, since they no longer have a body. This, possibly as much as the memorial itself, would seem to get the spirit, ghost, or soul back on the right track and off to its proper place. “Ghosts, either phantasms or souls in torment” according to Weckmann, “have aroused people’s imaginations from time immemorial: these beliefs have always existed in Mexico” (1992, 272).

This interpretation, based upon the poetics of various places encountered during fieldwork and the concepts explored in Chapter 5, goes a long way toward accounting for why these places exist, as opposed to not existing at all. Culture, informed by religion, “enables a people to act with confidence. “We do things this way because it has always been so.” (Tuan 1989, 172) With the sure knowledge that these places are where their loved ones’ souls left their bodies, under perilous conditions, people do what they have seen done a thousand times before. They make the place sacred with symbols, religious icons, poetic epitaphs, and their own actions. They pray to the saints, light candles, and perhaps ask a priest to come bless the place as Esteban’s family did for his cousin (see section 4.4); they bring flowers, clean and maintain the place and make it special.

Religion and people’s conceptualization of how the cosmos works is not all that is going on at these sites. As Oliver Vega states: “we [Mexicans] suffer anxiety in the face of death, the same as any other human being” (Cortez Ruiz, Oliver Vega, et al.1996, 17). The power invested in these roadside memorials does not originate in culture, religion or people’s conception of reality; it comes from the anxieties, fears, anger, confusion, and sorrow of individual human beings. The shock of grief felt by a young woman who just lost her 22 year-old husband and father of their child (site YC13, Figure 10.9.3), a man who just lost his wife and six children (site SN508, Figure 4.3.4), the parents whose 4 year-old daughter was suddenly killed (site BN134, Figure 4.1.4a), or the children and grandchildren whose *abuelos* died in a car wreck (site BS108, Figure 4.2.7) are an emotional force which strains to be loosed.

This emotional force is released through fissures in societal norms or established cultural channels. In Mexico, popular Catholicism provides a channel wherein people’s “ethos is rendered intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life ideally adapted to the actual state of affairs [their] worldview describes, while the worldview is rendered emotionally convincing by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs peculiarly well-arranged to accommodate such a way of life.” (Geertz 1973, 89-90) The action of constructing a roadside

memorial in these circumstances is completely rational within the system of reasoning that religion provides. Furthermore, it allows this energy or force to be expended within a network or community of similarly affected people. Throughout this text, and the data in the Appendices, one reads inscriptions from family and friends, godparents, co-workers, employers, and students of the deceased. Often, where multiple deaths occurred, groups of groups join together to construct a memorial. This is the real work of community, where somebody breaks a sweat, others stand by and watch, but all are involved in the action of mourning (see Chapter 9).

My personal experience confirms the utility of the actions of the participants in this study and brought me to a point of “understanding askance;” the phenomenon of one whose “attention [is] fixed elsewhere” (Beer 1996, 2) yet experiences learning or understanding from some seemingly unrelated field of influence. In this case, the engaged but objective intellectual struggled through personal grief, and did not realize his predicament until well after the fact. The observer observed all but himself.

In retrospect, I see that my emotions had ran rampant throughout the first four months of the field research; baffling, and exhausting me to the edge of physical and emotional collapse. Even the conscious awareness of deep sadness on Father’s Day was not enough to deflect the rigid focus of my attention. After the fact, when the observing “I” was safely back in my accustomed environment, it finally dawned upon the unfazed gazer that he had experienced the gut wrenching emotions of grief while attempting to understand the actions of others in a similar situation.

Nevertheless, the experience at the Guadalupe shrine (described in Chapter 6) significantly eased the emotional ‘pressure’ experienced in the first three weeks of the fieldwork. In that respect, it had the same desired result of the actions of the ‘other participants’ in this study. There are certainly other significant differences: their grief came as a sudden jolt to them and was worked out within a community of likeminded people, mine was expected, came upon me slowly, and was worked out alone. Their action was reasonable within their cultural context; mine was

irrational within my cultural context, but reasonable in theirs. Yet, I am convinced that I would not have been able to complete three more months of fieldwork without the intuitive and spontaneous action I took that day.

However, that is but a part of the value of my experiences surrounding this research. The combined impact first, of having lived the experience, then of re-living it through writing, is an exercising and practice of “the empathetic imagination, by which I mean the ability not only to see but to ‘live and feel’ from another person’s standpoint.” (Tuan 1986, 12) I have created a slight fissure in the structure of this text where you can “appropriate other people’s experiences for [your] own.” By writing my own experience, and relating close encounters with others, I have used myself as a vehicle and attempted to place you in a position to see “with such vividness that it is as though it has happened to [you]” (12); provided you’ve had the will and temperament to do so.

The poetics of the artifacts and sites related in this work reveal a strong emotional force, channeled through religious/cultural ideas about the nature of existence, and let loose at or near the location where someone died in a vehicle accident. The evidence suggests, provided that the various titles of the commemorated dead can be assumed to reflect the status of the survivors, that this phenomenon cuts across educational, economic, and status boundaries. One event, one place at a time, the landscape of the modern roadways of Mexico have been transformed, by a broad cross-section of society, into a religious and commemorative monument to the medieval values that are still a working part of their daily lives.

The example of site SN387 presents but one end of a broad spectrum of the roadside memorials we have observed in this text. Site BS107 (see Figures 4.2.5a and b) places the emphasis on the modern rather than the traditional, medieval, or pre-modern. Here the traditional broken pillar of 19th century cemeteries (see Figure 10.9.2) is re-interpreted in a stylized, modernistic design. The 14 broken pillars (representing 14 people who died suddenly and tragically) dominate the memorial and the plain Roman cross in the background, is almost an

after thought. This memorial also explodes the idea of immediate action satisfying the needs of the grief-stricken; as discussed in section 4.2, this memorial was built 19 years after the deaths occurred. It does, however, confirm the idea of on-going community action in these events, since the memorial was the culmination of efforts from five *ejidos*. Here, modernity and community are foregrounded, religion and emotions and backgrounded. We find variations on this same choice in a minority of memorials throughout Mexico, with stylized crosses, secular monuments, and, to a lesser (and more contestable) degree, with prefabricated, *granito* memorials.

I hesitate to label the poetics of any roadside memorial as ‘postmodern;’ the will to whimsy, a sense of playfulness, is inappropriate in this context. Yet elements of a certain ‘postmodern pastiche’ may be observed from time-to-time. Site BS108, only a mile from the previous site (see Figures 4.2.6a and b), is a good example of an eclectic assemblage that might be viewed as postmodern.



a) Gravestone photo/plaque, b) Michelangelo's 'David'
Figure 12.2: Eclectic aspects of Site BS108

When viewed closely, the hodgepodge at this site is nearly a parody of pastiche. Like almost all roadside memorials, this one prominently displays symbols of Catholicism; a Virgin of Guadalupe plaque to the left of the main nicho, and a crucifix as the central object above the nicho. Figure 12.2a (above) magnifies the photo/plaque that is directly above the crucifix. This type of memorial plaque achieved popularity in U.S. cemeteries in the 1980s, but I did not observe any in my several visits to cemeteries in Mexico. The plaque memorializes Rosa and

Manuel Avendaño with both words and an image of the elderly couple embracing; and indicates a strong awareness of, and connection to, cultural practices regarding death in the U.S.

The ‘yard ornament-type’ reproduction of Michelangelo’s ‘David’ brings a pre-Christian religious personality and Renaissance art into the mix, along with Puritanical tastes regarding the naked human body. David, as a historical figure, has a nebulous connection to Christianity, since Christ is claimed to have been a descendant of David; and the statue’s creation (1504) played upon that connection but portrayed the youthful hero in a style that is representative of Renaissance humanism. While the citizenry of Florence was proud to display the statue in its central plaza, 500 years later a skirt is required to cover its representation of male genitals. The simple explanation for this is that a naked male figure is deemed inappropriate at a death memorial. Yet the choice of images reflects the tastes of the survivors, and arguably, the deceased. This mixing of genres, spanning three millennia and reaching deep into Judeo-Christian history, is an extreme example of an otherwise ordinary occurrence at roadside memorials in Mexico.

These examples of ‘the particular’ are examples of culture in action. Mexican culture is not “enfeebled [by having come] adrift from its roots in religion” (Eagleton 2000, 67) like more modernized nations. In Mexico, “religion... is [still] the single most powerful ideological force [in their] history” (68); a force “which forges a relation between one’s most intimate experience and the most fundamental questions of existence.” (40) Viewed from afar, from the non-specific perspective of the theoretician, these observations ring true; yet, when viewed more closely, with specific examples at hand, a certain complexity appends them. How might one view these artifacts and sites from a distant perspective, and retain the poetic attributes that are so expressive when they are up close and personal?

12.2: Mestizo Culture: The Poetics of Place, in General

The ideas and attitudes, values and beliefs, that roadside sacred places in Mexico exhibit, through the linguistic and non-linguistic symbols they display, are a conscious action of

emotionally motivated individuals to communicate ‘our culture.’ The nature of Mexican culture has long been described as ‘mixed,’ ‘hybrid,’ or ‘*mestizo*,’ but usually assumes a pre-determined starting point when mixing began, i.e. 1519, the meeting of Spanish and indigenous peoples. The complex, race-oriented, vocabulary developed by the Spanish conquerors, adopted by popular culture, and re-produced in the academic literature, sorts and classifies this mixing of people (see Whitten and Coor 1999 and Crowley and Griffin 1989 for examples of this vocabulary). While this ‘pigeonholing’ of people may help us make sense of the world in some ways, it also creates an ‘us’ and ‘them.’ Forging a distinct, yet hybrid, ‘us’ requires a national narrative, which, in the case of Mexico, is characterized by ambivalence.

Octavio Paz (1985) described Mexican culture as being derived from a violent, conquering father (Cortez) and Doña Marina, or Malinche, an ambivalent character; victim and traitor, whore and mother to a bitter nation filled with self-loathing and disgust. According to Paz “the Mexican people have not forgiven La Malinche for her betrayal” (86) and do “not want to be either an Indian or a Spaniard. Nor [do they] want to be descended from them.”(87) Whatever else Malinche was (or was not) she was a survivor who adapted to change, and truly the mother of the Mexican nation; and this ethnicized view of culture hints at more contemporary conceptualizations of Mexican culture.

Rather than centering the view of culture on ‘two parent cultures’ García Canclini accepts “...that for being the land of pastiche and bricolage, where many periods and aesthetics are cited, we have had the pride of being postmodern for centuries, and in a unique way.” (1995, 6) His view for contemporary Mexican culture is not a struggle of self-identity, a search for ‘who I am;’ it is instead a struggle between elite, popular, and mass culture where all are changed through the process of the struggle. The ‘players’ are no longer ‘that European part of me’ and ‘that Indian part of me;’ they are traditional, modern and postmodern culture. And just as the struggle of the past resulted in hybrid place(s), the contemporary struggle is played out in space and place.

12.3: Mestizo Place

Mestizo Culture, as discussed in Chapter 8, is always already mixed or hybrid. The idea that one can start from the present moment and work backwards, to some distant point in the past, and discover origins of ‘purity’ seems to be an obsession in Western culture. Rosaldo (1995) acknowledges his personal vexation “that it is hybridity all the way down” (xv). And points out that, among Latin American authors, distinctions between the modern and traditional are used as organizing assumptions (e.g. García Canclini 1993, 1995); resolving a tension between them is not a problem to be solved, it is, instead, the starting point of discussion. Hybridity is, in other words, a fundamental aspect of culture in Mexico and all of Latin America. As Richardson points out: “being-in-a-particular-culture means being-in-a-particular-place.” (1984, 64) This particular, Mexican culture is fundamentally mixed, these particular places where culture comes about therefore, are fundamentally mixed, or Mestizo Places.

The human landscape that unfolds at the side of the highway, is a prototypically modern “elongated place” (Sack 1997, 33) of “thinned out meaning” (9); the type of generic place that Augé refers to as “non-places.” (1995, 34) The power, or force, behind them is modern rationality and all of the economic and political structuring that comes along with modernity; roads are, in fact, referred to as ‘infrastructure.’ They are an integral part of national and global economic participation, the dispersal of goods and services, and the movement of ‘human resources.’ Highways are not interesting places. Any particular square meter of highway is pretty much the same as any other. Social intercourse does not usually take place there unless the participants are contained within a vehicle; in which case that social interaction would be considered as having occurred ‘in the car’ or ‘on the bus.’ The east-bound lane of the I-10 at mile 237, for example, is not a good place to have dinner with the family, a pickup game of soccer or poker, or for a moonlit stroll. These are absurdities; we only belong there if we are participating in the movement for which the highway was designed.

In Mexico, as everywhere, all is well as long as everyone keeps moving; it is the sudden and unexpected stop that begins to transform the landscape and the reality of the highway. There is no question that most folks will quite happily engage and use the beneficial aspects of modernity in the contemporary world, as long as it works in one's behalf. That fatal, sudden stop ends modernity 'working in one's behalf' for the group of people who lost a loved one.

The modern reality has no answer for them, no panacea for the emotional distress of losing a family member or an entire family; these survivors have a crisis on their hands and need to act, the sooner the better. Their actions, as we have seen throughout this text, creates a new and hybrid, or Mestizo Place where no place was previously envisioned. The repetition of this dramatic sequence of events: participation in modernity, exiting modernity, creation of place; is repeated thousands of times across the length and breadth of Mexico. The resulting 'roadscape' of states, regions, and nation is neither modern nor traditional, nor is it both modern and traditional. Each individual place is always already mixed, some with a dash more of this or that, but as a distinct place they all have a hybrid identity. The Mexican landscape of roadside sacred places is a heterotopia "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible." (Foucault 1986,25) It is a landscape of "contemporaneous worlds" (Augé 1994), of opposing versions of reality. Having traveled "to the very end of an experience, to the point beyond which no human being can go" (Bachelard 1964, 220), individuals poetically "separate the region of the same from the region of the other" (222) and transform a modern space into a Mestizo place.

The 'usual' problem of changing from a smaller-to-larger analytic scale is the loss of detail in aggregated data. While this study does not rely on quantitative, statistical analysis, the problem remains the same in having lost the specific, individual participants. In Mexico and Latin America, it is the individual person who inhabits multiple realities, which may be entered and exited at will (see e.g. García Canclini 1993, 1995). At the scale of the individual site or artifact, the emotions felt by individuals empower them to exit modern reality, and enter the traditional

reality that has answers for the crisis they are experiencing. The larger-scaled abstractions have, and admit to, no reality beyond that which is bestowed upon them by the originators and perpetuators of their existence. At the state, region, and national scales, these places are “resistant adaptations” (Radding 1997, 249) that both accommodate and oppose the dominant ideology; a survival strategy that is at least as old as the conquest. On these scales this is a ‘geography of resistance.’ The momentum of social movement is away from traditional culture and toward modern or hyper-modern culture. The combined emotional force of tens of thousands of places moves in direct opposition to the hegemonic force, in favor of Dodge’s inertia metaphor. These places are further ‘mestizo-ized’ by modernity, a closed, single reality system, that can only be resisted from within, and therefore on the larger scale. As individual places, created by individuals acting in multiple realities, they do not resist a reality in which their existence is predominately within a separate reality. Therein lies the thoroughly modern ‘vexation’ with ‘hybridity all the way down’ and other aspects of Latin American culture (e.g. the literary genre ‘magic realism’), where multiple realities are an accepted, and normal aspect of individual people’s everyday life.

12.4: Mestizo Poetics

The text of this dissertation has tracked along three different lines of communication. Words or language is, in our time and culture, the expected or most common mode of putting ideas out in front of others. Language, when used with fluency, can be quite concise about what it is meaning to express; yet, it may also leave one with a sense of emptiness or confusion when it equivocates or is nebulous. Words as text are contestable because description, explanation and interpretation come from the point of view of one particular person. Words and numbers in tabular form, therefore, supplement words as text. The tables are an accurate journal of the author’s experience of doing the fieldwork upon which this research is based. They rearrange the experience to reflect the political geographic structure of Mexico but, nevertheless, bring forward to the reader the reality of what is where. The use of an empirical means of communication does

not eliminate contestability, but it does present an unvarnished version of the ‘viewing moment.’ This is further enhanced with the presentation of 226 images, representations of 203 of the 6891 sites (~3%) that are described in the tables. If a picture is truly worth a thousand words, then these images, when viewed via the supplemental CD-ROM, constitute two more volumes. These are especially valuable because they allow you, the reading observer, to glimpse what the author saw and provide your own description, explanation, and interpretation. Photos go a long way in the effort to communicate but as Lutz and Collins (1991) point out; somebody aims the camera, selects the field of view, and in the end chooses which photographs (of 1200 in this case) to present.

This text, as a whole and as a communicative effort, is a triangulation that re-presents the landscape as text. The purpose of my approach is to reduce the authorial bias as much as possible, allow the reader to create an experience that is both unique to the individual and true to my own, and to present a “disciplined vision” (Smith and Foote 1994, 28) that maximizes the readers’ opportunity to navigate the terrain of object and perspective. Lacking the writing skills of the great novelists, I have used an analog of the method used by navigators, surveyors, and artists to aid in gaining multiple perspectives on Mexico’s roadside sacred places.

This method of presentation, as explained above, contains its own logic that is explainable within the context of academic discourse in the early 21st century. Simultaneously, the text is subversive; the ‘I’ who sees and relates is also an “I” who is seen and related. Subject and object are not consistent throughout the text, nor is knowledge. In some chapters material is presented as if ‘I know’ something, in others the material is more on the order of ‘I’m not sure I really know what went on here but this is what I think happened; you tell me.’ The text also bounces around from topic to topic across an array of seemingly unrelated intellectual compartments; just where a reader is settled in and accustomed to one thing, it changes.

I’m sorry, but I’m not sorry. It could have been worse. I didn’t have to use chapters, or even punctuation. I conformed, to a degree, because I wanted you with me all the way to here.

The text attempted, doing my humble best, to mimic the reality that I observed and participated in; nothing is clearly and cleanly ‘this or that’ on the road in Mexico. It is always more-or-less a poetic landscape with multiple and contradictory messages. If this ‘conclusion’ fails to conclude, it is because the multiple realities of Mexico neither conclude nor resolve themselves into some brilliant “Ah-ha” that makes it all understandable. And probably (hopefully) never will.

12.5: A Final Note on Experiential Knowledge and Epistemic Humility

Having concluded that concluding might be impossible; I have tied all but one of the various strands of this text together (although whether the knot is a granny or a Gordian is debatable). The entry into this project was through the door of “epistemic humility,” simply put, a knowing that I don’t know (see e.g. Bowlin and Stromberg 1997; Ray 2000). This leads to the question: Has personal experience significantly affected knowledge, or the pursuit of it, in this work? I know, or perhaps ‘feel’ is the better word, that my understanding of the memorial-makers was taken to the level of sympathy (see Planalp 1999, 216); but has that been transferred into, or transposed onto a text that increases understanding for one and all? I don’t know. But I do know that it opened avenues of interrogation that were previously not considered. It broadened the search for theories, previous research, and points of view that were not part of the original plan, and took us into areas that are far a field of the nice, simple, little project of my dissertation dreams.

I cannot imagine that personal experience closed my mind to any area that would have significantly influenced this work, but then, I am the author and we all have blind spots. I saw only what I could see, and if what you saw was different then everybody wins; for that is the purpose of the search for knowledge. In the final analysis the answer, if there is one, is simply this: for each of us, for all people everywhere, the side of a road, away from family and loved ones, alone and lying in the dirt or on the pavement, is no place to die.

REFERENCES

- America, C. U. o., Ed. (1967). New Catholic Encyclopedia. New York, McGraw-Hill.
- Arendt, H. (1958). The Human Condition. Chicago & London, The University of Chicago Press.
- Aries, P. (1974). Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Aries, P. (1981). The Hour of Our Death. New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Arreola, D. D. (1981). "Fences as Landscape Taste: Tucson's Barrios." Journal of Cultural Geography 2(1): 96-105.
- Arreola, D. D. (1988). "Mexican American Housescapes." The Geographical Review 78(3): 299-315.
- Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths, et al., Eds. (1995). The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. London & New York, Routledge.
- Attwater, D. and C. R. John (1995). The Penguin Dictionary of Saints. London, Penguin Books.
- Augé, M. (1995). non-places: introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity. London, Verso.
- Augé, M. (1999). An Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Bachelard, G. (1964). The Poetics of Space. Boston, Beacon Press.
- Bachelard, G. (1988). The Flame of a Candle. Dallas, The Dallas Institute Publications.
- Bachelard, G. (1990). Fragments of A Poetics of Fire. Dallas, The Dallas Institute Publications.
- Ball, A. (1995). Catholic Book of the Dead. Huntington, Our Sunday Visitor Publishing.
- Bamat, T. and J.-P. Wiest, Eds. (1999). Popular Catholicism in a World Church: Seven Case Studies in Inculturation. Faith and Cultures. Maryknoll, Orbis Books.
- Bantjes, A. A. (1998). As If Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution. Wilmington, Scholarly Resources Books.
- Barnes, T. J. and J. S. Duncan, Eds. (1992). Writing Worlds: discourse, text and metaphor in the representation of landscape. London & New York, Routledge.
- Barrera, A. (1991). Mexican-American Roadside Crosses in Starr County. Hecho en Tejas: Texas-Mexican Folk Arts and Crafts. J. S. Graham. Denton, TX, University of North Texas Press: 278-292.
- Basso, K. H. (1984). "Stalking with Stories": Names, Places, and Moral Narratives among the Western Apache. Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society. E. M. Bruner. Washington, American Ethnological Society: 19-55.

- Barbalet, J. M. (1998). Emotion, Social Theory, and Social Structure: A Macrosociological Approach. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Barbour, I. (1997). Religion and Science: Historical and Contemporary Issues. New York, HarperCollins.
- Barnes, T. and D. Gregory, Eds. (1997). Reading Human Geography: The Poetics and Politics of Inquiry. London, Arnold.
- Barzun, J. (2000). From Dawn to decadence: 500 Years of Western Cultural Life, 1500 to the Present. New York, Perennial.
- Bassett, S., Ed. (1992). Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600. London & New York, Leicester University Press.
- Basso, K. H. (1984). "Stalking with Stories": Names, Places, and Moral Narratives among the Western Apache. Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society. E. M. Bruner. Washington, American Ethnological Society: 19-55.
- Basso, K. H. (1996). Wisdom Sits in Places. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- Batstone, D., E. Mendieta, et al., Eds. (1997). Liberation Theologies, Postmodernity, and the Americas. London, Routledge.
- Bebbington, A. (2000). "Reencountering Development: Livelihood Transitions and Place Transformations in the Andes." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 90(3): 495-520.
- Becker, E. (1973). The Denial of Death. New York, Free Press Paperbacks.
- Becker, H. S. and M. M. McCall, Eds. (1990). Symbolic Interaction and Cultural Studies. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Beer, G. (1996). Open Fields: Science in Cultural Encounter. Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Beezley, W. H., C. E. Martin, et al., Eds. (1994). Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico. Wilmington, Scholarly Resources.
- Benedict, R. (1934). Patterns of culture. Boston, Houghton Mifflin.
- Benko, G. (1997). Introduction: Modernity, Postmodernity and the Social Sciences. Space & Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity. G. Benko and U. Strohmayer. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers: 1-44.
- Bennassar, B. (1979). The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Biedermann, H. (1994). Dictionary of Symbolism: Cultural Icons and the Meanings Behind Them. New York, Meridian Books.
- Bhabha, H. (1988). "The Commitment to Theory." New Formations 5: 5-23.

- Bhabha, H. (1994). The Location of Culture. New York, Routledge.
- Birks, J. S. (1978). Across the Savannas to Mecca: The Overland Pilgrimage Route from West Africa. Totowa, NJ, Frank Cass and Company.
- Bonhoeffer, D. (1953). Letters and Papers from Prison. New York, Touchstone.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Bowlin, J. R. and P. G. Stromberg (1997). "Representation and Reality in the Study of Culture." American Anthropologist 99(1): 123-134.
- Boyden, J. M. (2000). The worst death becomes a good death: the passion of Don Rodrigo Calderón. The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. B. Gordon and P. Marshall. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 240-265.
- Brading, D. A. (1994). Church and State in Bourbon Mexico: The Diocese of Michoacan, 1749-1810. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Brah, A. and A. E. Coomes, Eds. (2000). Hybridity and its Discontents: Politics, science, culture. London & New York, Routledge.
- Brenner, A. (1929). Idols Behind Altars. New York, Payson & Clarke Ltd.
- Brown, P. (1981). The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Bunson, M., M. Bunson, et al. (1998). Our Sunday Visitor's Encyclopedia of Saints. Huntington, Ind, Our Sunday Visitor.
- Burkhart, L. M. (1993). The Cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico. South and Meso-American Native Spirituality. G. H. Gossen. New York, Crossroad: 198-227.
- Büttner, M. (1980). "Survey Article on the History and Philosophy of the Geography of Religion in Germany." Religion 10(1): 86-119.
- Caciola, N. (1996). "Wraiths, revenants and ritual in medieval culture." Past and Present(152): 3-43.
- Campbell, E. (1982). The Virgin of Guadalupe and the Female Self-Image: A Mexican Case History. Mother Worship: Theme and Variations. J. J. Preston. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press: 5-24.
- Capra, F. (1990). Mindwalk: A Film for Passionate Thinkers. B. Capra. Hollywood, Paramount Pictures.
- Caputo, J. (2001). On Religion. London & New York, Routledge.
- Carlson, G. S. (1980). Inscriptions on Vehicles. Dissertation, Social Sciences. Irvine, University of California, Irvine.

- Carr, R., Ed. (2000). Spain: A History. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Carrasco, D. (1990). Religions of Mesoamerica. San Francisco, Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Carroll, J. (1979). "Automobile Culture and Citizenship." Quadrant **333**: 10-13.
- Cátedra, M. (1992). This World, Other Worlds: Sickness, Suicide, Death, and the Afterlife among the Vaqueiros de Alzada of Spain. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Chainani, S., Ed. (1999). Let's Go Mexico. New York, St. Martin's Press.
- Charmaz, K. (1980). The Social Reality of Death: Death in Contemporary America. New York, Random House.
- Choron, J. (1963). Death and Western Thought. New York, Collier Books.
- Christian Jr., W. A. (1981). Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.
- C.I.A. (1994). The World Factbook. Washington, Brassey's.
- Clifford, J. (1986). Introduction: Partial truths. Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus. Berkeley, University of California Press: 1-26.
- Clifford, J. (1988). The Predicament of Culture. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, J. and G. E. Marcus, Eds. (1986). Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Coe, M. D. (1994). Mexico: from the Olmecs to the Aztecs. New York, Thames and Hudson.
- Colish, M. L. (1997). Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Collins, R. (2000). Visigothic Spain: 409-711. Spain: A History. R. Carr. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 39-62.
- Constable, G., Ed. (1973). The Emergence of Man: The Neanderthals. New York, Time-Life.
- Coomes, A. E. (2000). Translating the past: apartheid monuments in post-apartheid South Africa. Hybridity and its Discontents: Politics, science, culture. A. Brah and A. E. Coomes. London & New York, Routledge: 173-197.
- Cooper, A. (1992). "New directions in the geography of religion." Area **24**(2): 123-129.
- Cortez Ruiz, E., B. Oliver Vega, et al. (1996). The Days of the Dead: A Mexican Tradition. Mexico, GV Editores, S.A.
- Cosgrove, D. E. (1984). Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

- Cosgrove, D. and S. Daniels, Eds. (1988). The Iconography of Landscape. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Cresswell, T. (1996). In Place Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Cresswell, T. (1997). Imagining the Nomad: Mobility and the Postmodern Primitive. Space & Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity. G. Benko and U. Strohmayer. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers. **33**: 360-379.
- Crowley, W. K. and E. C. Griffin (1989). Culture Areas in Mexico. Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples. R. C. West and J. P. Augelli. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall: 339-364.
- Crumrine, N. R. (1981). The Mayo of Southern Sonora: Socio-economic Assimilation and Ritual-Symbolic Syncretism--Split Acculturation. Themes of Indigenous Acculturation in Northwest Mexico. T. B. Hinton and P. C. Weigand. Tucson, The University of Arizona Press: 22-35.
- Crumrine, N. R. (1983). Mask Use and Meaning in Easter Ceremonialism: The Mayo Parisero. The Power of Symbols: Masks and Masquerade in the Americas. N. R. Crumrine and M. Halpin. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press: 91-101.
- Curtis, J. R. (1980). "Miami's Little Havanna: Yard Shrines, Cult Religion and Landscape." Journal Of Cultural Geography **1**(1): 1-15.
- Davidson, W. V. and J. J. Parsons, Eds. (1980). Historical Geography of Latin America. Geoscience and Man. Baton Rouge, School of Geoscience, Louisiana State University.
- de Certeau, M. (1984). The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- de Unamuno, M. (1954). Tragic Sense of Life. New York, Dover Publications.
- de la Torre, M. (1942). "El Folklore Religioso: Ritos Procesionales y Cortejos de Ofrendas Votivas." Anuario de la Sociedad Folklorica de Mexico **2**: 39-55.
- Deffontaines, P. (1948). Geographie et Religions. Paris, Libraire Gallimard.
- Delany, J. F. (1908). Preparation for Death. The Catholic Encyclopedia. J. F. Delany. New York, Robert Appleton Company. **IV**.
- Deleuze, G. and F. Guattari (1987). A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- De León, A. (1963). Itinerary of the De León Expedition of 1689. Spanish Exploration in the Southwest. H. E. Bolton. New York, Barnes and Noble: 388-404.
- DeLyser, D. (1999). "Authenticity on the Ground: Engaging the Past in a California Ghost Town." Annals of the Association of American Geographers **89**(4): 602-632.

- Dethlefsen, E. and J. Deetz (1966). "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries." American Antiquity **31**(4): 502-510.
- Diamond, S. A. (1996). Anger, Madness, and the Daimonic: The Psychological Genesis of Violence, Evil, and Creativity. Albany, State University of New York Press.
- Diggins, J. P. (1994). The Promise of Pragmatism: Modernism and the Crisis of Knowledge and Authority. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Dillard, A. (1983). Living by Fiction. New York, Harper Colophon Books.
- Dobyns, H. F. (1991). Do-It-Yourself Religion: The Diffusion of Folk Catholicism on Mexico's Northern Frontier 1821-46. Pilgrimage in Latin America. N. R. Crumrine and A. Morinis. New York, Greenwood Press. **4**: 53-68.
- Dodgshon, R. A. (1998). Society in Time and Space. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Domosh, M. (1998). "Those "Gorgeous Incongruities": Polite Politics and Public Space on the Streets of Nineteenth-Century New York City." Annals of the Association of American Geographers **88**(2): 209-226.
- Douglas, M. (1978). Implicit Meanings: essays in anthropology. London & Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Drury, S. (1994). "Funeral Plants and Flowers in England: Some Examples." Folklore **105**: 101-103.
- Duncan, J. and D. Ley, Eds. (1993). Place/ Culture/ Representation. London & New York, Routledge.
- Durkheim, E. (1995). The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. New York, The Free Press.
- Eagleton, T. (2000). The Idea of Culture. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Edmonson, M. S. (1968). The Mexican Truck Driver. Contemporary Latin American Culture. M.A.L. Harrison and R. Wauchope. New Orleans, Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University. **25**: 73-88.
- Ehlers, T. B. (1991). "Debunking Marianismo: Economic Vulnerability and Survival Strategies Among Guatemalan Wives." Ethnology **30**(1): 1-16.
- Eire, C. M. N. (1995). From Madrid to Purgatory: The art and craft of dying in sixteenth-century Spain. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Eliade, M. (1954). The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Eliade, M. (1959). The Sacred and the Profane. San Diego, Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Eliade, M. (1969). The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- Eliade, M. (1991). Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Entrikin, J. N. (1991). The Betweenness of Place. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Escobar, A. (1995). Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Escobar, A. (2001). "Culture Sits in Places: reflections on globalism and subaltern strategies of localization." Political Geography **20**(2): 139-174.
- Espin, O. (1992). "Trinitarian Monotheism and the Birth of Popular Catholicism: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Mexico." Missiology **20**(2): 177-204.
- Everett, H. (2000). "Roadside Crosses and Memorial Complexes in Texas." Folklore **111**: 91-103.
- Fickeler, P. (1962). Fundamental Questions in the Geography of Religions. Readings in Cultural Geography. P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell. Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 94-117.
- Fehrenbach, T. R. (1995). Fire and Blood: A History of Mexico. New York, Da Capo Press.
- Feld, S. and K. H. Basso, Eds. (1996). Senses of Place. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series. Santa Fe, School of American Research Press.
- Fletcher, R. (2000). The Early Middle Ages; 700-1250. Spain: A History. R. Carr. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 63-90.
- Flores Marini, C. (1966). "Las Pilastras "nicho" de Tepeyanco." Boletin del Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia **23**(Marzo): 11-14.
- Forgas, J. P. (2000). Feeling and Thinking: Summary and Integration. Feeling and Thinking: The Role of Affect in Social Cognition. J. P. Forgas. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 387-406.
- Forgas, J. P., Ed. (2000). Feeling and Thinking: The Role of Affect in Social Cognition. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Foster, L. V. (1997). A Brief History of Mexico. New York, Facts On File.
- Foucault, M. (1970). The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. New York, Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. (1986). "Of Other Spaces." Diacritics **16**(1): 22-27.
- Francaviglia, R. V. (1971). "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape." Annals of the Association of American Geographers **61**(3): 501-509.

- French, S. (1974). The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the "Rural Cemetery" Movement. Death in America. D. E. Stannard. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press: 69-91.
- Frisby, D. (1986). Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer, and Benjamin. Cambridge, The MIT Press.
- Fuentes, C. (1992). The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World. Boston, Mariner Books.
- Gallagher, W. (1993). The Power of Place: How Our Surroundings Shape Our Thoughts, Emotions, and Actions. New York, HarperPerennial.
- García Canclini, N. (1993). Transforming Modernity: Popular Culture in Mexico. Austin, University of Texas Press.
- García Canclini, N. (1995). Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity. Minneapolis & London, University of Minnesota Press.
- Garciagodoy, J. (1998). Digging the Days of the Dead: A Reading of Mexico's Dias de Muertos. Niwot, University Press of Colorado.
- Geertz, C. (1973). The Interpretation of Cultures. New York, Basic Books.
- Geertz, C. (1974). "Common sense as a cultural system." The Antioch Review 33(1): 5-26.
- Geertz, C. (1984). "From the native's point of view": on the nature of anthropological understanding. Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion. R. A. Shweder and R. A. LeVine. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 123-136.
- Geertz, H. (1959). "The Vocabulary of Emotion." Psychiatry 22: 225-37.
- Giffords, G. K. (1974). Mexican Folk Retablos. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.
- Glacken, C. J. (1967). Traces on the Rhodian Shore. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Goffman, E. (1974). Frame Analysis. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Goizueta, R. S. (1995). Caminemos Con Jesus. Maryknoll, NY, Orbis Books.
- Gonzalez Navarro, M. (1970). Mestizaje in Mexico During the National Period. Race and Class in Latin America. M. Morner. New York, Columbia University Press: 145-169.
- Goodpasture, H. M., Ed. (1989). Cross and Sword: An Eyewitness History of Christianity in Latin America. Maryknoll, NY, Orbis Books.
- Gordon, B. and P. Marshall, Eds. (2000). The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Gossen, G. H., Ed. (1993). South and Meso-American Native Spirituality. New York, Crossroad.

- Grabowski, J.-A. and T. T. Frantz (1992-3). "Latinos and Anglos: Cultural Experiences of Grief Intensity." Omega **26**(4): 273-285.
- Graves, R. (1960). Greek Gods and Heros. New York, Dell.
- Green, J. S. (1972). "The Days of the Dead in Oaxaca, Mexico: An Historical Inquiry." Omega **3**(3): 245-261.
- Greenleaf, R. E. (1977). Religion in the Mexican Renaissance Colony. The Roman Catholic Church in Colonial Latin America. R. E. Greenleaf. Tempe, Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University: 30-36.
- Greenleigh, J. (1991). The Days of the Dead. Rohnert Park, CA, Pomegranate.
- Gregory, D. (1994). Geographical Imaginations. Cambridge, Blackwell.
- Griffith, H. S. (1966). The Sign Language of Our Faith: Learning to Read the Message of Christian Symbols. Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Griffith, J. S. (1992). Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimeria Alta. Tucson, The University of Arizona Press.
- Griffith, J. S. (1995). A Shared Space: Folklife in the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands. Logan, Utah, Utah State University Press.
- Groth, P. and T. W. Bressi, Eds. (1997). Understanding Ordinary Landscapes. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Haney, C. A., C. Leimer, et al. (1997). "Spontaneous Memorialization: Violent Death and Emerging Mourning Ritual." Omega **35**(2): 159-171.
- Hardwick, W. G., R. J. Claus, et al. (1971). "Cemeteries and Urban Land Value." The Professional Geographer **23**(1): 19-21.
- Harris, M. F. (1988). Art on the Road: Painted Vehicles of the Americas. Minneapolis, Pogo Press.
- Hartig, K. V. and K. M. Dunn (1998). "Roadside Memorials: Interpreting New Deathscapes in Newcastle, New South Wales." Australian Geographical Studies **36**(1): 5-20.
- Henzel, C. (1991). "Cruces in the Roadside Landscape of Northeastern Mexico." Journal of Cultural Geography **11**(2): 93-106.
- Hendricks, R. (1998). "Church-State relations in Anza's New Mexico, 1777-1787." Catholic Southwest **9**: 24-42.
- Herr, R. (2000). Flow and Ebb: 1700-1833. Spain: A History. R. Carr. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 173-204.
- Herzog, L. A. (1999). From Aztec to High Tech: Architecture and Landscape across the Mexico-United States Border. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Howett, C. (1977). "Living Landscapes for the Dead." Landscape **21**(3): 9-17.
- Huberman, A. M. and M. B. Miles (1998). Data Management and Analysis Methods. Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, Sage: 179-210.
- Irigaray, L. (2001). To Be Two. New York, Routledge.
- Isaac, E. (1959-60). "Religion, Landscape and Space." Landscape **9**(2): 14-18.
- Ivakhiv, A. (1996). The Resurgence of Magical Religion as a Response to the Crisis of Modernity: A Postmodern Depth Psychological Perspective. Magical Religion and Modern Witchcraft. J. R. Lewis. Albany, State University of New York Press: 237-265.
- Jackson, D. (1997). The Epic of Gilgamesh. Wauconda, IL, Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers.
- Jackson, J. B. (1967-68). "From Monument to Place." Landscape **17**(2): 22-28.
- Jackson, J. B. (1997). The Future of the Vernacular. Understanding Ordinary Landscapes. P. Groth and T. W. Bressi. New Haven, Yale University Press: 145-154.
- Jackson, P. (1989). Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography. London & New York, Routledge.
- Jackson, R. H. (1978). Religion and Landscape in Mormon Culture. Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes. K. W. Butzer. Chicago, The University of Chicago. **186**: 100-127.
- Jackson, R. H. and R. Henrie (1983). "Perception of Sacred Space." Journal of Cultural Geography **3**(2): 94-107.
- Jacobs, J. L. (1992). Religious Ritual and Mental Health. Religion and Mental Health. J. F. Schumaker. New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press: 291-299.
- Jacobs, J. L. and D. Capps, Eds. (1997). Religion, Society, and Psychoanalysis: Readings in Contemporary Theory. Boulder, Westview Press.
- Jeane, D. G. (1969). "The Traditional Upland South Cemetery." Landscape **18**(2): 39-41.
- Jenner, H. (1909). Mozarabic Rite. The Catholic Encyclopedia. H. Jenner. New York, Robert Appleton Company. **X**.
- Johnston, R. J. (1991). Geography and Geographers. London, Arnold.
- Jordan, T. G. (1976). "The Traditional Southern Rural Chapel in Texas." Ecumene **8**: 6-17.
- Jordan, T. G. (1979-80). "'The Roses So Red and The Lilies So Fair': Southern Folk Cemeteries in Texas." Southwestern Historical Quarterly **83**(3): 227-258.
- Jordan, T. G. (1982). Texas Graveyards. Austin, University of Texas Press.

- Jung, C. G. (1999). Jung on Death and Immortality. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Kamen, H. (1973). A Concise History of Spain. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Kemper, T. D. (2000). Social Models in the Explanation of Emotions. Handbook of Emotions. M. Lewis and J. M. Haviland-Jones. New York, Guilford Press: 45-58.
- Kligman, G. (1988). The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics, and Popular Culture in Transylvania. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Kniffen, F. B. (1976). American Cultural Geography and Folklife. American Folklife. D. Yoder. Austin, University of Texas Press: 51-70.
- Knight, A. (1990). Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910-1940. The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940. R. Graham. Austin, University of Texas Press: 71-103.
- Kolinski, D. L. (1998). Shrines and Crosses in Rural Central Wisconsin. Wisconsin Folklore. J. Lealy. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press: 445-456.
- Kong, L. (1990). "Geography and Religion: Trends and Prospects." Progress in Human Geography **14**(3): 355-371.
- Kong, L. (1993). "Negotiating conceptions of 'sacred space': a case study of religious buildings in Singapore." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers **18**(3): 342-358.
- Korte, A. O. (1995-6). "Despedidas as Reflections of Death in Hispanic New Mexico." Omega **32**(4): 245-267.
- Köstlin, K. (1992). "Totengedenken am Strassenrand Projektstrategie und Forschungsdesign." Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde **95**(3): 305-320.
- Kövecses, Z. (2000). Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and the Body in Human Feeling. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kozak, D. L. (1991). "Dying Badly: Violent Death and Religious Change Among the Tohono O'odham." Omega **23**(3): 207-216.
- Kozak, D. and C. Lopez (1991). "The Tohono O'odham Shrine Complex: Memorializing the Locations of Violent Death." New York Folklore **17**(1-2): 1-20.
- Kraig, B. (1999). Food for the Ancestors: The Mexican Celebration of the Days of the Dead. J. Thompson. Chicago, PBS Home Video.
- Kroeber, C. B. (1983). Man, Land, and Water: Mexico's Farmlands Irrigation Policies 1885-1911. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Lambek, M. (2000). "The Anthropology of Religion and the Quarrel between Poetry and Philosophy." Current anthropology **41**(3): 309-320.
- Lane, B. C. (2001). "Giving Voice to Place: Three Models for Understanding American Sacred Space." Religion and American Culture **11**(1): 53-72.

- Leavett, J. (1996). "Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotions." American Anthropologist **23**: 514-39.
- Le Clezio, J. M. G. (1993). The Mexican Dream: Or, The Interrupted Thought of Amerindian Civilizations. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Le Goff, J. (1984). The Birth of Purgatory. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Le Van Baumer, F., Ed. (1978). Main Currents of Western Thought. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- LeDoux, J. (1996). The emotional brain. New York, Simon and Schuster.
- Levine, G. J. (1986). "On the Geography of Religion." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers **N.S. 11**: 428-440.
- Levy, R. I. (1984). Emotion, knowing, and culture. Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion. R. A. Shweder and R. A. Levine. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 214-237.
- Lewis, L. A. (2001). "Of Ships and Saints: History, Memory, and Place in the Making of *Moreno* Mexican Identity." Cultural Anthropology **16**(1): 62-82.
- Lewis, O. (1959). Five Families. New York, Basic Books.
- Limón, J. E. (1994). Dancing with the Devil. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Linden, B. M. G. (1979/80). "The Willow Tree and Urn Motif: Changing Ideas About Death and Nature." Markers: Journal of the Association of Gravestone Studies **1**: 149-156.
- Linehan, P. (1983). Spanish Church and Society: 1150-1300. London, Variorum Reprints.
- Lomax, D. W. (1978). The Reconquest of Spain. London, Longman.
- Lupton, D. (1998). The Emotional Self: A Sociocultural Exploration. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publication
- Lutz, C. and J. Collins (1991). "The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of *National Geographic*." Visual Anthropology Review **7**(1): 134-149.
- MacLachlan, C. M. and W. H. Beezley (1994). El Gran Pueblo: A History of Greater Mexico. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall.
- Macklin, J. and L. Margolies (1988). "Saints, Near-Saints, and Society." Journal of Latin American Lore **14**(1): 5-16.
- Malinowski, B. (1954). Magic, Science and Religion. Garden City, NY, Doubleday.
- Manger, W. F. (2000). "The "Idealized" Mexican American Housescape." Material Culture **32**(1): 1-36.

- Manzo, J. T. (1983). "Italian-American Yard Shrines." Journal of Cultural Geography 4(1): 119-125.
- Marsh, G. P. (1865). Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action. New York, Charles Scribner.
- Marshall, P. (1999). 'The map of God's word': geographies of the afterlife in Tudor and early Stuart England. The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. B. Gordon and P. Marshall. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 110-130.
- Martin, J. (1990). "Motherhood and Power: the production of a women's culture of politics in a Mexican community." American Ethnologist 17(3): 470-490.
- Mathewson, K. (1984). Irrigation Horticulture in Highland Guatemala. Boulder, Westview Press.
- McDannell, C. and B. Lang (1988). Heaven: A History. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Megged, A. (1995). "'Right from the Heart': Indians' Idolatry in Mendicant Preachings in Sixteenth-Century MesoAmerica." History of Religions 35(1): 61-82.
- Meinig, D. W., Ed. (1979). The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes. New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Meltzer, B. N., J. W. Petras, et al., Eds. (1975). Symbolic Interactionism: Genesis, varieties and criticism. London & Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Mestrovic, S. G. (1997). Postemotional Society. London, Sage Publications.
- Metcalf, P. and R. Huntington (1991). Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, M. C., W. L. Sherman, et al. (1999). The Course of Mexican History. New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Mills, C. W. (1959). The Sociological Imagination. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Mitchell, T. (1990). Passional Culture: Emotion, Religion, and Society in Southern Spain. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Mitford, J. (1998). The American Way of Death Revisited. New York, Alfred A. Knopf.
- Monger, G. (1997). "Modern Wayside Shrines." Folklore 108: 113-114.
- Moore, J. (1970). "The Death Culture of Mexico and Mexican-Americans." Omega 1(4): 271-291.
- Morner, M., Ed. (1970). Race and Class in Latin America. New York, Columbia University Press.

- Mugerauer, R. (1994). Interpretations on Behalf of Place. Albany, State University of New York Press.
- Nabhan, G. P. (1991). "The Moveable Feast of San Francisco." Native Peoples 4(2): 28-34.
- Nancy, J.-L. (1991). The Inoperative Community. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Nancy, J.-L. (1997). The sense of the world. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Nietzsche, F. (1998). Twilight of the Idols: or How to Philosophize with a Hammer. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Nolan, M. L. (1973). "The Mexican Pilgrimage Tradition." Pioneer America 5: 13-27.
- Nolan, M. L. and S. Nolan (1989). Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe. Chapel Hill and London, The University of North Carolina Press.
- Norton, W. (1989). Explorations in the Understanding of Landscape: A Cultural Geography. Westport, CN, Greenwood Press.
- Ogborn, M. (1995). Knowing the Individual: Michel Foucault and Norbert Elias on *Las Meninas* and the modern subject. Mapping the Subject: geographies of cultural transformation. S. Pile and N. Thrift. London and New York, Routledge: 57-76
- O'Reilly Sternberg, H. (1970). A Geographer's View of Race and Class in Latin America. Race and Class in Latin America. M. Morner. New York, Columbia University Press: 279-293.
- Papastergiadis, N. (1997). Tracing Hybridity in Theory. Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism. P. Werbner and T. Modood. London & New Jersey, Zed Books: 257-281.
- Park, C. C. (1994). Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion. London & New York, Routledge.
- Pattison, W. D. (1955). "The Cemeteries of Chicago: A Phase of Land Utilization." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 45: 245-257.
- Pawson, E. (1991). "Monuments, Memorials and Cemeteries: Icons in the Landscape." New Zealand Journal of Geography 92: 26-27.
- Payne, S. G. (1984). Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Paz, O. (1985). The Labyrinth of Solitude. New York, Grove Press.
- Paz, O. (1987). Convergences: Essays on Art and Literature. San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Peet, R. and M. Watts, Eds. (1996). Liberation Ecologies: environment, development, social movements. London, Routledge.

- Pelikan, J. (1996). Mary Through the Centuries. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Phelps, A. (1998). "Memorials without location: creating heritage places." Area **30**(2): 166-8.
- Planalp, S. (1999). Communicating emotion: Social, Moral, and Cultural Processes. Cambridge & New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Poole, S. (1995). Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.
- Pratt, G. (1997). Spatial Metaphors and Speaking Position. Reading Human Geography: The Poetics and Politics of Inquiry. T. Barnes and D. Gregory. London, Arnold: 168-172.
- Pressman, P., J. S. Lyons, et al. (1992). Religion, Anxiety, and Fear of Death. Religion and Mental Health. J. F. Schumaker. New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press: 98-109.
- Radding, C. (1997). Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850. Durham, Duke University Press.
- Rahier, J. M., Ed. (1999). Representations of Blackness and the Performance of Identities. Westport, Bergin & Garvey.
- Raivo, P. J. (1997). "Comparative Religion and Geography: Some Remarks on the Geography of Religion and Religious Geography." Temenos **33**: 137-149.
- Rajkovic, Z. (1988). "Roadside Memorial Signs for Traffic Accident Victims." Narodna Umjetnost, Annual of Institute of Folklore Research (Zagreb) **Special Issue 2**: 167-180.
- Rapoport, A. (1982). The Meaning of the Built Environment. Tucson, University of Arizona Press.
- Ray, B. C. (2000). Discourse About Difference. A Magic Still Dwells: Comparative Religion in the Postmodern Age. K. C. Patton and B. C. Ray. Berkeley, University of California Press: 101-116.
- Reid, J. K. and C. L. Reid (2001). "A Cross Marks the Spot: A Study of Roadside Death Memorials in Texas and Oklahoma." Death Studies **25**: 341-356.
- Reilly, B. F. (1992). The Conquest of Christian and Muslim Spain: 1031-1157. Cambridge, Blackwell.
- Reilly, B. F. (1993). The Medieval Spains. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Relph, E. (1976). Place and Placelessness. London, Pion.
- Richardson, L. (1998). Writing: A Method of Inquiry. Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, Sage: 345-371.
- Richardson, M. (1982). "Being-in-the-market versus Being-in-the-plaza: Material Culture and the Construction of Social Reality in Spanish America." American Ethnologist **9**: 421-436.

- Richardson, M. (1984). Place and Culture: A Final Note. Place: Experience and Symbol. M. Richardson. Baton Rouge, Geoscience Publications. **24**: 63-67.
- Richardson, M. (1986). San Pedro, Columbia. Prospect Heights, IL, Waveland Press.
- Richardson, M. (1987). A Social (Ideational-Behavioral) Interpretation of Material Culture and Its Application to Archaeology. Mirror and Metaphor: Material and Social Constructions of Reality. D. W. Ingersoll Jr. and G. Bronitsky. Lanham, MD, University Press of America: 381-411.
- Richardson, M. (1990). Cry Lonesome and Other Accounts of the Anthropologist's Project. Albany, State University of New York Press.
- Richardson, M., M. E. Pardo, et al. (1971). "The Image of Christ in Spanish America as a Model for Suffering." Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs **13**: 246-257.
- Rivera, D. (1925). "Retablos: The True and only Pictoric Expression of Mexican People." Mexican Folkways **1**(3): 7-9.
- Roberts, J. M. (1993). History of the World. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Rock, P. (1979). The Making of Symbolic Interactionism. Totowa, NJ, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Rodriguez Lizárraga, L. G. (1998). Diversidad Cultural de México: Las Pueblos Indigenas y Sus 62 Idiomas. Mexico, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.
- Rohmann, C. (1999). A World of Ideas. New York, Ballantine Books.
- Rorty, R. (1991). Objectivity, relativism, and truth. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rosaldo, M. Z. (1980). Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot notions of self and social life. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rosaldo, M. Z. (1984). Toward an anthropology of self and feeling. Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion. R. A. Shweder and R. A. LeVine. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 137-157.
- Rosaldo, R. (1984). Grief and a Headhunter's Rage: On the Cultural Force of Emotions. Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society. E. M. Bruner. Washington, American Ethnological Society: 178-195.
- Rosaldo, R. (1989). Culture and Truth: A Remaking of Social Analysis. Boston, Beacon Press.
- Rosaldo, R. (1995). Foreword to 'Hybrid Cultures'. Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity. N. García Canclini. Minneapolis & London, University of Minnesota Press: xi-xvii.
- Rose, A. M., Ed. (1962). Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach. Boston, Houghton Mifflin.
- Sack, R. D. (1997). Homo Geographicus. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Said, E. W. (1994). Culture and Imperialism. New York, Vintage Books.
- Sandstrom, A. R. (1982). The Tonantsi Cult of the Eastern Nahua. Mother Worship: Theme and Variations. J. J. Preston. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press: 25-50.
- Sauer, C. O. (1924). "The Survey Method in Geography and its Objectives." Annals of the Association of American Geographers **14**(1): 17-33.
- Sauer, C. O. (1925). The Morphology of Landscape. University of California Publications in Geography. Berkeley, University of California. **2**: 19-54.
- Sauer, C. O. (1941). "The Personality of Mexico." Geographical Review **31**: 353-364.
- Scheff, T. J. (1990). Microsociology: Discourse, Emotion, and Social Structure. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Scheff, T. J. and S. M. Retzinger (1991). Emotions and violence : shame and rage in destructive conflicts. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books.
- Scheff, T. J. (1994). Bloody revenge : emotions, nationalism, and war. Boulder, Westview Press.
- Scheff, T. J. (1997). Emotions, the Social Bond and Human Reality: Part/Whole Analysis. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Schmitt, J.-C. (1998). Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Schumaker, J. F. (1992). Mental Health Consequences of Irreligion. Religion and Mental Health. J. F. Schumaker. New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press: 54-69.
- Schumaker, J. F., Ed. (1992). Religion and Mental Health. New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Schwaller, J. F. (1987). The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- Schwaller, J. F. (2000). The Church in Colonial Latin America. Wilmington, Scholarly Resources.
- Scrunton, R., P. Singer, et al. (1997). German Philosophers. Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press.
- Short, J. R. (1991). Imagined Country: Environment, Culture and Society. London and New York, Routledge.
- Simmel, G. (1950). The Sociology of Georg Simmel. New York, The Free Press.
- Simpson, L.B. 1966. Many Mexicos. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, C. (1991). The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

- Smith, J. M. and K. E. Foote (1994). How the World Looks; Introduction. Re-Reading Cultural Geography. K. Foote, P. J. Hugill, K. Mathewson and J. M. Smith. Austin, University of Texas Press: 27-33.
- Smith, R. J. (1999). "Roadside Memorials--Some Australian Examples." Folklore **110**: 103-105.
- Sollier, J. F. (1908). The Communion of Saints. The Catholic Encyclopedia. J. F. Sollier. New York, Robert Appleton Company. **IV**.
- Sopher, D. E. (1967). Geography of Religions. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Sopher, D. E. (1981). "Geography and Religions." Progress in Human Geography **5**(4): 510-524.
- Spretnak, C. (1999). The Resurgence of the Real: Body, Nature, and Place in a Hypermodern World. New York, Routledge.
- Stake, R. E. (1998). Case Studies. Strategies of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, Sage: 86-109.
- Steinbeck, J. (1951). The Log from the Sea of Cortez. New York, The Viking Press.
- Stewart, K. (1996). A Space on the Side of the Road: Cultural Poetics in an "Other" America. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Stilgoe, J. R. (1978). "Folklore and Graveyard Design." Landscape **22**(3): 22-28.
- Stump, R. W. (1986). "The Geography of Religion: Introduction." Journal Of Cultural Geography **7**(1): 1-3.
- Stump, R. W. (2000). Boundaries of Faith: Geographical Perspectives on Religious Fundamentalism. Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Swan, J. A., Ed. (1991). The Power of Place: Sacred Ground in Natural and Human Environments. Wheaton, Ill., Quest Books.
- Swordlow, J. L. (1999). "Global Culture." National Geographic **196**(2): 2-5.
- Symington, N. (1994). Emotion and Spirit: Questioning the Claims of Psychoanalysis and Religion. New York, St. Martin's.
- Tamayo, J. L. (1953). Geografia Moderna de Mexico. Mexico, Editorial Trillas.
- Tambiah, S. J. (1990). Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, W. B. (1996). Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishoners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Thomas, W. L., Ed. (1956). Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

- Todorov, T. (1981). Introduction to Poetics. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Todorov, T. (1982). Theories of the Symbol. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Todorov, T. (1984). The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other. New York, Harper & Row.
- Toner, P. J. (1908). Prayers for the Dead. The Catholic Encyclopedia. P. J. Toner. New York, Robert Appleton Company. **IV**.
- Toor, F. (1947). A Treasury of Mexican Folkways. New York, Crown Publishers.
- Tsuji, Y. (2001). "The Researcher and the Researched." Anthropology News **42**(5): 54.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1974). Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1978). Sacred Space: Explorations of an Idea. Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes. K. W. Butzer. Chicago, The University of Chicago. **186**: 84-99.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1979). Landscapes of Fear. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1989). Morality and Imagination: Paradoxes of Progress. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1995). Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature and Culture. New York, Kodansha Globe Books.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1998). Escapism. Baltimore & London, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Turner, A. K. (1995). The History of Hell. San Diego, Harcourt Brace.
- Turner, V. (1974). Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society. Ithaca & London, Cornell University Press.
- Turner, V. and E. L. B. Turner (1978). Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. New York, Columbia University Press.
- Vasconcelos, J. (1997). The Cosmic Race. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Vattimo, G. (1992). The Transparent Society. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Vattimo, G. (1997). Beyond Interpretation: The Meaning of Hermeneutics for Philosophy. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Vattimo, G. (1999). Belief. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

- Vidaurri, C. L. (1991). Texas-Mexican Religious Folk Art in Robstown, Texas. Hecho en Tejas: Texas-Mexican Folk Arts and Crafts. J. S. Graham. Denton, TX, University of North Texas Press: 222-249.
- Voss, S. F. (1982). On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Sonora and Sinaloa 1810-1877. Tucson, The University of Arizona Press.
- Wade, P. (1997). Race and Ethnicity in Latin America. London, Pluto Press.
- Walter, T. (1996). "Funeral Flowers: A Response to Drury." Folklore **107**: 106-107.
- Warner, E. A. (2000). "Russian Peasant Beliefs and Practices Concerning Death and the Supernatural Collected in Novosokol'niki Region, Pskov Province, Russia, 1995. Part I: The Restless Dead, Wizards and Spirit Beings." Folklore **111**: 67-90.
- Webber, F. R. (1927). Church Symbolism. Cleveland, J.H. Jansen.
- Weckmann, L. (1992). The Medieval Heritage of Mexico. New York, Fordham University Press.
- Weightman, B. A. (1993). "Changing Religious Landscapes in Los Angeles." Journal Of Cultural Geography **14**(1): 1-20.
- Weir, D. R. (1997). Land Use Changes by the Tohono O'odham at Quitovac Oasis. M.A. Thesis Department of Geography. San Diego, San Diego State University.
- Weir, D. R. and I. Azary (2001). "Quitovac Oasis: A Sense of Home Place and the Development of Water Resources." Professional Geographer **53**(1): 45-55.
- Werbner, P. and T. Modood, Eds. (1997). Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism. London & New Jersey, Zed Books.
- West, J. O. (1988). Mexican-American Folklore. Little Rock, August House Publishers.
- West, J. O. (1991). Grutas in the Spanish Southwest. Hecho en Tejas: Texas-Mexican Folk Arts and Crafts. J. S. Graham. Denton, TX, University of North Texas Press: 263-277.
- West, R. C. (1993). Sonora: Its Geographical Personality. Austin, University of Texas Press.
- West, R. C. and J. P. Augelli (1989). Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Whitten, N. E. (1965). Class, Kinship and Power in an Ecuadorian Town: The Negroes of San Lorenzo, Stanford University Press.
- Whitten, N. (1976). Sacha Runa: ethnicity and adaptation of Ecuadoran jungle Quichua. Urbana, University of Illinois Press.
- Whitten, N. E. J. and R. Coor (1999). Imagery of "Blackness" in Indigenous Myth, Discourse, and Ritual. Representations of Blackness and the Performance of Identities. J. M. Rahier. Westport, Bergin & Garvey: 213-233.

- Wuthnow, R. (1994). Producing the Sacred: An Essay on Public Religion. Urbana & Chicago, University of Illinois Press.
- Yamane, D. (2000). "Narrative and Religious Experience." Sociology of Religion **61**(2): 171-189.
- Yeoh, B. S. A. (1991). "The Control of "Sacred" Space: Conflicts Over the Chinese Burial Grounds in Colonial Singapore, 1880-1930." Journal of Southeast Asian Studies **22**(2): 282-311.
- Yeoh, B. S. A. and T. B. Hui (1995). "The politics of space: changing discourses on Chinese burial grounds on post-war Singapore." Journal of Historical Geography **21**(2): 184-201.
- Young, F. W. (1960). "Graveyards and Social Structure." Rural Sociology **25**(4): 446-450.
- Zwingle, E. (1999). "A World Together." National Geographic **196**(2): 6-33.

**NO PLACE TO DIE:
THE POETICS OF ROADSIDE SACRED PLACES IN MEXICO**

VOLUME II

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by

Daniel Raymond Weir
B.A., San Diego State University, 1995
M.A., San Diego State University, 1997
May 2002

APPENDIX A

NORTHERN MEXICO DATA TABLES

The following conventions are used in the data tables in Appendix A, B, and C. The first column is the number of the site (waypoints usually begin with the lower case letter “w” or “b” to indicate a waypoint or boundary); all other site numbers begin with the two letter state abbreviation, (which is also used in Figure 4.01, the state location map) followed by a number. Column 2 identifies what artifact(s) are associated with that site, column 3 marks the location of the site, usually to the nearest mile, in relation to the starting point of the particular transect through that state. Column 4 gives the route number (usually a Federal Highway) and the direction that I traveled, and column 5 gives the site’s aspect in relation to the pavement (i.e.: “n”, “e”, “s”, and “w” for the cardinal directions or “m” for the central median of a divided highway). The tables, along with the few sites that are described in the text, apprise the reader of ‘what is where’ on the state, site and artifact scales.

Table A4.1: Baja California Norte

Site#	Description	Mile	Rte Dir	Asp
wB45	SN/BN state boundary/ transect B4, cont.	0	2W	
BN01	Blue, 1x4, wood cross	0.6	2W	s
BN02	White wood cross w/ clover tips & red inscription	1.2	2W	s
BN03	White concrete cross next to a bridge abutment	2.3	2W	n
BN04	White wood cross & a slate-stone painted w/ Good Shepard	3	2W	s
BN05	Light blue metal outline-cross w/ spear-point tips	4.8	2W	n
BN06	White metal outline-cross, wreath	5.1	2W	n
BN07	White granito, 1m sq x 2m tall nicho, w/ cross centered atop a flat-roofed 3-tiered facade, black wrought iron & glass door; inside is a milk carton w/ wilted flowers & a can of Tecate. Inscription; "Jose Hernandez Cruz, 22-07-37/1-2-83." Has fresh flowers.	6.5	2W	n
BN08	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; 50m W of 07	6.6	2W	n
BN09	3m sq x 2m tall, white concrete nicho w/ light blue tile accents, flat roofed w/ 4-step facade, 2 belfries & 3 crosses atop. Black, locked, WI gate. Inside; large (4ft tall) statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe (NSGuad) slightly to the left, 3ft tall statue of a crowned Virgin dressed in blue, crucifix centered on rear wall, prints of NSGuad, San Martin de Porres, & a Virgin & Child. There are 3 bouquets & 6 votive candles.	10.2	2W	s
BN10	2 white metal crosses, both w/ fresh wreath	11	2W	s
BN11	2 black metal crosses w/ scrolls, white inscriptions and red wreaths	11.5	2W	n
BN12	Black metal cross	13.4	2W	n
BN13	Light blue cross on concrete pedestal	13.4	2W	s
BN14	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	13.9	2W	s
BN15	White granito nicho & white metal cross atop; 'R.C.H.'	14.6	2W	n
BN16	White granito, 2ft tall nicho w/ Maltese cross atop; "19-4-80, Franco Javier Glez.; Para el mundo has muerto, pero en el corazon de tu novia y de quienes te quisieron segurias viviendo" There are plastic rosary beads hanging from cross & several floral bouquets. This is on the edge of a cotton field & the farmer plows around it.	14.7	2W	n
BN17	Arch-roofed, 1m sq x 1m tall, gray concrete nicho w/ facade, cross atop front; NSGuad statue & 3 candles inside the padlocked door.	15.1	2W	n
BN18	White granito nicho, 1m tall, w/ cross; enclosed in a fence	16.7	2W	s
BN19	White granito nicho w/ cross broken-off, faces parallel & was moved	17.4	2W	n
BN20	White granito nicho w/ 3 white crosses & 2 light blue metal crosses	21.4	2W	s
BN21	White granito cross on pedestal, wreath	21.9	2W	s
BN22	Adobe, gable-roof nicho w/ 2 white metal cross w/ filigrees atop	22.7	2W	n
BN23	White granito w/ cross broken-off	23.3	2W	s
BN24	White metal cross	23.4	2W	s
BN25	2 blue wood, 1x2 crosses w/ center scrolls	23.5	2W	n
BN26	White concrete cross	23.7	2W	s

BN27	White metal outline-cross w/ scroll & wreath	24.5	2W	n
BN28	White granito nicho and 2 concrete crosses	24.7	2W	s
BN29	3 black metal crosses w/ filigrees on a concrete pedestal	24.9	2W	s
BN30	Wedge-type monument	25.1	2W	n
BN31	Brick, flat-roof w/ rear 6-step facade, built around a white metal outline cross w/ pointed tips. "Marzo 20 de 1987, Aqui fallacio Arturo Balderes Bueno[?] a la edad de 30 anos, DEP"	25.5	2W	n
BN32	White granito cross, 2m tall, inscr; "Everardo Baretta Perez, aug 7-1965/jul 23-1988, recuerdo de sus papas, esposa, hijos y hermanos;" votive candle & wreath	25.7	2W	n
BN33	Brick gable-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear	26.2	2W	s
BN34	White metal outline-cross w/ wreath	27.1	2W	n
BN35	4 identical white metal crosses on a pedestal, w/ filigrees & scrolls	27.7	2W	n
BN36	White metal cross on a box nicho	27.9	2W	s
BN37	White metal cross; 20m W of 36	28	2W	s
BN38	2 white granito nichos w/ cross atop both	28.4	2W	s
BN39	3 white metal crosses w/ scrolls & wreaths	28.7	2W	n
BN40	Red metal outline-cross w/ wreath on pedestal; faces parallel	29.6	2W	n
BN41	Green granito nicho w/ wreath; on E outskirts of Mexicali	30	2W	n
BN42	White granito nicho, 2m tall, cross atop w/ flowers; WI fence	33.2	2W	n
BN43	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; wreath	38.5	2W	m
BN44	Adobe nicho w/ 3-step facade & white metal centered atop	39.2	2W	n
BN45	White concrete cross	39.6	2W	n
BN46	White metal cross w/wreath	46.8	2W	n
BN47	White granito nicho w/ Maltese-style cross atop, 1.5m tall	47.1	2W	n
BN48	2 black metal crosses w/ scrolls & wreath	47.4	2W	n
BN49	White granito nicho	47.9	2W	n
BN50	Gray metal cross w/ scroll; it & the concrete foundation, was lifted & set to the side	48.9	2W	s
BN51	Blue concrete nicho, 3-tiered w/ light blue pipe cross atop rear, wreath; faces away from road	49.5	2W	s
BN52	White metal outline-cross w/ scroll; "Joven"	52.8	2W	n
BN53	Black metal cross w/ wreath	53.1	2W	n
BN54	White metal cross w/ scroll	53.4	2W	s
BN55	White metal cross w/ scroll	53.5	2W	n
BN56	White granito nicho w/ centered cross	53.7	2W	s
BN57	White metal cross w/scroll & wreath	53.8	2W	n
BN58	2 black metal crosses w/ scrolls	54	2W	n
BN59	White metal cross w/ scroll & red roses	55.1	2W	s
BN60	White granito nicho w/ cross atop	55.7	2W	s
BN61	Black metal cross w/ scroll	56.6	2W	s

BN62	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	57	2W	s
BN63	Up on a road-cut; white metal cross w/scroll	57.3	2W	s
BN64	2 white metal crosses, 1 w/ scroll & 1 larger than other	59	2W	s
BN65	Green metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	59.5	2W	s
BN66	Tan metal cross w/ scroll & pointed tips	59.8	2W	s
BN67	Brick, arch-roofed nicho, 1m cubed, under construction	60.4	2W	n
BN68	White granito cross w/ 2 urns & pedestal	64.6	2W	n
BN69	White metal cross w/ scroll; buried up to just below the scroll	65.8	2W	m
BN70	White granito nicho w/ cross atop; obscured w/ 2 or 3 wreaths	66.9	2W	s
BN71	White metal cross w/ scroll & wreath	68.4	2W	n
BN72	White metal cross, wreath	69	2W	m
BN73	Very large rock painting of NSGuad, about 100m off road	75.6	2W	
BN74	2.5m cubed blue & white block, flat roof shrine w/ gabled front facade & metal cross centered atop. The front is WI & has WI & glass door w/ a doorknob. The inside is tiled, the central figure is NSGuad, tiled into the rear wall; there is also a print to the right & 1.5ft tall statue of her, also a print & statue of St. Jude, a small bust of NSGuad, a Sacred Heart statue & Mary Sacred Heart w/ baby Jesus print. There are 10 bouquets of imitation flowers, 25 votive candles [10 are lit], photos, a large pile of hand-written notes and a mop. There is no place to leave a donation.	77.9	2W	n
BN75	Off the road 100M behind 74; a white metal cross at the base of a cliff w/ wreath. Great view!	77.9	2W	n
BN76	Green & yellow metal cross w/ scroll; "M.A.P."	80.4	2W	n
BN77	Small brick nicho w/ white metal cross w/filigrees atop rear	86.2	2W	n
BN78	Black metal cross w/filigrees, scroll, pedestal & blue & white wreath	87.4	2W	n
BN79	3 tan concrete crosses, identical	87.7	2W	n
BN80	Black metal cross w/red & white wreath; 1400m altitude	89.4	2W	s
BN81	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	90.1	2W	n
BN82	White metal outline-cross w/ scroll & wreath	90.7	2W	n
BN83	On a hard curve; black metal cross w/filigrees & scroll	91.1	2W	n
BN84	Down in a gully; 1 old white metal outline-type w/ filigrees & scroll, and a white metal w/ filigrees & scroll together in the foreground, these are hard to see. Behind are a wood cross with center scroll, a tan metal cross, 2 identical black metal crosses, and a third black metal cross. The last three appear to be the most recent, there are auto parts behind the last of the black crosses; and 4 of the 5 have fresh wreaths on them.	91.2	2W	n
BN85	Black metal outline-cross w/ filigrees & scroll	91.6	2W	n
BN86	Black pipe-cross w/ scroll, appears to be fairly new	91.7	2W	n
BN87	Black metal cross and white metal cross	93.3	2W	n
BN88	White metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & red inscription	93.6	2W	n
BN89	White wood or metal cross	96.7	2W	s
BN90	Up on a road-cut; white metal cross w/wreath on a concrete pedestal	97.1	2W	s

BN91	2 identical white metal crosses w/ spear tips, scrolls & filigrees	98.1	2W	s
BN92	Black metal outline-cross w/ scroll & wreath; "Jorge"	98.8	2W	n
BN93	Metal box-nicho and white metal cross	100	2W	n
BN94	Wedge-shaped marble monument w/corporate logo; 50m W of 93	100	2W	n
BN95	White metal cross; 50m W of 94	100	2W	n
BN96	Black metal cross w/ scroll	102.2	2W	s
BN97	White granito cross on 3-tiered pedestal; "Ramon"	102.6	2W	s
BN98	White metal cross w/ pointed tips & a white concrete cross	102.9	2W	n
BN99	Black metal cross	102.9	2W	s
BN100	Black metal cross	103.1	2W	n
BN101	White concrete nicho, w/ white metal cross inside	103.2	2W	n
BN102	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns & open-book, inscription is worn away. There is an angel holding a cross and a black WI gate w/ broken glass	104.8	2W	n
BN103	Blue metal cross, and an old 2x4 wood cross	104.9	2W	n
BN104	Large white wood, 4x6 lumber cross, w/metal & glass nicho box nailed to the crux, there is a paint bucket at the foot of the cross and it is surrounded by a ring of stones. Nicho is 1ft cubed, has 3 votives inside. A metal plate at the top of the vertical member with; "Miguel Cordova, Miguelon, 27-10-1991, QPD" welded onto it.	104.9	2W	n
BN105	White granito, arch-roofed nicho, blue rear wall, white cross inside	106.2	2W	n
BN106	White tile nicho, 1m cubed, gable-roof, open-faced	109.1	2W	s
BN107	White 2x4 wood cross w/ center scroll	110.4	2W	s
BN108	White concrete nicho, 8" tall, & white concrete cross w/ wreath, 1.5m tall	112.5	2W	s
BN109	Large wood cross, 1.5m tall	113.8	2W	n
BN110	Black metal cross w/ spear tips & scroll	114.2	2W	n
BN111	White stucco shrine, flat-roofed w/ facade, 1.5m cubed	115	2W	s
BN112	Black metal cross	116.7	2W	s
BN113	White metal cross	116.7	2W	n
BN114	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll on blue pedestal, 1m tall	117.6	2W	n
BN115	Brown wood cross 2x4 w/ center scroll	120.7	2W	n
BN116	2 white metal crosses; 1 w/filigrees, both w/scrolls; on a road-cut bank	121.6	2W	s
BN117	Green metal outline-cross w/ filigrees, scroll & pointed tips	123.9	2W	s
wBN06	Junction 2W/3S @ Tecate; end transect B4, begin P2	124.9	2W	
BN118	White metal outline-cross w/ scroll	128	3S	e
BN119	White concrete cross	128.6	3S	w
BN120	2 identical open-faced, gable-roofed, nichos w/ black metal crosses inside; "Arturo" & "Maria"	130.5	3S	w
BN121	3 identical black metal crosses w/scrolls & wreaths on a pedestal	?	3S	w
BN122	Wood, 1x4 lumber, cross	132.5	3S	w
BN123	Black metal cross & smaller white cross	132.8	3S	w
BN124	White metal cross w/ wreath	133	3S	

BN125	Brown metal cross w/ scroll	133.6	3S	e
BN126	White concrete cross; "Sr Jose Ramon Curiel M., 18-03-47/23-08-96, recuerdos esposa, hijos y amigos; Dios guarda tu alma, la tierra guarda tu cuerpo, y nosotros tu amor y tu recuerdo."	135.8	3S	w
BN127	White metal cross mounted atop a boulder	137.2	3S	w
BN128	Blue metal outline-cross w/ filigrees, scroll & a red flower on top	137.9	3S	e
BN129	White metal cross w/ scroll; 10 ft above road level	138.5	3S	w
BN130	2 blue metal crosses w/ wreaths; behind some boulders	139.9	3S	w
BN131	White granito nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear & NSGuad image painted on the rear wall; up in some boulders on a road-cut	140.7	3S	w
BN132	Black metal cross	141.5	3S	e
BN133	Green metal cross w/ wreath	141.6	3S	w
BN134	Pink metal cross w/ filigrees & flowers: "Nina Andrea Valarea Leon A., 3-dic-94/19-jun-99, DEP" (32.23.28/116.36.82)	141.7	3S	e
BN135	White concrete w/ scroll & flowers on white concrete pedestal	141.8	3S	e
BN136	White metal or wood cross w/ round ends; flowers	144.3	3S	w
BN137	Black metal outline-cross w/ flowers	148.1	3S	w
BN138	White concrete cross, pedestal, gabled inscription scroll, photo built in	149	3S	w
BN139	Black metal outline-cross; "Leonardo"	149.2	3S	e
BN140	Cross covered w/ blue & white flowers	153.2	3S	e
BN141	Concrete block, 1m cubed, open-faced, gable-roofed. Inside; "Recuerdo de JSF, 2-nov-1991" on a metal homemade, horse shoe cross [horse shoes welded together] & a scroll made by welding some sheet metal to the back of the horse shoes. In front is a prefab nicho about 2ft tall and both of those are enclosed in the current structure. Fresh flowers.	155.2	3S	w
BN142	2.5m tall metal cross; "Rafael Carranza, 24-oct-71/8-aug-99"; new ribbons on it	157.9	3S	w
BN143	White metal cross w/ flowers	159.8	3S	w
BN144	White granito nicho; "Lic. Carlos Ramirez Salas" has Jesus Sacred Heart in the rear & 2 urns on sides, gable roof	165	3S	w
BN145	White metal cross w/ flowers	174.7	3S	e
BN146	White granito nicho w/ cross atop rear & 3 white metal crosses	?	3S	e
BN147	2 white pipe-crosses w/scrolls & flowers	178.5	3S	w
BN148	White metal [?] cross, covered by red flowers	181.4	3S	e
BN149	3 white metal crosses w/ scrolls & wreaths	183.2	3S	w
BN150	White metal cross w/ scroll, 2m tall	183.9	3S	w
BN151	Black metal cross w/ scroll	184.4	3S	e
BN152	2 shrines. The north one has NSGuad image tiled into the rear wall, 20 votive candles [4 lit], 2 faded bouquets of fresh flowers. It is 1.5m sq x 3m tall with a gabled tile roof. The south one has a print of NSGuad pasted onto the rear wall, 12 bouquets of faded fresh flowers, 24 votives [4 lit]. It is 4m long x 2m wide x 3m tall and has a cross atop the gabled concrete roof and an inset gated entrance area.	186.1	3S	w

BN153	White metal outline-cross	186.2	3S	w
BN154	3 white metal crosses, identical, w/ flowers	186.3	3S	e
BN155	White metal cross; "Chris Hunt"	187	3S	w
wBN10	Junction 3S/1S; just north of Ensenada	190	1S	
BN156	Brown wood cross w/ scroll; facing N	191.4	1S	m
BN157	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns, centered cross & NSGuad image in the rear and fresh gladiolas	212.1	1S	w
BN158	2 black metal crosses w/scrolls & wreaths	213.2	1S	e
BN159	White metal cross w/ scroll	216.2	1S	w
BN160	Light blue metal cross w/ scroll	218.6	1S	w
BN161	White wood cross w/ red inscription	219.5	1S	e
BN162	2 white wood crosses	219.7	1S	w
BN163	White metal cross w/scroll	221.5	1S	e
BN164	5 white wood crosses, all w/ flowers; on a hard curve	223.9	1S	w
BN165	Green pipe-cross w/ flowers	224.3	1S	w
BN166	Black metal cross w/ filigrees	226	1S	e
BN167	Blue nicho, 2ft sq x 4ft tall, flat-roofed	227.1	1S	e
BN168	Brick nicho, 1m cubed, gabled w/ black metal cross inside	228.8	1S	w
BN169	Light blue block, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ blue metal cross atop	238.2	1S	e
BN170	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	243.3	1S	e
BN171	2m tall black metal cross; covered on both sides by flowers	245.4	1S	w
BN172	White metal outline-cross w/ scroll	248.3	1S	w
BN173	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll	248.6	1S	w
BN174	2 white wood crosses w/ scrolls	251.7	1S	w
BN175	Yellow concrete home made nicho & white metal cross; both have flowers	254.6	1S	e
BN176	White metal cross w/ scroll	257.9	1S	e
BN177	Blue wood cross on pedestal w/ flowers; opposite an NSGuad rock painting	261.3	1S	w
BN178	White wood or metal cross [1x4 material]; "El Mingo"	266.4	1S	w
BN179	4 white wood crosses; 2 small ones in front of 2 larger ones	268.6	1S	e
BN180	Black metal outline-cross w/ wreath	274.7	1S	w
BN181	2 white metal crosses w/ scrolls	275.6	1S	e
BN182	3 white metal crosses w/ wreaths	276.1	1S	e
BN183	Red brick nicho, gable roof w/ white metal cross atop rear, 2.5ft sq	289.3	1S	e
BN184	White metal cross	292	1S	e
BN185	Black metal cross	292.1	1S	e
BN186	2m tall, tan metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	292.2	1S	e
BN187	White metal cross w/ spear-point tips, filigrees & wreath; a bit twisted	292.9	1S	w
BN188	Gray concrete cross, on the edge of a field	294.3	1S	w
BN189	Red metal cross	295	1S	w

BN190	2m tall white cross; "Baby"	295.3	1S	w
BN191	2 white metal crosses on a 2-tiered pedestal, crosses are mounted on the first level and a concrete stool sits atop the second level.	301.1	1S	e
BN192	Gable roof nicho w/3 large visitation rocks, blue metal cross atop rear.	301.2	1S	e
BN193	White granito nicho, 1m tall w/ granito cross atop	302.2	1S	w
BN194	White granito nicho, 1m tall w/ granito cross atop	302.2	1S	e
BN195	White granito nicho w/ 2 crosses atop & white cross next to it	302.7	1S	w
BN196	White metal cross w/ scroll	302.9	1S	e
BN197	Black metal cross	303.5	1S	e
BN198	Wood cross	303.6	1S	e
BN199	Concrete, gable roofed nicho w/ turquoise cross; faced away from road	305.8	1S	e
BN200	White metal cross	306.1	1S	e
BN201	White metal cross w/ spear-point tips; Col. Vincente Guerrero	308.1	1S	w
BN202	Brick gable-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear	309.6	1S	w
BN203	Block nicho w/ cross atop rear	310.5	1S	w
BN204	White concrete gable-roofed nicho, w/ black metal cross atop rear	310.7	1S	w
BN205	White granito nicho w/2 crosses atop & white cross next to it	311.8	1S	e
BN206	Pink gable roof nicho w/cross atop; faces away from road	312.8	1S	e
BN207	White gable-roofed nicho w/ 4 white metal crosses atop	313.2	1S	e
BN208	White metal cross	314.9	1S	e
BN209	Large block, gable-roofed shrine, w/ cross atop	315.4	1S	w
BN210	Cross, obscured by flowers	316.1	1S	w
BN211	White metal cross w/ flowers & lit candle in front	316.5	1S	e
BN212	2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls	317.1	1S	e
BN213	Blue arch-roofed nicho w/ white cross atop rear	317.5	1S	w
BN214	White metal cross	318.6	1S	e
BN215	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	318.9	1S	e
BN216	White metal cross	323.7	1S	w
BN217	White metal cross	323.8	1S	e
BN218	White metal cross w/ flowers	324.7	1S	e
BN219	White metal cross w/ flowers	324.9	1S	w
BN220	White pipe-cross w/ flowers	325.6	1S	e
BN221	Black metal cross w/ scroll & flowers	325.8	1S	w
BN222	1m tall, concrete cross; arms are 4" sq	326	1S	w
BN223	Brick nicho w/ 3 gable roofs, on a concrete pedestal painted blue, the walls are natural brick with the mortar painted white, the roofs are concrete and painted white. "Nacio la Sra Fausta ?" on the first cross, which is black. The middle one is white "Pedro ? [death date] 4-7-93," the third one is black "Alvia ?"	326.6	1S	e
BN224	Gray metal cross, used to be blue; "Javier": 15m S of 223	326.6	1S	e

BN225	Black pipe-cross	327.7	1S	e
BN226	Blue wood cross; on a hard curve	327.8	1S	w
BN227	White metal cross, 2m tall	329.3	1S	e
BN228	3 black pipe-crosses w/ scrolls and wreaths	340.2	1S	e
BN229	White metal cross w/ scroll	350.9	1S	w
BN230	White wood cross	352.1	1S	w
BN231	White gable-roofed, nicho w/blue trim, white concrete cross in rear	358.5	1S	w
BN232	Natural wood cross w/ routed edges & scroll, nice piece of work.	359	1S	w
BN233	Concrete, 1x1x1.5m tall, gabled w/ wings & a white metal w/ filagrees & scroll cross inside; "Moises Eduardo Sesania Guitierrez, 2-may-74/17-nov-95; Siempre viviras en nuestros corozons, madre, esposa, hermanos, familiares te recordemos, descansa en paz"; next to it is an older wooden cross w/ a Buick emblem stuck into the concrete footing.	364.1	1S	e
BN234	Block shed roof nicho w/crucifix inside and white metal cross nearby	387.7	1S	e
BN235	White metal cross w/scroll; "Julio"	387.7	1S	w
BN236	See text	404	1S	w
BN237	White metal cross w/scroll	419	1S	w
BN238	Shrine made of large homemade concrete blocks, & hand-hewn lumber (cottonwood?). The window sash, doorframe, everything is made of this material. It is 3x2x2m, has a flat roof, corner facades & centered cross (even the cross is homemade). Inside is a small step with a 5x7 print of NSGuad and the head of a statue of same, there is an offering box with 2 US pennies in it, and some flowers. Looks like there was a larger print of NSGuad, evidently this has experienced some vandalism; this is out in the middle of nowhere.	427	1S	w
BN239	Red metal outline-cross w/ scroll; auto parts strewn about	453	1S	w
BN240	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; weathered wood cross; auto parts scattered about. 20m S of 239	453	1S	w
BN241	2 white metal crosses	458	1S	e
BN242	3 white metal crosses; 2 are 2ft tall, other is 5 ft tall; on a hard curve	465	1S	e
BN243	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll, pile of rocks at the base & auto parts	481	1S	w
BN244	White pipe-cross w/ scroll	482	1S	w
BN245	White gable-roof nicho on pedestal w/ black metal cross atop rear	489	1S	w
BN246	Brown homemade concrete cross, 1.5ft tall	495	1S	w
BN247	4 white pipe-crosses w/ scrolls	526	1S	w
BN248	Bright red metal cross and white granito nicho; cement bag nearby	540	1S	e
wB46	BN/BS Stateline; 28/114.00.71	577	1S	

Table A4.2: Baja California Sur

Site#	Description	Mile	Rte Dir	Asp
wB46	End BC, begin BCS; 28/114.00.71	0	1S	
BS01	Shrines to NSGuad & St. Jude; main shrine, 7m sq x 5-6m tall. Inside there are 2 rows of 4 pews, a main altar, central crucifix and 4 ft tall statue of NSGuad to the right, a 3 ft tall statue of St Jude to the left. The altar has (2) 2 ft tall SJ statues flanking a slightly smaller statue of NSGuad. There are 6 bouquet of imitation & 1 of fresh flowers. Both shrines and a well outside are 2-tone pink. The second shrine has a 5-tiered votive candle rack, a central crucifix, 2 ST Jude statue, 2 Sacred heart Jesus prints, a Virgin image that says; "Riena y Madre de Jalisco reuga de nostras" (looks like V.SanJuan), 25 lit votive candles.	2.4	1S	w
BS02	2 black metal crosses on pedestals; both w/ flowers	4.2	1S	w
BS03	White metal cross w/ auto tire hanging from it	5.8	1S	w
BS04	3 white metal crosses w/ reflective tape	15.8	1S	w
BS05	Wood cross, 1x lumber	25.5	1S	w
BS06	Black metal cross w/scroll & filigrees	25.8	1S	w
BS07	3 white metal crosses w/ scrolls & wreaths	29.4	1S	e
BS08	Black metal outline-cross w/scroll	30.3	1S	e
BS09	White metal cross w/wreath	40.5	1S	w
BS10	3 white metal crosses, on a pedestal, w/ wreaths	41.3	1S	e
BS11	White granito cross & 2 urns on a wedge pedestal, behind was an auto fender	44.5	1S	e
BS12	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/cross atop, & wreath	47.5	1S	e
BS13	2-tiered nicho w/ 2 niches & cross in front, 2m tall	48.6	1S	e
BS14	Black metal cross w/ wreath	54.7	1S	e
BS15	Wood cross w/ red fender in front	54.8	1S	e
BS16	Unpainted wood cross, 1x2 lumber; on a hard curve	64.4	1S	w
BS17	White pipe-cross on concrete pedestal w/ faded flowers	64.8	1S	e
BS18	White outline-cross w/ scroll & white metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	66.3	1S	e
BS19	White concrete cross	78.8	1S	e
BS20	White wood cross w/ forked tips, rock & concrete pedestal	84.3	1S	e
BS21	White metal outline-cross w/ scroll, 1m tall	85.1	1S	e
BS22	Pink & green brick, 1m cubed, flat-roofed nicho. On the rear half of the roof is a second nicho, open-faced, with NSGuad inside an arch. The whole thing a slightly arched roof with wings. Inside is 14x24 print of NSGuad & Diego, on the side is another print, this one has scenes from the JD story in ovals at the corners. There are 20 votive candles, none lit, there are 22 pesos in coin laying on the floor, and also some plantings around the shrine including oleanders and cacti.	85.5	1S	w
BS23	White wood cross, stone & concrete pedestal	90.8	1S	w
BS24	Black metal cross w/ pointed tips & scroll	97.1	1S	w
BS25	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns on a pedestal, has a Christ on the cross, couple dozen pebbles; "Jose Luis Bastida Villa, July 30, 1994, recuerdo de sus amigos, QEPD"	104.6	1S	e

BS26	White metal nicho & white metal cross behind	105.2	1S	e
BS27	Shrine to holy family, knocked off its foundation	111.2	1S	w
BS28	Small metal A-frame pole shrine w/NS Guad print inside	113.8	1S	w
BS29	Metal pole-type nicho	116.3	1S	e
BS30	White granito double nicho, used to have 2 crosses atop 2 nichos & 2 urns on either side, 1 cross & 1 urn are broken; “Sr Emilio Palla Montez, enero 2, 1997; papa, por siempre te tendremos en nuestros corazones, tus hijos que nunca te olvidares.” The other one: “Miguelia Vasquez Montes, enero 2, 1997; mama, nunca olviaremos tus consejos, tus ejemplos, y nunca te olvidaremos, tus hijos.”	116.9	1S	w
BS31	White concrete cross & urn w/ plastic flowers	125.4	1S	e
BS32	White granito nicho w/ cross atop, 2ft tall	126.6	1S	e
BS33	White concrete, gable-roofed, 1m sq nicho, w/ NSGuad statue inside, aluminum & glass door	127	1S	e
BS34	White pipe-cross w/filigrees, scroll; “Aqui llacen los restos Sr. Sergio Morales; familia y amigos de Transports Zanzini, QEPD”	127	1S	w
BS35	White metal cross w/ wreath; 50m S of 34	127.1	1S	e
BS36	Pink shrine to NSGuad, 50m off road	138.2	1S	w
BS37	Blue & white shrine to NSGuad, outside of a prison entrance	139.6	1S	e
BS38	White granito cross w/ 2 urns & wedge pedestal	140.8	1S	e
BS39	White granito cross w/ wedge pedestal	140.9	1S	e
BS40	2 white crosses w/wreaths & white-washed rocks outline the area	142.7	1S	e
BS41	White granito cross w/ 2 urns & wedge pedestal	143.2	1S	w
BS42	White brick, flat-roofed nicho, 3ft sq x 4ft tall	145.3	1S	w
BS43	White granito nicho	145.6	1S	w
BS44	White metal cross	145.7	1S	e
BS45	White metal cross	145.8	1S	e
BS46	2 white metal crosses	145.9	1S	w
BS47	2 black metal and white metal crosses	147.2	1S	w
BS48	Block nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	149.4	1S	w
BS49	Brick nicho, red gable roof	149.8	1S	e
BS50	Pole-type A-frame metal nicho; 2m tall	150.8	1S	w
BS51	White metal cross w/ black tips	153.4	1S	w
BS52	2 black metal crosses on turquoise 3-step pedestals, w/ filigrees & scroll	156.3	1S	w
BS53	White metal cross	156.6	1S	e
BS54	White metal cross on a 1m cubed, 3-step pedestal	157.9	1S	w
BS55	White concrete cross	160.8	1S	e
BS56	White concrete cross, covered w/ wreaths	163.8	1S	w
BS57	Dark blue pipe-cross w/ scroll on concrete pedestal	164.7	1S	w
BS58	Cross, white metal nicho, white concrete nicho	171.5	1S	w
BS59	In Mulege, up on a hill, is a large shrine built into the rock, about 5m square; there is a sign up behind it stating; “Mulege a la Virgin Maria, defensora de la fe catolica” It is white concrete & stucco with blue trim and a brick arched doorway, has a facade with blue pillars on either side with white balls	175.1	1S	e

	<p>atop. A third of the way to the middle of the gabled façade are 2 other pillars supporting a brick arch which has a white cross atop. Inside there is huge old painting, about 5 feet tall by 3 feet wide of the Virgin holding the baby Jesus with the sacred heart and it has a gabled old wood frame and in the apex of the gable is another painting of the Holy Spirit, a bird with a halo on its head which is pointing downward. The rear wall is stone with white painted mortar, that's what the large painting is hanging on. To the left of this is 2x4 foot framed print of NSGuad sitting on a table with a dozen votive candles and 2 floral bouquets on it. There are 2 more below the table. Below the large painting is a large landscape painting, apparently of what Mulege must have looked like in the colonial days; and it says; "Madre santa bendice a tu pueblo Mulege" that sits on a 6 foot long bench. There are 2 more of those benches against the side walls; in a corner is a 6.5 tall crucifix sitting in a concrete block and there are 3 votive candles in front of that. In another corner is another wooden cross, a ships bell, mops and brooms and stuff. Evidently this is the village's shrine, it is quite beautiful, nicely landscaped on 3 tiers, can't take a picture of it because a semi truck is parked in front of it. The outside has an unusual design; there is a circle within a circle, the outside circle has compass points that are forks. (Rooster crowing in the background.) Just as I was leaving, an old fellow, who works across the street; who was keeping an eye on me came up to the chapel to pray and he said that he prays here every day and that many other people do also. He also said that the painting was of Mulege in the colonial days.</p>			
BS60	White metal cross w/pointed tips & scroll and wood cross w/ scroll	177.3	1S	w
BS61	Pink, brick shrine to NSGuad, gabled roofed, w/plaited palm fronds around the entrance. Has flowers & votives inside.	180.6	1S	w
BS62	3 black metal crosses, 2 are 2ft tall & middle one is 1ft tall	183.7	1S	w
BS63	Black metal cross w/flowers & scroll	184.2	1S	w
BS64	White metal cross w/wreath	188.4	1S	w
BS65	White pipe-cross w/ scroll & spear-point tips	188.7	1S	w
BS66	<p>Shrine on sea cliff; Inside is a NSGuad image in tile on the rear wall, beneath that is a 24x48 gilt & red felt framed print of same; there 25 votives, 2 bouquets each of silk & fresh flowers, and 10 candles are lit.</p> <p>The shrine is 2x3x3m, w/ a cross centered at the apex of the gabled tin roof, the walls are concrete or stucco. Its a gorgeous site, I caught it with the sun rising behind the building and the islands in the background.</p>	190.8	1S	e
BS67	White metal cross	191.1	1S	e
BS68	In a natural cave, a small shrine to NSGuad	194.7	1S	w

BS69	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll, & flowers	197.6	1S	w
BS70	White pipe-cross w/ scroll & auto parts laid out in front	213.4	1S	w
BS71	White granito nicho w/cross, 2 urns & wedge pedestal	231.3	1S	w
BS72	White metal frame & glass nicho, 1ft sq, w/white metal cross atop gabled roof	250.1	1S	e
BS73	Black metal cross w/wreath	259.1	1S	e
BS74	Green metal cross w/ scroll & wreath	262.1	1S	w
BS75	Yellow concrete box-nicho w/ cross in front	270.2	1S	e
BS76	Black pipe-cross w/ scroll & wreath	271.6	1S	e
BS77	Large [5ft tall] white cross w/ pointed tips & flowers	279	1S	w
BS78	White metal cross	282.1	1S	w
BS79	White granito nicho w/ cross; 10m S of 78	282.1	1S	w
BS80	White metal nicho & white granito nicho w/ 2 urns & cross atop arched roof	282.4	1S	
BS81	Unpainted wood cross w/ scroll	283.5	1S	w
BS82	White concrete, gable roofed nicho w/black WI & glass door	288.3	1S	w
BS83	Large concrete cross & a semi-circular 1m tall monument inscribed; "en memoria de Ricardo Chato Corvarubias, jul-27-95"	290.7	1S	e
BS84	Gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop, 2m tall	298.1	1S	e
BS85	Black metal outline-cross w/ scroll & flowers	300.6	1S	e
BS86	Cross obscured by flowers	302.1	1S	e
BS87	White metal cross w/ ribbons, blue inscription	312.8	1S	e
BS88	Unpainted wood cross	323.9	1S	w
BS89	White metal cross w/ scroll & pink flowers	335.2	1S	w
BS90	2 black metal crosses w/ red flowers	335.5	1S	e
BS91	Black metal cross in post-hole footing	338.7	1S	w
BS92	Turquoise brick, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear	339.4	1S	e
BS93	Black metal cross w/ red wreath	341.8	1S	w
BS94	Turquoise metal cross w/ wreath	342.2	1S	w
BS95	Cross covered by red wreath	343.6	1S	
BS96	Tan concrete nicho, w/cross atop rear, flowers	345.4	1S	e
BS97	White concrete, gable roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear covered by wreath, 2ft cubed	349.4	1S	w
BS98	Light blue concrete nicho w/cross covered by flowers	349.7	1S	w
BS99	Black metal outline-cross w/ red & white wreath	350	1S	e
BS100	Black metal and white metal crosses; both w/ flowers	353.9	1S	e
BS101	Black metal cross w/ blue & white wreath	355	1S	e
BS102	Black metal cross w/ sun-rays	356.6	1S	w
BS103	White concrete nicho w/red tiled gable roof & white metal cross atop rear	357.6	1S	w
BS104	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll & wreath	360.5	1S	e
BS105	White metal cross w/ scroll	366.8	1S	w
BS106	Black metal cross w/ scroll, spear-point tips & blue wreath	367	1S	w
BS107	Large monument and cross with 14 pillars and a cross with 2 wreaths, one very large, and a votive candle at the base. 4 of the pillars have wreaths, and there is an inscription plate which	368.9	1S	w

	reads; “Homonaje a los companeros caidos en la lucha agrigaria y un meyor parte de la agua. 27 abril 1973. Juan Ontaveros, Paulino Rodriquez, Jose Rico, Miguel Torres, Marcos Villegas, Asencion Mercado, Encarnacion Ramirez, Cruz Soriano, Luz Villalpano, Manuel Moreles, Vincente Castaneda, Faustina Alvarado, Filipe Ramos, Leonides Resa. Esta obra fue posible constuirla con la cooperacion de los 5 NCPE ley Federale de Aguas otra vez de la union de ejidos 20 nov con un costo total de 18,350,606 pesos, mar 1993.” It is not especially clear how these people died. A high voltage power line runs fairly close behind the monument opening the possibility that this was an industrial accident. Of further note; inland, or east, of Villa Insurgentes & running more or less parallel to Rt. 1 south to around Cd. Constitucion; is a series of ejidos named “Ley Federal de Aguas” numbers 1 through 5.			
BS108	See Text	369.9	1S	w
BS109	Black metal cross	370	1S	e
BS110	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	370.6	1S	e
BS111	2 crosses	370.6	1S	w
BS112	Wood cross w/wreath	378	1S	e
BS113	White metal cross w/wreath	378.1	1S	w
BS114	Blue metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	380.1	1S	w
BS115	White concrete nicho, 1m sq, w/open concrete box atop.	380.8	1S	w
BS116	White metal outline-cross inside a white WI fence	382	1S	w
BS117	Gray metal cross w/ spear-point tips & scroll	384.4	1S	w
BS118	White concrete cross w/flowers	385.1	1S	w
BS119	Red brick & concrete nicho on pedestal w/ white cross atop rear & blue & white wreath	387.7	1S	e
BS120	NSGuad shrine with 12 floral bouquets, 36 votive candles, 12 lit (this is 1 mile south of my blowout). There are 2 carloads of people here using the shrine.	390	1S	w
BS121	White concrete shrine to NSGuad	400.9	1S	w
BS122	Black metal cross	409.8	1S	w
BS123	White granito cross on 3-tiered pedestal, 4ft tall	410.2	1S	w
BS124	Large angel monument; “Nino ? Ramon ??, 18 mar 1988 --24 sept 1995; sus padres, tios, abuelos dedicam este recuerdo con amor eterno, ‘Es un angelito mas en corte celestial ? Dios, si un nino vive con aceptacion y amistad grande[?] en contra el amor’ Rigo Casrto y Chicas Cesena” just in front of it is a wooden cross on a concrete pedestal.	411.6	1S	e
BS125	White granito nicho, arch-roofed w/ cross atop rear	414.9	1S	w
BS126	White granito nicho, flat-roofed w/ cross atop rear & flowers	414.9	1S	e
BS127	White granito monument, gable roof supported by 4 columns. Inscribed; “Andres Molina Garcia, 29-aug-63/29-aug-96; recuerdo de sus companeros policia federal de caminos”	415	1S	w
BS128	2 white metal outline-crosses w/ pointed tips & flowers	416.8	1S	w
BS129	Large, light blue shrine to NSGuad, near a store	417.9	1S	w
BS130	White granito nicho w 2 urns & cross atop arched roof; flowers	423	1S	w

BS131	Turquoise concrete nicho, gable-roofed w/ white cross atop rear and chain-link fence around it	426	1S	e
BS132	Brown wood cross; 25m S of 131	426	1S	e
BS133	Concrete nicho w/ sheet metal gable roof & black metal cross atop rear; faced away from road	428.7	1S	w
BS134	Cross, obscured w/ wreath	430.4	1S	e
BS135	Pole shrine to Jesus Sacred Heart	431.2	1S	w
BS136	Wooden nicho w/ flat roof & cross behind covered by flowers	431.4	1S	e
BS137	White granito nicho w/ cross atop rear	432.1	1S	w
BS138	2m tall cross w/ triple-forked tips; metal or wood	435.6	1S	e
BS139	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & red flowers	436.1	1S	w
BS140	White pipe-cross on 3-tiered pedestal w/white flowers	438.7	1S	w
BS141	White saguaro cactus pole nicho/shrine; inside is a 6" tall Nino de Atocha statue	440	1S	
BS142	White concrete cross on 3-tiered pedestal, 4ft tall	440.8	1S	w
BS143	Small shrine to St. Jude, 1m sq x 2.5m tall, bottom opening for candles & upper opening w/print of SJ & flower	444	1S	
BS144	White concrete A-frame nicho, w/ white metal cross atop	444.7	1S	e
BS145	4ft tall white granito cross on pedestal w/wreath	445.6	1S	w
BS146	3 black metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls	446.6	1S	w
BS147	2 white metal crosses, one w/ scroll	449.8	1S	e
BS148	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	452.1	1S	e
BS149	White cross w/ scroll	452.4	1S	w
BS150	White cross w/ scroll	453.4	1S	e
BS151	Black metal cross w/ scroll	453.5	1S	w
BS152	White metal cross w/ scroll	456.4	1S	w
BS153	4 identical white metal crosses w/ scrolls & pointed tips	457.5	1S	w
BS154	White metal cross	458.7	1S	w
BS155	Metal nicho, 1ft cubed, gabled roof; nailed to a tree limb. NSGuad image & several candles inside	462.5	1S	w
BS156	Tan concrete nicho, gable-roofed, 1.5ft cubed	469.5	1S	e
BS157	White concrete gable-roofed nicho, 1m cubed	469.6	1S	e
BS158	White metal cross w/ light blue scroll	469.9	1S	e
BS159	White concrete nicho, tiled gable-roof, 1m tall	490.1	1S	w
BS160	2 blue concrete nichos on 1m cubed pedestal, w/ black WI & glass doors & rear facade w/ 3 black metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls; both w/ wreaths	491.6	1S	
BS161	White concrete, flat-roofed nicho on .5m cubed pedestal, .25m cubed, w/ aluminum & glass door & wood [1x3 lumber, edge routed] atop rear; "Homero Gerardo Avilas, 12-sept-72/9-jun-91, DEP" w/wreath	491.6	1S	
BS162	White metal cross w/ scroll	492.9	1S	w
BS163	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho	496.5	1S	w
BS164	White concrete, gabled roofed nicho, lots of flowers & 3 crosses	496.6	1S	e
BS165	Black metal cross w/ scroll, diamond-shaped tips & flowers	497.5	1S	e
BS166	Blue gable-roofed nicho w/ pink interior & flowers, 1m tall	498.3	1S	w
BS167	Brick shrine to NSGuad, 2m sq x 2.5m tall	499.4	1S	w
BS168	3 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls	500.5	1S	e

BS169	Pink concrete shrine, 4m cubed, gable-wing roof w/ white metal cross atop front, inside; dark blue tile; central image is a Virgin & Child in tile. 40 candles, most lit, 2 bouquets of flowers on altar & 2 on floor. Oleanders planted around the building.	500.8	1S	e
BS170	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll & flowers	501.6	1S	w
BS171	3 white wood crosses	501.7	1S	w
BS172	White concrete nicho w/ front painted turquoise, 2m tall x .5m sq, WI door w/ cross inlaid, cross atop gabled roof; "San Judas Tadeo"	503.5	1S	w
wBS13	Jct. 1S/19S; 23.53.01/110.15.18	503.8	19S	
BS173	White concrete cross, 1m tall	503.8	19S	w
BS174	White metal box-nicho w/ white metal cross atop	504.4	19S	e
BS175	White concrete nicho w/ white cross atop rear	504.5	19S	w
BS176	White concrete nicho, gabled roof and 2 metal cross next to it	509.8	19S	e
BS177	2 white metal crosses	510.9	19S	e
BS178	Brick gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	511.5	19S	w
BS179	Concrete, flat roof nicho w/ white metal cross atop	515.8	19S	w
BS180	Red metal cross w/ scroll & flowers on pedestal	516.3	19S	w
BS181	2 black metal crosses; filigrees, scrolls, one on pedestal	517.8	19S	w
BS182	White concrete cross w/ wedge pedestal	518	19S	w
BS183	Dark blue concrete nicho & metal cross w/filigrees atop	521.1	19S	e
BS184	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/black metal cross atop rear; enclosed in black WI fence	523	19S	w
BS185	Black pipe-cross w/ scroll	524.3	19S	e
BS186	Lime green concrete shrine w/ St Jude print, Christ child statue, votive candle	528.1	19S	e
BS187	White granito nicho w/ cross atop, wreath	530.2	19S	e
BS188	2 black metal crosses w/filigrees, scrolls, pedestals	530.4	19S	w
BS189	2m sq x 2.5m tall, shrine to NSGuad	533.3	19S	e
BS190	Open-faced nicho w/ sacred heart statue, broken-off cross, faces parallel & inside black WI fence	533.5	19S	w
BS191	Concrete nicho, arch-roofed, under construction	536	19S	w
BS192	Unpainted concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	539.3	19S	e
BS193	White concrete 2-tiered nicho w/ hip roof, cross atop &, flowers	540	19S	e
BS194	2m tall nicho w/ flowers on it	542.4	19S	w
BS195	White concrete & tile cross and black metal cross	543.8	19S	e
BS196	White concrete nicho w/ blue trim	548.4	19S	e
BS197	White concrete, gable-roofed shrine w/ dark green trim & cross painted above arched doorway; tile image of St Jude on rear wall, statue of same, 30 votives, 20 lit, notes [ayudame], crucifix, photos, baby clothing, lots of fresh & imitation flowers. Outside there is a patio area with 2 concrete & tile benches and 2 green picket fences enclosing Ficus trees and planters with desert flora. The entire built area is about 10m square and there is a sign to one side that reads; "Como signo de respecto a San Judas no urine detras de la capillita, Gracias, un catolico creinte como usted."	548.7	19S	w

	A truck load of guys just drove by [as I was getting into the car] and 2 of them crossed themselves as they passed by.			
BS198	Nicho	550.3	19S	w
BS199	White & light blue brick shrine; bad location	551.4	19S	w
BS200	3m cubed, shrine to Virgin de San Juan	552.9	19S	e
BS201	Black metal cross w/ scroll & flowers	561.4	19S	e
BS202	White gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear covered in flowers & auto parts strewn about	567.6	19S	w
BS203	Adobe, flat-roofed nicho w/ black cross atop	572	19S	w
BS204	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	572.2	19S	e
BS205	White concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho & white metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll atop rear	573.4	19S	w
BS206	Large shrine to Virgin of Guadalupe. This about 7m square of tan stucco and tiled gable roof and arched doorway, has a very large print of NSGuad, signs (in English & Spanish), about 30 votives (1/2 are lit), a large candle rack to the left and 15-20 bouquets of flowers. In talking with a local fellow who stopped to pray; he said that this is a government rest stop, and the signs are put up by the government, however the capilla was built by the church in San Lucas and the signs inside are asking for donations to help build a new shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe. This is interesting because this is the first roadside shrine I've come across that was built by the church or a church. It is obvious that this is not just a rest stop, but that people come here primarily to pray. As evidenced by the couple that was leaving when I arrived and the gentleman who arrived while I was inside and another couple who just pulled in (this is only 4 miles north of Cabo San Lucas and it is unlikely that people would need to rest traveling in either direction!). Even more interesting is that the fellow I spoke with actually came out here for the purpose of praying; he came from the direction of Cabo and when he left he drove off in the same direction.	577.1	19S	w
BS207	White concrete cross	577.9	19S	w
BS208	Pink shrine to NSGuad, 2m cubed w/ gable roof	578.1	19S	w
wBS16	Jct 19/1; Cabo San Lucas; 22.53.95/109.55.44; end transect P2	581.5	19S	

Table A4.3: Sonora

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB2	Boundary Sonora/Chihuahua; transect B4	0	2E	
SN35	1.5x1.5x2.5m white tin nicho w/ gabled roof. Interior: 0.6 x 0.9m print of Virgin of Guadalupe, 6 votives, small prints of Sacred Heart of Jesus and Virgin of Guadalupe.	1	2E	n
SN34	Large (12 x 3m) rock painting of Virgin of Guadalupe with white cross-above & altar below.	13	2E	n
SN33	Black metal cross on concrete base inscribed: "Alejandro Romero Ch. 18-Jun-87"	13	2E	n
SN32	1.5x1x1m white plywood nicho w/ cross centered atop a gabled roof; inside are 1 votive candle and a print of Jesus.	17	2E	n
SN31	1.5x1.5x2m white stucco nicho with arched roof and 0.75 x 1m wrought iron door. Interior: 0.5 x 0.8m print of St. Jude, 3 votives; another dangerous spot.	19	2E	s
SN30	Located on a dangerous twisting mountain road, white metal cross set in concrete, inscribed; "DEP Raymundo Gutierrez Morales 'La pequena Lulu' 02 Enero 1990"	19	2E	s
SN29	0.5x0.5x0.75 brick nicho w/ sheet metal gabled roof & bricked-up door opening. Interior: 6 votives, 2 prints of Virgin of Guadalupe, 1 statue of Virgin of Guadalupe, 1 flower, and inscription: "Familia Pinos, Casas Grandes, Chih. Recuerdo de 14 de Febrero, 1998 Ramon Cajibas de familia 3 Marzo 1998, Recuerdo de familia Serrano Garcia Chukis". Located on a dangerous twisting mountain road.	20	2E	n
SN28	Black metal cross	27	2E	s
SN27	0.5x0.5x0.75 white metal nicho w/ cross atop; inside 2 broken crucifixes & 1 votive candle.	30	2E	s
SN26	2 black metal cross; inscribed: "Enrique Duran B. 11-3-95" and "J. Simon Nevarez B. 11-3-95"	31	2E	n
SN25	3x2x3m white and mauve stucco shrine with gabled roof and metal fencing around its tiled and AstroTurf exterior; partially on private property. Interior: 1 x 2m print of Virgin of Guadalupe, 0.5 x 1m print of Jesus, metal rack with 20 votives and 20 votives on a shelf, bottom right of larger Virgin of Guadalupe print has 5 x 7cm photos of 2 females and 1 male, and upper left a photo of an infant.	31	2E	s
SN24	4x2.5x3m brick with tin gabled roof, 3-tiered facade & black metal cross that has been vandalised. Interior: smashed NSGuad statue and pieces of charred wood.	32	2E	s
SN23	2 white concrete crosses, 50m west of SN21, Inscriptions: "Sr. Sergio Sandoval R. 9-15-19??" and "Sr. Ruben Gonzalez G. 9-15-19??"	34	2E	n
SN22	Located 0.5km east of SN21 on a road-cut above a sharp curve. Homemade 0.5 x 0.5 x 1m white block nicho w/ gabled, plywood & corrugated-metal roof & aluminum & (former) glass door. Interior: beautiful lacquered, multi-colored wood plaque w/ print of the NSGuad w/ Jesus face in the folds of her gown decouped onto the wood. An excellent piece of homemade craftsmanship. The doorway	34	2E	s

	was boarded over w/ 2 scraps of plywood & rocks.			
SN21	White block nicho, 1x1x1.5m, w/ wood-framed & shingled, gable roof. Whitewashed rock path up to the nicho & a water bottle is set next to the path. The interior has one votive candle.	34	2E	n
SN20	Blue concrete shrine, 2.5x1.5x3m, w/arched roof & black metal outline cross centered atop & centered support post & door header are in slight relief and painted white, forming a structurally integral cross. The interior is painted white & has a reclining St. Francis statue, 36 votives (6 burning), and 12 ribbon bows on an altar step.	38	2E	n
SN19	3x4.7x2.5m white stucco shrine to St. Jude; w/gabled roof. The front half of the structure is a portico. The interior is finished in light blue tile from floor-to-ceiling and has 1m high shelf w/ 0.5m tall statue of St. Jude, 60 x 90cm print of Virgin of Guadalupe, 24 votives, 12 floral bouquets.	38	2E	s
SN18	Brick nicho, 1.7x1.4x1.5m, on 3-stepped concrete pad, gable roof & 0.7x1m light blue wrought iron gate. Interior: The rear wall is a full (1.7x1.4m) hand drawn picture of a male in modern white shirt dress with "J.T." inscribed below the left breast pocket and "Malverde" written above the figure. 300cm tall statue St. Francis & smaller St. Jude & NSGuad statues, 3 votives, & 2 floral bouquets.	41	2E	s
SN17	3 white metal crosses, 2m tall, 30m off pavement	44	2E	n
SN16	20m east of SN15, brown particleboard, 0.3x0.5x0.8m, gable-roofed nicho w/ arched door opening, & 15 cm stilts, under construction.	44	2E	n
SN15	White metal cross, 1m tall. Inscription: "QEPD edad 27 anos, 12-05-93, en esta fecha fallecio el joven Manuel Fco. Quezada Gonzales"	44	2E	s
SN14	White stucco over adobe brick 1x1.5x1m, flat roof nicho, w/ white wrought iron filigreed outline arch & a filigreed Latin outline cross centered at the apex; the arch/cross structure is attached to cantilevers that protrude from the front of the roof. The remains of a green wreath hangs from the junction of the cross and the arch, & there is a 0.5x0.5m white wrought iron door. Interior: Print and statue of NSGuad, 7 votives (1 burning), 3 flower vases. This is 5m east of SN13 & a tree is planted halfway between them.	45	2E	s
SN13	White stucco over adobe brick nicho, 1x1x2m. Has two ziggurat tiers supporting a gable roof with a black metal cross centered on top, and a 0.5 x 0.5m black wrought iron locked door. Interior: 300cm statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, four votives, one vase of plastic red roses.	45	2E	s
SN12	1m tall white wood cross, with a floral wreath attached.	46	2E	n
SN11	White concrete cross, 1m tall on a 0.5m tall pedestal 20m north of the road. Inscription: "Fco. Mendoza Noriega, 1.5.1982, Rrdo. de su esposa E hijo."	46	2E	n
SN10	1x1x1m brick nicho with concrete gable roof and 1x1m opening for door. This nicho is construction and has	46	2E	n

	"19Mr99" scratched into the roof.			
SN09	Major roadside shrine to NSGuad; 16x10x10m w/ a second (6x2x6m) building 6m behind & joined by breezeway. Rest rooms (2) are 25m off behind to the northeast. Interior: 5m tall print of Virgin of Guadalupe, smaller (45 x 90cm) prints of St. Theresa and NS Guad, 1m tall crucifix, 1m tall statue of NSGuad, 100+ votives, 30-40 floral bouquets.	46	2E	n
SN08	Open shrine to NSGuad on private property 20m off the road. White-washed rocks form a path from the roadside to the shrine which is on a mound of soil, approximately 1m above the surrounding topography. The site is landscaped with agave plants to the sides and an ocotillo (blooming in this photo) to the rear.	47	2E	s
SN07	3 black metal crosses; leaning against fence	48	2E	n
SN06	1.5x1.5x1m white concrete nicho with a blue painted flat concrete roof, and 0.6 x 1m locked aluminum and Plexiglas door. Interior: 500cm statues of Virgin of Guadalupe and St. Jude, 300cm unpainted ceramic statue of Virgin of Guadalupe, 5 burning votives, and 3 pots with plastic roses.	48	2E	n
SN05	1x0.75x1m lime green, concrete, arch-roofed nicho, with forest green metal Cross Cleché centered atop front, and 0.5 x 0.6 Plexiglas door. Immediately adjacent to SN04. Interior: filled with votives. Doors to 04 & 05 are locked.	48	2E	n
SN04	1.5x1.5x2m green concrete nicho, flat roof with stepped facade and arched wrought iron door (0.6 x 1m), black metal cross centered on top and, in relief, one on either side of the door. The wrought iron work and relief crosses are forest green and contrast with the lime green stucco. The top cross has a yellow and green floral cross attached. Interior: 6 of 25 votives burning, 2 photos of a young male (28 x 35cm and 35 x 50) with a crucifix between them and a silk floral arch over them. 3 pots of silk flowers in front.	48	2E	n
SN03	White concrete shrine, 2x2x3m with gabled roof and facade. Wrought iron 1x1.5m door is arch-shaped and above the door "Sombra de San Pedro Apostol" (lit. The shade of St. Peter the Apostle) is hand-painted in black. Interior: 300cm step with 330cm statue of Saint Peter, 10 votive candles, 2 vases with live evergreen boughs, 2 pots of plastic poinsettias and blue roses.	48	2E	s
SN02	Black metal cross, 1m tall, w/ filigrees. "Sra. Evilia Garcia C. QPD"	48	2E	n
SN01	White concrete nicho, 0.75x1x1m on a 2 x 1.5m concrete slab, with 0.5 x 0.5m white concrete Latin Cross atop the gabled roof and a broken, wood frame and Plexiglas door. Interior; 300cm St. Francis statue, 11 votive candles, 1 floral pot.	49	2E	s
wB1	US/MX border @ Douglas/Agua Prieta	55	2E	
SN285	3m square, arch-roofed shrine, gray concrete w/ rectangular facade & crosses on 2 corner pilasters & Jesus Sacred Heart statue in middle. Base under the statue inscribed: "lo que	57	2S	e

	hagas a algunos de mis hijos aunque se almateceno a mi? a mi tambien me lo has" There are 11 circular pipe sections embedded in the soil and planted with desert flora leading up to the gateway. The gate is arched WI. Inside is a large (1m tall) statue of BVM, beneath that is an interesting Mary print with dark skinned Mary and a dark Jesus in her veil. There is a baby Jesus doll, Jesus Sacred Heart statue and another Mary statue.			
SN286	On a flat slab nicho w/ raised open-book inscription plate death marker fenced in chain link w/ wooden posts & 2 xmas-type wreaths attached. Just inside the private property fence along side the road.	58	2S	w
SN287	3m cubed, white concrete shrine, gabled tin roof & WI door & side panels. 2 reclining St. Francis statues, BVM plaque, 4 bouquets of artificial flowers, 15 votive candles.	58	2S	e
SN288	Just inside private property. White concrete nicho/shrine, w/ reddish-brown tin roof & outline cross centered in front & brown tile cross built into the doorway header. Inside is a small altar w/ 2 reclining St. Francis statues & a large NSGuad statue in the center. In the upper left is a print of NSGuad & Juan Diego miracle scenes; on the right wall is a 11x14 print of reclining St. Francis.	59	2S	w
SN289	White stucco, 3m cubed, flat-roofed shrine, w/ 5 step façade & white metal door, inside is painted blue, floor is white tile. On a raised altar, which runs the width of the rear wall, is a glass encased reclining St. Francis statue and 30 votive candles, none lit.	60	2S	w
SN290	2 gray metal cross w/ center name plates & interarm filigrees and fresh wreath; "Sr.?"	60	2S	e
SN291	White metal cross, center name plate, tiled area around it & lime green & orange wreath	60	2S	w
SN292	2 white metal crosses, w/wreath, 1 insc. "Sr. Ofelia Diaz Ga, Recuerdo de padres y hmns" Both set in concrete w/ rocks piled around upright arm and 2 tires are nearby.	61	2S	e
SN293	Brick, 3m cubed nicho, with church-type facade its next to a gate going into a rancho.	61	2S	e
SN294	Black metal cross, center name plate "Mazo Antoni Overa E. 24-4-68, 17-3-98"	62	2S	w
SN295	White metal cross w/ center name plate & green & white wreath "Maria Salazar, QEPD, rcd. ?"	63	2S	e
SN296	3m square white block nicho w/ tin gabled roof & white metal cross centered in front w/ filigrees. White metal door. Inside: a 1m tall statue of St. Jude & a smaller one to its left, on the wall are prints of NSGuad, Nino de Atocha, & Last Supper. Above those; black metal cross inscribed: " Joven Gildardo Trojillo Valencia, 18 anos; 10 abril 1994, recuerdo de padres y hermanos"	64	2S	e
SN297	1m square, 1m tall concrete nicho w/shingled gable roof, & a 2x4 lumber cross centered in the front & a small x-fix attached to the upper vertical arm. Inside: print of NSGuad,	64	2S	w

	6 floral arrangements and votive candles.			
SN298	Adjacent to 297. Beige concrete nicho w/ gray gabled roof, has 3 crosses atop. Inside: prints of nino de atocha, Jesus sacred heart, votive candles & flowers in disarray.	64	2S	e
SN299	4 crosses, from north-to-south: white metal w/ roofed center name plate, "Victor M. Vega Barajas, 8-3-71/8-12-90"; black metal w/ center name plate that is unreadable due to weathering; slightly larger (1m tall) black metal w/ center name plate that was white w/ black inscription in black but is now worn off but has fresh flowers on it; gray metal w/ arm fallen down, center name plate: "Prospero Romero Valenzuela, fallacio dic 8, 1990 a la edad de 17 anos, sus duedos dedican esta recuerdo QEPD" has fresh purple flowers.	64	2S	e
SN300	White concrete cross w/ an angel on pedestal covered by astro-turf type carpeting & several wreaths. The cherub indicates that is probably a child. The inscription is hard to read but the dates; "1970" and "1979" and "HERI" are legible, indicating a nine-year-old died here.	66	2S	w
SN301	Homemade concrete cross w/inscription scratched into it: "Ramos ? 8-5-84"	66	2S	w
SN302	White concrete nicho, 2m square, w/ shingled gable roof. Has brown tile pillars, & a white metal cross centered in the front. Inside: a photo of a young boy centered, & built into the tiles of the rear wall. To its left is a 2" tall statue of St. Jude, a votive candle, and silk flowers on the floor.	67	2S	w
SN303	White metal cross w/ freshly poured concrete pad in front (future nicho?) 2 wreaths	67	2S	w
SN304	White concrete cross, on a hard curve, on a wedge concrete & stone pedestal, has an inscription plate	68	2S	w
SN305	Bronze metal cross on a wedge pedestal, clover-type; seemed fresh	68	2S	e
SN306	1 white concrete nicho	68	2S	e
SN307	Brown concrete nicho w/ gable roof & 2m tall metal cross centered on the rear. Opening has 2 votive candles, 1 is lit.	69	2S	w
SN308	White homemade concrete cross 1 on wedge pedestal; 25m back off the pavement	71	2S	w
SN309	White metal cross w/ center name plate	71	2S	e
SN310	a) White metal cross w/ center name plate; "Oscar Javier Hernandez, 4 mar 66/ 15 mar 98, familiares, amigos dedican esta recuerdo QEPD" b) behind it is a small brown metal nicho, 0.5m square, w/ gabled roof & church type facade w/ cross centered in front. Padlocked door. 18" tall Statue of NSGuad, & several unlit votives are visible; a) and b) appear to go together as 1 recuerdo. c) To the left of b) is a black pipe cross w/ centered name plate; "M. Enrique Cruz, june 15, 1972/mar 15, 1998, Jimanez (possibly a nickname) QEPD" d) next to c) is a hand-made wood 2x4 cross, nicely done w/ edges skillfully routed and center name plate; Senor ? Mora, (same death date)"	72	2S	w

SN311	White metal cross on concrete pedestal, center name plate and fresh WREATH "Senor Javier ?"	72	2S	w
SN312	Down below a bridge abutment; white wooden cross on a red block pedestal "Enrique Gastim Jr."	73	2S	w
SN313	White concrete cross w/ fresh wreath and torn-up fenders	74	2S	e
SN314	Brick, 3m square shrine, altar in the rear inside; under construction.	74	2S	e
SN315	Up on a hillside, in front of some white-painted rocks. a small concrete, gable-roofed, pink nicho with pink metal gate (open) & pink metal cross atop.	74	2S	w
SN316	Green metal cross & 1 white metal	76	2S	w
SN317	2 identical white concrete cross w/ center name plates & fresh wreaths	76	2S	e
SN318	Black metal cross w/ center name plate	77	2S	e
SN319	"Dario R." I have photos of this, small turquoise nicho	77	2S	e
SN320	Gray pipe-type cross w/ center name plate	79	2S	w
SN321	Yellow brick, 3m cubed shrine w/ arched roof & white metal door. Area is outlined by slump blocks set on edge w/clean gravel inside the demarcated area. Inside: 2 sets of metal gratings, rear altar w/ 2.5 ft tall statue of NSGuad, 6 votive candles.	79	2S	e
SN322	White pipe-type cross, center name plate, wreath	79	2S	w
SN323	White concrete cross, center name plate	80	2S	w
SN324	Black metal cross, center name plate, inscribed in white	80	2S	w
SN325	Light blue, 1m square box-type nicho w/ square facade & cross centered atop front & NSGuad statue in front	80	2S	e
SN326	White concrete shrine to St. Jude, 1.5m square x 2m tall, green shingled gable roof, w/white wooden cross centered in the middle. Large (1m tall) statue of St. Jude inside in the center, 30 votives (at least 6 burning), a couple of floral bouquets. Pink tiles on the floor.	80	2S	s?
SN327	White metal, outline-type cross, center name plate & pink wreath	81	2S	w
SN328	White metal cross, center name plate, w/ pointed arm tips painted brown	82	2S	w
SN329	On a hard curve. White nicho w/ white cross centered in rear "David Garcia E. 11-98/" rosary beads hanging from center of the cross, fresh bouquet of flowers, opening is bricked-up. Inside: 6 packs of cigarettes (Delicados & Raleighs), cough drops (Halls throat lozenges), matches, a bit of rope.	82	2S	w
SN330	White concrete cross on pedestal, inscription, fresh DOD flowers.	82	2S	w
SN331	2 white metal double cross (one atop the other) on white-painted concrete blocks; up on a road cut	83	2S	e
SN332	White concrete cross, center name plate, fresh red & pink wreath	83	2S	e
SN333	White metal cross up on a road cut about 4 ft above road level, on a concrete pedestal w/ open book	83	2S	e
SN334	Block & concrete nicho, w/ WI gate, "Denny" inscribed into	83	2S	w

	the gate, Statues of Jesus Sacred Heart & NSGuad			
SN335	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal with a bunch of car parts around it	83	2S	e
SN336	Black metal cross almost entirely obscured by a wreath	84	2S	e
SN337	Gray pipe-type cross w/ fresh wreath	85	2S	w
SN338	White brick nicho, 1m cubed, w/ white cross centered atop front; in front of the nicho are 2 small wooden crosses set in concrete, 1 broken off.	85	2S	e
SN339	Granito arched nicho w/ 3m tall white metal outline-cross; in front is a small white concrete cross w/ black inscription.	85	2S	w
SN340	Nicho w/ Christ statue atop a volcanic plug 100m off the road. Cross off to its left. A line of white-washed rocks marking the trail to the nicho	78	2S	w
SN341	White metal outline-type cross, 1.5m tall, w/ wedge inscription plate in front	79	2S	e
SN342	White metal cross, inter-arm filigrees, center name plate w/ black inscription & a purple ribbon/bow	80	2S	w
SN343	Old, wooden, broken cross w/ wilted flowers	81	2S	w
SN344	Up on a hill. Concrete, pale blue & white, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop, 1.5ft tall x 2ft square; lots of votive candles.	82	2S	w
SN345	On a road cut 10ft above road level. box-type nicho of paving stones. statue ?	82	2S	e
SN346	White concrete cross, w/ pink & white wreath	83	2S	w
SN347	Black metal cross w/ wreath	83	2S	w
SN348	White concrete nicho w/white WI gate, white concrete cross centered atop front	83	2S	w
SN349	Concrete nicho, 1m cubed, slightly arched metal roof, black door (Locked) with heart-shaped filigree. NSGuad statue, 12 votive candles.	85	2S	w
SN350	30m off the road, just inside private property; brick & concrete, gable-roofed, nicho w/ black metal cross centered atop the front, black WI door. Nothing inside.	85	2S	w
SN351	Gray metal cross w/ red & white wreath	87	2S	e
SN352	White pipe-cross & white wooden cross mounted on adjacent concrete pedestals at right angles to one another; around both were piled rocks.	89	2S	w
SN353	White metal gable-roofed nicho w/ x centered atop the front; .25m square	91	2S	e
SN354	White metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees, center name plate w/ black inscription & a purple ribbon/bow	93	2S	w
SN355	White metal cross w/ center name plate	95	2S	w
SN356	White pipe-type cross w/ center name plate	95	2S	e
SN357	Rough wooden cross w/concrete footing & fresh DOD flowers	95	2S	e
SN358	2 gray pipe-types cross w/ ball ends & wreaths	95	2S	e
SN359	White metal cross on pedestal w/ name plate below the cross arm	95	2S	e
SN360	Small, white, concrete nicho w/ gable roof	96	2S	w

SN361	Under construction; 1m cubed nicho, shows what may be typical method of construction. Finished it looks like concrete; in this stage, it is brick that will be stuccoed over.	96	2S	w
SN362	Small white concrete nicho w/metal gable roof; 2ft cubed, the opening is only about 6" square	100	2S	e
SN363	Just on the outskirts of Cananea w/ long stairway & large cross (concrete, 25ft tall). Shrine is about 5m cubed, w/ red gabled roof & domed facade in the rear & a 'mission' facade in front w/ belfries & crosses atop & an arch in the middle. Inside: center on a pedestal that sits off the floor is a 1m tall statue of St. Jude, directly above it is a 1.5m tall x-fix, to the left of it is another pedestal about 1.5m tall w/ a 1.5m tall statue of NSGuad. To the right of the St.Jude/x-fix is another pedestal 0.5m tall with a reclining St. Francis about 18" long; another pedestal about 1.5m tall has a 1ft tall Nino de Atocha statue, 1m above that a third pedestal on the right has a 1ft long reclining St. Francis encased in a wood & glass cabinet. All of this is behind a full-length heavy gray WI gate that is chained and locked, on either side of the gate are 3 metal votive shelves welded onto the WI, each w/ 6-12 candles on it; currently about 12 are burning. The stairway and walkway are landscaped with desert-type plants & the interesting thing is that there is no indication who built it & there are no offering boxes.	100	2S	e
SN364	Gray concrete nicho w/ galvanized metal gable roof	102	2S	e
SN365	White concrete cross	103	2S	w
SN366	Unpainted concrete, gabled nicho1 under construction. Just to its left is a rock painting of NSGuad	104	2S	w
SN367	2-tone green, concrete, 2m cubed, shrine w/ gable roof & 1 belfry and a cross atop. Chili peppers painted on the side of the belfry, chapel to St. Jude.	105	2S	e
SN368	On a bluff about 20 ft above the road and 20 ft off to the west. 4-5m square & 6m tall, white stucco shrine w/ bronze-painted belfries & centered cross on either side & gable roof facade. Inside: 2 kneelers, bronze WI gate, central figure is reclining St. Frances 4ft long, above that (about 1.5m off the floor) is a raised altar w/ centered St. Jude print & 12" tall statue of same, to its right is Jesus Sacred Heart print. There is large (3.5 m tall x 2m wide) rectangular concrete marker right out on the bluff that marks this spot and it has a large parking area.	106	2S	w
SN369	White metal nicho, 1ft cubed, w/ cross centered in front atop gabled roof, sitting on a white painted barrel.	106	2S	e
SN370	7 white wooden identical crosses in the same footing w/ red wreaths, enclosed by a WI fence w/ belfry-type corners w/ crosses atop of each belfry and a cross in the middle of a gabled section, front crosses yellow, rear blue. Centered in the rear 2ft off the ground attached to the WI work is a small glass & metal nicho box. Inside is a small 5x7 print of St. Martin de Porres, 3 votives, 3x5 print of NS de Lourdes, and	108	2S	e

	3x5 print of Jesus Sacred Heart (neither framed), and visitation pebbles. Inscriptions: "Jose"; a different "Jose"; "Estanaslau"; "Beca Miranda"; "Ruben"; "Alphonso" hand-painted inscriptions are almost worn off, the only date I got was "1998"			
SN371	White metal cross, center name plate bordered in green; "Jesse". on concrete pedestal, red flowers.	108	2S	w
SN372	Brown metal pipe-type cross w/ center name plate	110	2S	w
SN373	A-frame metal nicho that is bent into a triangle (I have a photo of this one)	112	2S	e
SN374	White concrete nicho, 1m square, 1.5m tall, sheet metal gable roof; has white metal cross w/center name plate centered in front on top with 4 batteries arranged around the cross; large stone holding door closed. 'Capillita' scratched into the white paint on the concrete facing of the gable roof. Inside is painted light blue: print of St. Jude in center w/ another print of NSGuad with the pope below it, on the left wall are 2 NSGuad and a NS Senora del Sagrada Corazon prints, on right wall are Christ crucified, Christ w/ crown of thorns, and Christ (pre-suffering) prints. 3 votive candles, 1 burning. An elderly gentleman pulled out from a side road in a red pickup truck while we were there, and he blessed himself as he passed by the shrine.	112	2S	w
SN375	Small gray metal, gable roof nicho & metal cross centered atop in front	112	2S	w
SN376	White wooden cross, 1m tall, w/ stones painted white around it & blue wreath	114	2S	w
SN377	Brick nicho, 10ft above the road on a bank, 3ft cubed, gabled tin roof, front facade & cross w/ center name plate	114	2S	e
SN378	2 white concrete gable-roofed nichos w/ crosses centered atop, metal doors. 1st one had NSGuad statue, 2nd had a St. Jude.	116	2S	w
SN379	2 white metal crosses w/ inter-arm filigrees, center name plates on single concrete pad; both had red wreath	117	2S	e
SN380	Hot, shockingly pink shrine to NSGuad made of metal; sits up on a knoll 15ft beyond the private property line. There is a welded metal set of steps, set in concrete, going over the barbed wire fence; painted the same color. Rear wall of the shrine is a 4ft tall image of NSGuad on a piece of 1/4" thick metal; inside are 25-30 votive candles (none lit), bunches of plastic floral bouquets. Just as we were getting back into the car a trucker drove by and as he passed he crossed himself.	118	2S	e
SN381	Large shrine, central figure is St. Francis. Concrete, 4m square, gabled roof, has a large front facade w/ belfries & a center outline, bronze-painted cross w/ center & top sunbursts. 2 arched windows. Inside: bronze-painted trim, a double altar, a locked grating & 6 votives (2 lit). A reclining St. Francis about 1m long is the central figure, above that on the raised altar is x-fix, to the right a St. Martin de Porres statue, to the left is a NSGuad print, to its left is a Mary	120	2S	w

	Queen of Heaven print, a nino de atocha statue, a print of an unidentified saint, St. Jude statue 2.5ft tall, & Jesus Sacred Heart print. The same JSH print is to the right, below it is a print of a female saint holding a palm frond and a plate with 2 eyeballs on it (St. Lucy), and there is a large framed string art NSGuad.			
SN382	White concrete crosses w/ urns on either side, on a concrete pedestal	123	2S	e
SN383	White concrete cross	123	2S	w
SN384	3 white concrete cross, smaller than the others	129	2S	w
SN385	White wood cross in a concrete base	130	2S	w
SN386	Small metal nicho box 6" cubed, painted blue, arched roof & x centered in front, drop-down door inscribed "Sr Francisco Javier Luzana Ibarra nacio 1-11-56, fallacio 11-7-92, QEPD 'Macizo'" on the left side is painted in black "Te recuerdan... tus padres, tu esposa y hijos y hermanos" on the other side "Senor... protege a todos mis companeros de cualquiera pellegro... y permiteles vovler a sus hogares. Amen" Lord protect all of my friends from whatever danger and permit them to return to their homes. Amen Yep, that's what this is all about, just getting to see that. Ever so humble.	133	2S	e
SN387	Small metal nicho, the one with the carnation instant drink in front that I have a photo of	134	2S	e
SN388	Large NSGuad rock painting referenced in Griffith. It has a little nicho underneath, dozens of votive candles, 6 fresh floral bouquets; up above the painting of the Virgin there are 2 little stands with a Jesus Sacred Heart & a St. Jude statues. Quite an impressive structure. There's a fountain painted below the niche ledge and it actually says who donated it: "Patrocenado por hermanos Cordova" another little niche is built into the rocks on the right & a large structure that is 4m cubed w/ gabled roof and 2x4 cross, iron gratings. Its empty but its certainly big enough to take shelter in; there's nice vegetation planted around the area. The trucker stopped here is fiddling with his truck; obviously this is a major place where people stop along this route and everyone is pretty aware of it.	137	2S	e
SN389	White concrete cross, 1.5m tall, on a wedge pedestal (seen thru rear view mirror)	137	2S	e
SN390	White pipe-type cross w/ center name plate	138	2S	e
SN391	Black metal cross w/ gold-painted tips & DOD flowers	138	2S	w
SN392	White metal cross, 1m tall, center name plate, inter-arm filigrees	138	2S	w
SN393	3 white metal crosses center name plates & inter-arm filigrees, all the same. One inscribed "Ernesto", another "Mario".	139	2S	e
SN394	Black metal cross, spear-point ends, one arm broken off	139	2S	w
SN395	Large white metal cross (2m tall) "Papa", flowers, stones piled up around the concrete base of the cross	140	2S	e

SN396	2 black metal crosses, one with 3 name plates. From N-S: "Luis Fernando Martinez, 14 mayo 91" "Otron Descara Martinez, same date" "Efran Felipe Maldonado, same date" second cross is also for Efran, 2-4-72/5-14-90. 2 crosses, 3 deaths.	141	2S	w
SN397	White concrete cross on wedge pedestal; "Elizar Ernesto Leon Rivera, 13-10-48/17-9-92, recuerdo de sus chofres" his fellow drivers, he was probably a bus driver.	142	2S	w
SN398	Sacred Heart statue on a concrete pedestal w/ a bunch of votive candles in front. "Luis Enrique Garcia Arizmende, 22-jan-72/13-aug-97, hermosos recuerdos nos dejaste de tu breve paso por la vida; recuerdo de tus companeros QEPD" the builders signed in the wet concrete: "Gera" "Tony" "Enrique" "Corecamos" "Manuel" "Sylvia" "Cranky" "Estaban" "Alvira" "Lola" "Franco" "Herico" "Miel" the slab w/ printed inscription is marble, which is pretty rare.	143	2S	w
SN399	White concrete nicho, 1m cubed, gable roofed w/ cross atop, votive candles inside and a frame w/o a picture	143	2S	w
SN400	3 crosses w/ whitewashed stones around them, covered w/ plastic flowers, one (white metal, inter-arm filagrees, center name plate) has fresh wreath "Aqui murio mi hijo el 22 sept 1995, Juan Chaparo C. a la edad de 28 anos, sus padres, hermanos y mas familia lo recuerden siempre QEPD" to its left is a brown metal w/ center name plate: "Aqui murio Jesus Manuel Acosta G., a la edad de 26 anos, sus padres, esposa y hijos siempre lo recuerdan" between these two in a gully is a white 2x4 wooden cross w/ a pile of rocks & cement around it & a bunch of imitation flowers.	143	2S	w
SN401	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho, .25square & .5m tall, begin	145	2S	w
SN402	2.5m tall white concrete cross w/ Christ painted on it. In front of it is a granito cross/pedestal, inscribed: "Cristobal Franco Canales Velasco, aug 15, 1954/mayo 1, 1984; recuerdo de su hermana Adela y su amigo Juan de Dios Garcia, Triste quedo nuestro hogar sin su sombra querida se fue que dandonos la noblesa de su alma y la vondad de su corazon que sea tu voluntad y que descanse eternamente en vostro reino celestial." Next to it, is what makes it so awesome; is a 1m square & 3m tall pillar w/ St. Francis painted on one side, Virgin of Guadalupe another and a marble inscription that says: "Hos. Amare en el cielo como hos ame en la tierra y valare por vosotras, Cristobal F. Canales Velasco 8-15-54/5-18-84, Padre nuestro perdonolos" on a third side is painted 3 crosses on a mountain above a village.	146	2S	e
SN403	Shrine to Juan Soldado. Concrete, 3m square, w/ tin gabled roof, metal outline cross atop, & a WI gate. A metal plate above the door with a Virgin of Guadalupe centered at the top, under it; "Anima del purgatorio Juan Soldado, 15 feb 90" Inside is a very plain altar with a statue of Juan Soldado w/ 5 votive candles, 4 are San Martin Caballero, 2 are lit and	146	2S	e

	are enclosed in 4 large adobe blocks. Sprigs of juniper are laying about.			
SN404	Newly constructed concrete shrine, 2m square & 3m tall, w/ gabled roof and red-brown pipe cross centered in front, 14x20 print of NSGuad inside.	146	2S	w
SN405	Block nicho w/ white WI gate & white metal cross atop front, 4ft cubed	148	2S	e
wSN11a	Junction of 2S & 15S	148	15S	
SN407	White metal, gable roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop	149	15S	e
SN408	Open shrine to Guadalupe & at a pull-off area w/ taquerias etc.	149	15S	e
SN409	Gray concrete cross, 1m tall, on 1m tall pillar, w/ black crucifix in the middle	150	15S	e
SN410	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho	150	15S	w
SN411	3 white cross, 2 concrete, 1 wood	150	15S	m
SN412	2 white metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees	151	15S	w
SN413	White metal cross, 1m tall, outline-type	157	15S	m
SN414	Newly constructed concrete shrine, 2m square & 3m tall, w/ gabled roof & red-brown pipe cross centered in front, 14x20 print of NSGuad inside.	157	15S	e
SN415	White metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees	157	15S	e
SN416	Black metal cross w/ center name plate & inter-arm filigrees @ intersection of free road to Magdalena & toll road to Hermosillo.	158	15S	w
SN417	White metal cross w/center name plate & inter-arm filigrees, adjacent to a bridge abutment; "Gerardo"	160	15S	e
SN418	2 white concrete cross w/2 urns each & red wreaths	160	15S	e
SN419	Black metal cross w/ center name plate & filigrees @ intersection of free road to Magdalena & toll road to Hermosillo.	162	15S	e
SN420	White metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center name plate, obscured by new wreath	164	15S	w
SN421	White granito nicho, arch-roofed w/ cross centered in front, inside painted blue; 2ft square & 3ft tall, flowers & votive candles inside	165	15S	e
SN422	3ft cubed, gray concrete, gable roof nicho w/ gray cross centered atop and a purple bow tied to it, metal gate, flowers & votive candles	166	15S	w
SN423	White metal cross	168	15S	w
SN424	White concrete cross	169	15S	w
SN425	White concrete cross w/ red wreath	169	15S	m
SN426	White granito nicho, gable-roofed, 3ft tall	169	15S	e
SN427	Up on a hill, about 200ft off the road, shrine w/ brick stairway up to it. Brick, 4m cubed, 2 windows & metal gate on front door, a brick cross.	170	15S	e
SN428	Wedge monument cross w/cross missing	172	15S	w
SN429	Large (3m cubed) brick nicho w/o roof, inside; 2m tall concrete cross w/ fresh yellow & white wreath	172	15S	m
SN649	Intersection 15S & 2N; stone shrine, 10m tall Virgin of	174	2N	w

	Guadalupe, with a fountain or something beneath			
SN430	White metal cross	176	2N	w
SN431	White metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & wreath	176	2N	w
SN432	White concrete cross on a concrete wedge pedestal	183	2N	e
SN433	Atop a bridge abutment; small brown wooden cross w/ a votive candle in front of it	184	2N	w
SN434	Black pipe-type cross w/ center name plate	187	2N	w
SN435	Black metal cross & 1 black wood	187	2N	w
SN436	Large white metal cross	188	2N	e
SN437	1m square, box-type nicho w/white concrete centered atop in the rear	188	2N	e
SN438	White metal Nicho, 1 w/gable roof & white metal x centered atop in front; 3ft tall	193	2N	w
SN439	White concrete 2x1x2m nicho, cross centered in front of gabled roof; inside; 1m tall concrete cross & lit votive candle.	193	2N	e
SN440	2 white metal cross	195	2N	e
SN441	White metal cross w/ filigrees & pointed tips, red wreath	195	2N	w
SN442	3 white metal cross, maybe a nicho under the middle one	197	2N	e
SN443	1m tall white concrete cross, concrete pedestal w/open book	199	2N	w
SN444	White concrete shrine, 4wide x 5deep, ½ enclosed, open area supported by pillars, gable roof. WI gate w/a cross over the portal into interior, 2 windows on either side; all metal painted bronze. Inside: rear altar has 2 crosses; on the right one is inscribed "Mario Sierra N." the other "Marisella Q.C." & there is an open book between them, inscribed "Mario Sierra Norzacery, aug ? 1944/sept 24, ?; QEPD, recuerdo de su mama, esposa, hijos, y hermanos" & there are 3 bouquets of flowers & the remains of legs & arms of some sort of statue. Something I don't normally do but I just did; there was a plastic bag all rolled up, and I unrolled it; inside was some tissue paper, and I unrolled that; inside was cellophane packet all taped which I did not untape. Inside of it was a red cloth bag and by feel, it seemed as if it contained a chain with at least 2 medallions inside of it. And the reason this is the first and last time I'll ever pry into other people's stuff is because when I went to walk back in (I went outside to see better) I forgot that the doorway is quite low and I smacked my head pretty good. [Actually I nearly knocked myself out on the metal door header and made a pretty good gash on my forehead]. Shit, I look retarded with this napkin hanging from my head. Cindy's laughing so hard she's crying	199	2N	e
SN445	Light blue pipe-cross, w/ filigrees & spear-point end, center name plate; "INRI, Jose Luis M.H. 18-06-91 edad 32 anos, DEP, recuerdo de sus amigos" set in concrete w/rocks at base & a beer bottle.	199	2N	w
SN446	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees and center name plate on concrete pedestal & fresh wreath	199	2N	e
SN447	White metal outline-type cross w/ inter-arm filigrees, center	201	2N	e

	name plate & wreath			
SN448	White metal cross, w/ inter-arm filigrees, center name plate; "El Cute"	203	2N	e
SN449	Weathered wooden cross just in front of a bridge abutment	204	2N	w
SN450	Weathered wooden cross	205	2N	w
SN451	Green metal cross & light blue metal nicho on a blue metal pole 1m tall w/ gabled roof, 1ft cubed; flowers.	205	2N	e
SN452	Black pipe-type cross & 1 white concrete; the white was directly behind the black one	214	2N	e
SN453	White concrete cross w/ black inscription & 1 white metal w/ inter-arm filigree	217	2N	e
SN454	White metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees, center name plate and a red & white wreath	218	2N	w
SN455	4x3x3m white concrete nicho w/ shed roof & white WI gate	222	2N	w
SN456	1m cubed box-type nicho w/ NSGuad print affixed to the rear wall, 4 votives	223	2N	w
SN457	Black metal cross w/ pointed ends, center name plate and green & yellow wreath	224	2N	w
SN458	White concrete cross w/ cloth draped around the horizontal arms, inscription & pedestal; granito	225	2N	w
SN459	5 white pipe-types crosses w/ center name plates, 4 the same height-one smaller	226	2N	e
SN460	White concrete cross	226	2N	e
SN461	2 white pipe-types cross w/ center name plates, identical & on the same pedestal w/ identical blue wreaths	228	2N	w
SN462	Black metal cross, inter-arm filigree, center name plate	228	2N	e
SN463	White metal outline-type cross on concrete pedestal	229	2N	e
SN464	Black metal outline-type cross on concrete pedestal that was knocked over; "R.Z."	229	2N	e
SN465	2 white metal outline-types cross w/ inter-arm filigrees, both w/ baby blue wreaths & on the same pedestal	230	2N	e
SN466	4 white metal cross w/ filigrees & center name plates on a 2-tiered pedestal w/open book in front & fresh bouquet of DOD flowers. The open book inscription: "Alla en el cielo donde sus almas moran, recuerdan por sus esposas, hijos que sus ausencias lloran; Virginia, □Jose, Raphael, Carlos descansan en paz, San Ignacio, Sonora"	231	2N	e
SN467	White metal cross w/ filigrees on the ends & WI fence around it. In a concrete slab hand inscribed: "Para Joachin Tonotito, Tonito".	231	2N	w
SN468	Wooden handmade lumber cross, rather plain & 1 black metal	233	2N	e
SN469	Wood cross	233	2N	e
SN470	2 white metal crosses on one pedestal w/ wreaths	233	2N	e
SN471	White metal cross w/ center name plate & filigrees on the edges of the name plate	233	2N	w
SN472	Large arch (6m across x 5m deep x 3m high) made of concrete. The front is of WI and the floor is tiled and the back wall is painted light blue. There is an altar about 1m off	234	2N	w

	the floor and the only figure is a glass encased NS de Fatima, 3 votive candles burning and 2 wreaths of plastic flowers.			
SN473	Black metal cross, inter-arm filigree, center name plate	234	2N	e
SN474	Light blue pipe-type cross, w/center name plate	234	2N	w
SN475	Home made monument w/ 2 granito white granito crosses & wedge nameplate: "Brenda Guadalupe Oliver de Harano; Juan Carlos Patino Moreno 8 jul 1998" both w/ wreaths.	235	2N	e
SN476	Cream-colored metal outline-type cross, buried in soil up to the cross arms, fresh DOD flowers	235	2N	w
SN477	4 black metal cross on one pedestal, all w/ fresh wreaths	235	2N	e
SN478	Home made nicho	236	2N	w
SN479	3 black metal cross	236	2N	w
SN480	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns	236	2N	w
SN481	Unpainted concrete nicho w/ black metal cross centered atop w/ red DOD flowers	237	2N	e
SN482	White metal cross w/ center name plate; now in Caborca	238	2N	w
SN483	Large 2x4 white painted wood cross stuck in a 50 gal barrel full of concrete, in a rest area	245	2N	w
SN484	Rust red shrine & yellow trim on 3-tiered pedestal, w/yellow concrete cross centered in rear, a caution triangle above the doorway, flowers; St. Francis & NSGuad prints.	245	2N	e
SN485	White concrete, gable roof nicho w/ wings, metal & glass door, white concrete cross next to it; "Ignacio Alvarez F." fresh DOD flowers & print of NSGuad inside.	245	2N	e
SN486	White concrete, granito nicho, w/ small tile nicho under it: "Mateo Urriquez A. 12-16-79"	250	2N	e
SN487	White homemade concrete cross	252	2N	w
SN488	White box nicho w/ cross inside: "Jorillio Perez Corona; 1987?" remains of a white concrete cross atop	254	2N	w
SN489	Large granito white concrete cross w/ 2 urns & wedge name plate w/ lots of DOD flowers; 1.5m tall	259	2N	e
SN490	Wooden cross & 1 white metal on concrete pedestal w/ flowers	260	2N	e
SN491	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center name plate w/ white painted inscription	263	2N	e
SN492	White concrete cross w/ brown pot on a vertical post facing opposite direction, on a pedestal	263	2N	w
SN493	White metal cross w/ center name plate & inter-arm filigrees	270	2N	e
SN494	Black metal outline-type cross w/ center name plate w/ white inscription on a pedestal; sits on a tilt	274	2N	e
SN495	White metal cross w/ center name plate up on a road cut bank	275	2N	w
SN496	Stucco & block nicho 0.5m square, blue double pipe cross beside it: "Benjamin" fresh flowers; nicho foundation has scratched into it: "Benjamin Algilar Leon nacia enero 5, 1949/ mar 19, 1988, Cabezon".	284	2N	e
SN497	2 white concrete cross; "Magdalena Almazica Cota oct 9, 1983" "Eurelia C. ?? Almazica oct 9, 1983"	285	2N	e

SN498	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ open book & huge array of DOD flowers	287	2N	e
SN499	White concrete cross on pedestal	287	2N	w
SN500	1.5ft tall granito arch roofed nicho w/ cross centered in front	290	2N	w
SN501	Beige metal outline-type cross on concrete pedestal	291	2N	w
SN502	Black metal cross w/ a ball on top w/ 3 stars	291	2N	e
SN503	Red, white & blue metal cross w/ fresh wreath	295	2N	w
SN504	White metal cross w/ heart-shaped center name plate, inter-arm filigrees & flowers	295	2N	e
SN505	White concrete cross on wedge pedestal, mounted on another pedestal, black outlines painted on it & inscription.	299	2N	w
SN506	Adobe brick nicho w/ red shingled gable roof, large bouquet of red flowers	302	2N	e
SN507	Tres Capillas (3 shrines). There is a picnic bench & grill here & plenty of room to park. 1st chapel has NSGuad in tile on the outside, its 3m cubed, w/ sunburst outline metal cross atop & a yellow & red arch over it. Inside: the arch is duplicated, a large string art [20x30] NSGuad, lots of votives [30-40 lit]. 2nd or middle shrine has 2 Niño de Atocha statues, one encased in a glass & wood cabinet, 20 votives lit. 3rd chapel has 3 large statues of St. Jude, 25 votives burning.	316	2N	e
SN508	See Text.	317	2N	w
SN509	Nicho on a brick foundation. "Martin Valezquez 1 enero 1996, recuerdo de sus companeros" Lots of debris around this one & a tie knotted onto the cross atop the nicho.	317	2N	e
SN510	White concrete cross w/ white rocks around it	318	2N	e
SN511	White concrete cross w/ a pebble atop the vertical arm	318	2N	w
SN512	White metal cross, center name plate, inter-arm filigrees, 1.5m tall	320	2N	e
SN513	2 white metal cross & 1 black metal	321	2N	w
SN514	White concrete cross on pedestal	321	2N	e
SN515	Nicho w/ lots of votives, gabled roof, cross atop	321	2N	e
SN516	Gray metal outline-type cross w/ center name plate & pointed tips; set in concrete	325	2N	w
SN517	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/3 black metal crosses atop & votives and a print of Christ w/ crown of thorns inside. 1.5 wide & tall and .5m deep.	326	2N	e
SN518	Pink concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho with 2 pink metal outline-type crosses w/sunbursts & filigrees & fresh wreaths & bronze-painted center name plates. 1.5m wide & tall, .25m deep. 2 paint brushes lying on floor.	327	2N	e
SN519	White concrete block nicho, 4x4x3m, tin gable roof, black metal cross w/ spear-point ends & inter-arm filigrees atop, lots of votive candles & flowers. Inside is a white wooden cross w/SARH emblem & "Salvador Saldivar A. El Chavo may 12, 1960/Aug16, 1994, recuerdo de sus companeros y amigos" wreath on it, more flowers off to the side in an old votive glass, a dozen votives, bust of Jesus suffering, statue	328	2N	e

	of Jesus Sacred Heart, and some flowers.			
wSN18	Intersection 2N & 2W at Sonoyta	330	2N	
SN520	2 white concrete, gable-roofed shrines, 1 faces west, 1 faces north. The north facing is gabled w/ wings, open-faced, has a high altar and inside is 1 votive candle. The west facing has a black WI gate, white tile floor & altar. Cent. Image is NSGuad, to left is St. Jude, to right is Jesus Sacred Heart, all are prints laquered onto wood plaques. The altar has 20 votives. Both are 1.5m sq x 2m tall.	331	2W	s
SN521	White metal cross w/ red flowers	333	2W	n
SN522	Blue metal cross w/ filigrees	333	2W	n
SN523	2 black metal cross w/ scrolls	334	2W	s
SN524	Un-finished shrine to StJude in a pull-out. 3m cubed, flat-roof w/ dome atop, arched doorway. Inside; 11x18 print of SJ, 12of14 votive candles burning. Behind print is 16" tall SJ statue w/o head & piece of plywood w/ hand-painted SJ.	335	2W	n
SN525	White concrete cross w/ flowers in front	336	2W	s
SN526	White arch-roofed nicho w/ 2 urns in front filled w/ plastic flowers; in front of a black metal outline cross w/ filigrees & scroll w/ wreath.	337	2W	s
SN527	Poorly built metal nicho made of tan siding & wood frame, white metal cross in front, small open-book, & white-washed rocks making a trail. The inscription in the scroll; "Gerardo, 22 anos, 27-10-96, QEPD" Laying around the site; a rearview mirror from a car, water pressure gauge, a horseshoe at the apex of the gable. Inside, which opens away from the road, is a full bottle of Corona beer and a fuel gauge.	338	2W	n
SN528	White concrete nicho w/ a crucifix atop, in disrepair	339	2W	n
SN529	Black metal, angle-iron cross, on a concrete slab w/ flowers	340	2W	n
SN530	Small box-nicho [8" sq] made of angle iron and wire-mesh, has a can w/ faded flowers in it and is padlocked with a pretty heavy-duty lock. Laying on top of the box is a cassette tape. Has an outline cross, 1m tall, inscribed; "Juan Ramon Gutierrez Sandoval, nacio 1-feb-1966/ murio 24-apr-1995, recuerdos del Pelone y el Loco, MONY, DEP" 10m west of that is a smaller cross with a box nicho made of sheet metal, also padlocked, 1 ft square, has a Virgin of Guadalupe statue 6" tall and a framed photograph that looks like it is glued to the back of the nicho, its all faded but you can tell that it is a person. Also a votive candle inside, 2 rocks atop the nicho and behind it a 0.5m tall metal cross with reflectors on it facing east & west; it is inscribed; "DEP, Eduardo Gonzales Mendoza, nacio 14-1-71, fallacio 24-4-95, Dios te guarde"	341	2W	n
SN531	Small white nicho, 2 ft tall w/ gable roof	341	2W	s
SN532	"Rolando Gutierrez" white granito nicho, .75m tall, cross atop rear, a black metal outline-type, blue inside	343	2W	n
SN533	White metal outline-type cross w/ scroll	343	2W	s
SN534	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll and a pile of rocks almost covering it;	346	2W	n

SN535	Black metal cross w/ scroll	347	2W	n
SN536	White metal cross on a concrete pedestal, 1m tall, lots of flowers, "8-feb-32/19aug-75"	347	2W	n
SN537	White concrete cross w/ Christ figure; 10m off road. Enclosed in a white WI fence	347	2W	s
SN538	White granito cross on a pedestal	348	2W	n
SN539	White granito, flat-roofed nicho w/ light blue pipe cross atop front & an arch over the cross & nicho on a brick med, glass door, flowers.	349	2W	n
SN540	2 black [males], 2 gold[females], 1 white cross, larger than the others	351	2W	n
SN541	2 white granito cross on a pedestal	353	2W	s
SN542	3 white metal crosses on one pedestal; "Jose Ortiz, 24 anos" "Jose ?, 27 anos" "Zano, 32 anos" flowers, all died 21-9-99. Visitation pebbles, votive candles, flowers.	353	2W	s
SN543	pipe cross w/ pink tips	353	2W	n
SN544	White nicho w/ broken granito cross in rear	354	2W	s
SN545	50m off road; white granito, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	362	2W	n
SN546	White metal, gable roofed nicho w/ metal cross atop front & metal & glass door	362	2W	n
SN547	Pink concrete nicho, [6" tall] box-type & cross[1m tall]	364	2W	s
SN548	Turquoise tile nicho, 1x.25x.25m, curved & winged gable roof w/ cross atop front, in disrepair. In front is a concrete oval curb in which are 4 white pipe crosses.	366	2W	s
SN549	White-washed rocks leading up to a red, white & green open shrine, lots of flowers, half way up is a cross	366	2W	s
SN550	White outline-type, metal cross	369	2W	n
SN551	White metal outline-type cross w/ flowers	369	2W	n
SN552	White metal cross w/ scroll & the remains of a Transportes del Norte emblem	369	2W	n
SN553	White concrete cross	369	2W	s
SN554	White granito, gable-roofed nicho w/ white cross atop rear	369	2W	s
SN555	3 white metal cross w/ filigrees & scrolls and 1 black metal w/ filigrees & scroll	372	2W	s
SN556	Black metal outline-type cross w/ filigrees & scroll	372	2W	s
SN557	Triple white cross, the one in the middle was smaller than the other 2	373	2W	s
SN558	Black metal outline-type cross	373	2W	s
SN559	2 black metal crosses w/ fresh flowers	374	2W	n
SN560	2 white granito crosses w/ fresh flowers on pedestals	375	2W	n
SN561	White granito cross stylized 3-D diamond-shaped on a pedestal	377	2W	s
SN562	Unpainted concrete box-type nicho w/ platform in front, 2 urns & rusted metal cross atop rear	380	2W	s
SN563	Black metal cross w/ yellow tips	380	2W	n
SN564	Brick nicho w/ 2 white crosses atop	381	2W	n
SN565	White granito cross w/ 2 urns on a pedestal; "Jose Luis Gutierrez, jun 2, 1979" is quite weathered	381	2W	s

SN566	Wood cross [2x2 lumber] set in concrete	383	2W	n
SN567	White wood cross; very fancy w/ red/brown border; "DEP ?Lopez P., fallcio 5apr93 edad 35 anos" auto parts scattered around nearby.	385	2W	n
SN568	White metal cross w/filigrees, pointed tips & scroll & flowers	387	2W	n
SN569	Metal cross obscured by wreath and 1 white granito w/ 2 urns & open-book wedge pedestal	391	2W	s
SN570	White granito, Maltese-style cross	395	2W	s
SN571	2 concrete crosses on a pedestal, broken urns, lots of visitation pebbles, pebbles & a lantern battery. Inscr; "Andreas Cavata N., recuerdo de su primo, JRN""Carlos Rodriguez, recuerdo de su amigo".	396	2W	n
SN572	Black metal outline type cross, lots of flowers	396	2W	n
SN573	Black pipe-type cross w/ pink tips	396	2W	n
SN574	Block, flat-roofed nicho w/ arched facade, front edge is painted green, interior is red, looks like it had a cross atop front. Very weathered. 5 votives & fresh flowers.	396	2W	s
SN575	White metal cross w/ heart-shaped filigrees	397	2W	s
SN576	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal outline cross atop rear w/ filigrees & scroll, 2ft sq, flowers	401	2W	n
SN577	A very unusual death marker; it is a pile of rocks and a piece of ironwood or mesquite and an inner tube with the letters "INRI" painted on it in blue paint. The top rock has "Borrego" painted on it, the paint can lid and brushes are laying around. There is nothing indicating that this turns-off to any place and I take it to be a death site. Everything except the paint was stuff that could be scrounged from the desert. Note; no concrete, because it takes water to make it and there's no water nearby. This shows the lengths that people will go to in making a memorial, even where it is far, far from any place or resources.	401	2W	n
SN578	2 white concrete crosses on pedestals, 2ft tall, flowers	403	2W	n
SN579	White cross w/ flowers	405	2W	n
SN580	White concrete cross, 2m tall, 50m off road	405	2W	s
SN581	Yellow pipe-type cross w/ red inscription on center scroll, up on a road-cut	407	2W	n
SN582	2 white metal cross w/ scrolls	408	2W	n
SN583	The remains of a gable-roofed nicho w/metal cross, filigrees & a white stucco shrine, 4m sq, w/ double-domed roof each w/ a cross atop & there is large star of David on the top. Brown tile patio, white tile interior, padlocked. Central figure is an 11x14 print of the face only of NSGuad, next to it is a round framed Nino de Atocha print, on the left is a Jesus sacred heart statue, 4ft tall, on the right is a St Jude statue 4ft tall, each with their own niche & a basket w/ visitation pebbles in it, showing that leaving a pebble and lighting a candle are exactly equal. People also toss coins at the basket because there are coins scattered on the floor near the basket. Also an electric chandelier hanging from one of	408	2W	s

	the domes, there are 2 sconces w/o candles mounted on the wall. Outside are very nice desert plantings.			
SN584	Domed open nicho/shrine w/ cross in front empty, has a brick wall on the west; 200ft off road	411	2W	n
SN585	White granito, arch-roofed, empty shrine	411	2W	n
SN586	2 small shrines made of concrete & local stone, one w/ metal & glass door w/small nino de atocha statue w/1 votive candle lit. Cross centered in front made of rocks. 2nd nicho, arched & open-faced w/ NSGuad print, 9 votives, none lit. Large shrine is concrete, shed-roofed w/ 4-step facade & concrete cross centered in front. Central figure is ST Martin of Porres, there are 2 statues [looks like there used to be 3] & a print of same; lots of little photos. In a corner is the remains of a st jude statue. Laid into concrete pedestal this is built on is a cross of various tiles.	411	2W	n
SN587	Black metal cross1 w/ filigrees & scroll in a bucket of concrete	416	2W	n
SN588	Metal cross w/ a ribbon hanging on it	418	2W	s
SN589	Brown metal cross w/ spear-point tips & scroll w/ white inscription	421	2W	n
SN590	Black metal cross w/ filigrees	422	2W	n
SN591	White granito arch-roof, nicho; metal & glass door, & 2 crosses	424	2W	n
SN592	Blue concrete nicho w/ cross atop, arch-roof	424	2W	n
SN593	Black metal cross w/ blue inscription; "Daniel"	425	2W	s
SN594	Wood cross, 1.5m tall, looks like varnished plywood w/ a metal cross inlaid in the crux; a tie hangs from the wood upright member.	426	2W	n
SN595	White metal cross w/ scroll, spear-point tips & red & green stripes painted on	427	2W	n
SN596	White metal cross w/ scroll; "Sra Sylvia Alguilar L. feb71/jun99" 2 urns w/ flowers; all on a concrete base	429	2W	s
SN597	3 white concrete cross	430	2W	s
SN598	4 white metal cross w/ filigrees & scrolls	430	2W	s
SN599	White concrete cross on pedestals, 2ft tall, flowers	431	2W	s
SN600	White box-type nicho, 1.5m sq, w/ 1m tall concrete cross inside on a pedestal	431	2W	s
SN601	White granito Maltese-type cross; "alejandro"	431	2W	s
SN602	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & spear-point tips	435	2W	s
SN603	White granito box-type nicho w/ cross in rear	436	2W	s
SN604	White & yellow metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	439	2W	s
SN605	White, arch-roofed nicho w/ metal cross atop rear	439	2W	n
SN606	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll on concrete pedestal, spear-point tips	440	2W	n
SN607	Blue wood cross [1x2 lumber], 1m tall	441	2W	s
SN608	White granito nicho w/ cross atop, Maltese-style	441	2W	s
SN609	1m cubed, gable-roofed open-faced nicho	442	2W	s
SN610	White granito cross on pedestal, 1.5m tall	443	2W	n
SN611	White metal cross w/ filigree & scroll on white concrete	446	2W	s

	pedestal w/ flowers			
SN612	White metal outline-type cross w/ ribbons on it	447	2W	s
SN613	Small concrete A-frame nicho w/ wooden cross on it	447	2W	n
SN614	Wood cross w/ scroll	449	2W	n
SN615	White metal cross w/ scroll, 2ft tall, rusty	450	2W	n
SN616	White granito cross on pedestal "Maria"	450	2W	n
SN617	White granito cross on 2-tiered pedestal w/ flowers	451	2W	s
SN618	White metal outline-type cross w/ pointed tips on concrete pedestal, cross barbée	451	2W	n
wB44	San Luis del Rio Colorado; end B4, Sonora	456	2W	
wSN06	Intersection of 15N/2W at Santa Ana; begin transect L3	0	15N	
SN284	3 statues in Santa Ana; 3m tall; Christ, St. Jude & ?? up on a rise overlooking the intersection w/ white-washed steps leading up from the road. All were atop tall columns.	0	15N	w
SN283	Large floral decorated cross, couldn't see anything except the wreath;	1	15N	e
SN282	Brown brick & concrete shrine, 2m cubed, up on a rise in the median, gable roofed w/ white concrete atop centered in front. Metal door.	1	15N	m
SN281	White concrete cross w/ urns on either side, on 3-tiered pedestal; urns had red artificial flowers in them	2	15N	m
SN280	2 black metal outline-type cross w/ fancy filigrees, identical & on the same concrete pedestal	3	15N	e
SN279	Homemade unpainted concrete cross	6	15N	m
SN278	2 black pipe-type cross w/ spear-type ends & center name plates facing west	8	15N	m
SN277	White granito cross w/ 2 urns and next to it another slab w/ 2 urns and the cross fallen down	11	15N	m
SN276	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees	12	15N	m
SN275	Black pipe-type cross w/ center name plate	17	15N	e
SN274	White metal cross w/ center name plate on concrete pedestal w/ black painted inscription	17	15N	w
SN273	Cross, lost data	19	15N	m
SN272	White metal cross w/ center name plate and fresh wreath	20	15N	m
SN271	Granito nicho w/ cross atop and a brown wooden cross about 5ft away	20	15N	m
SN270	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees and large blue & white wreath	21	15N	w
SN269	2 white metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center name plates	24	15N	m
SN268	Large concrete cross on a pedestal (1.5m tall)	25	15N	m
SN267	Shrine w/ white walls w/ blue trim & blue roof. Its 2.5x3m & 2.5m tall, gable roof w/ white metal crosses each w/ 7 stars on the cross arms. Inside is a padlocked grate, behind that is a 3-step altar w/ a beadwork NSGuad print, 5 plastic and silk floral bouquets, 6 votive candles.	25	15N	e
SN266	White metal outline-type cross; flowers	26	15N	e
SN265	White 5x5m shrine with metal spire;	27	15N	w
SN264	Large white metal cross w/ filigrees; 1 small black metal; 1	28	15N	w

	small white w/ tile design in the crux			
SN263	1 white granito, gable roof w/ cross at top rear & flowers	29	15N	e
SN262	Black metal cross set in concrete & whitewashed stone w/ filigrees & scroll	31	15N	e
SN261	Black pipe-type cross w/ flowers; sunflowers or pinwheels	32	15N	m
SN260	White concrete, 2m cubed, gabled roof shrine w/ cross atop a spire on the right, a green door. Inside; tiled rear wall w/ St Jude in the tile work, in the right corner is a x-fix, below that a print of SJ and an 8" tall statue of SJ. On the left is a fresh bouquet of flowers w/ a red ribbon on it. The shelf has 12 votive candles, half burning. In the forward right corner is another fresh bouquet of flowers w/ a white bow.	32	15N	e
SN259	White granito w/ black metal cross atop rear, flowers	32	15N	m
SN258	White granito, on top of a road-cut, NSGuad print on back wall	32	15N	e
SN257	Cross, obscured by wreath	34	15N	m
SN256	2 large white metal crosses w/ scrolls; against a fence, 1.5m tall & identical	35	15N	w
SN255	Gray metal cross w/ flowers	36	15N	e
SN254	Large concrete cross pedestal w/ black metal outline-type cross w/ round tips	37	15N	m
SN253	Gray pipe-type cross, covered by large wreath	37	15N	e
SN252	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll w/ flowers	38	15N	e
SN251	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; looked like it was freshly painted	38	15N	e
SN250	White concrete cross and 1 black metal	39	15N	m
SN249	Black metal cross w/ spear-point tips on concrete pedestal w/ wreath	39	15N	w
SN248	1m tall red, white & green metal cross w/ scroll; "Chico" w/ wreath	41	15N	e
SN247	Large white granito cross	41	15N	m
SN246	2 black metal outline-type cross	41	15N	m
SN245	Black metal cross	41	15N	e
SN244	Rough wood cross	42	15N	m
SN243	3 white metal crosses w/ scrolls on pedestals & enclosed by a fence of 4 posts and a single strand of chain	42	15N	m
SN242	White granito cross on an arch w/ NSGuad behind, & pedestal w/open-book in front; "Salvador Galvez Morfin, dec-17-54/ jun-2-94" on 1 side, on the other; "Recuerdo de su esposa y hijos, QEPD" there is a truck-sized lug nut [a good clue that this man was a trucker] between the book and the NSGuad, fresh wreaths on both sides & a bottle of water. Next to that is a small black metal cross w/rounded tips, filigrees & scroll; "Jesus N. Felix V., 4-9-71/ 6-20-98"	42	15N	m
SN241	3, 2'tall black metal crosses w/ scrolls & filigrees and 3m tall white metal w/ filigrees & scroll	44	15N	m
SN240	White concrete, gable roof, flat ridge nicho w/ concrete cross atop front, votive candles	45	15N	e
SN239	Cross, obscured by yellow & white flowers; 10ft below road	46	15N	e

	level			
SN238	Black metal cross w/ red reflective paint on pedestal w/ wreath	47	15N	e
SN237	2 white metal outline-types cross, one twice as tall as the other, both w/ flowers	49	15N	m
SN236	White metal cross on pedestal w/ scroll	50	15N	m
SN235	Gable-roofed nicho w/ tall spire, turquoise trim, arched door; looked alpine	53	15N	w
SN234	White granito cross w/ an angel in front	54	15N	e
SN233	Arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear & black WI door and wreath	55	15N	m
SN232	Concrete, arch-roofed nicho, 2' tall x 1.5'sq, w/ black metal outline-type cross in rear	56	15N	m
SN231	White granito cross on wedge pedestal w/flowers	57	15N	m
SN230	White metal cross, 1m tall, on concrete pedestal w/ mardigras-looking wreath	58	15N	m
SN229	White concrete cross	58	15N	w
SN228	White granito cross, 1m tall, open-book	58	15N	m
SN227	White, arched doorway shrine; in front of a business	60	15N	w
SN226	White concrete cross	62	15N	m
SN225	White block nicho w/ black metal cross atop & flowers	62	15N	e
SN224	2 white homemade concrete cross w/ wreaths	62	15N	m
SN223	Black metal cross, 1m tall, on concrete pedestal	62	15N	m
SN222	White concrete cross, 1m tall	62	15N	m
SN221	Adobe, gabled, nicho, 1x1.5x1.5m, white concrete cross atop gabled roof & white WI doors	63	15N	e
SN220	White concrete cross	63	15N	e
SN219	White metal w/ wreath cross	65	15N	m
SN218	2 white metal cross w/ painted sun-rays	65	15N	e
SN217	Light green metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ flowers and a cowboy hat	65	15N	m
SN216	White concrete cross on pedestal w/wreath	67	15N	m
SN215	White concrete cross	68	15N	m
SN214	2 white metal crosses, one half as tall as the other	71	15N	e
SN213	White granito cross w/ wedge pedestal	74	15N	m
SN212	Black metal outline-type cross w/ filigrees & large flowers, 1m tall on pedestal	75	15N	e
SN211	White granito w/ NSGuad inside & cross atop and white concrete cross on a pedestal	76	15N	e
SN210	2 white metal crosses w/filigrees & slab w/ open-book; "Joven Francisco A. Santiago Mendez, 1-9-57/28-4-89" on 1 side & the other; "Joven Roberto Hernandez Aberto, 28-?-70/28-4-89" across the bottom; "Que Dios los bendiga".	76	15N	e
SN209	White granito cross	78	15N	m
SN208	Gray metal cross w/ scroll & wreath	78	15N	w
SN207	Black metal cross w/ round tips & blue & white flowers	79	15N	m
SN206	White concrete cross	81	15N	e
SN205	At intersection w/ the 4-lane highway; 40m off the road, white metal cross w/ sun-ray, & a Jesus Sacred heart statue,	82	15N	w

	all within a red WI fence			
SN204	Black metal cross w/ roofed scroll	85	15N	w
SN203	White wood cross on concrete pedestal, plastic blue flowers attached	87	15N	w
SN202	Black metal cross w/ scroll	91	15N	w
SN201	Small concrete nicho, 6" sq, w/ blue metal cross behind; concrete looked real fresh	93	15N	e
SN200	2 pipe-type cross, one gray, one rusted; both w/ scrolls	98	15N	e
SN199	White pipe-type cross w/ scroll and white metal outline-types w/ scrolls	98	15N	w
SN198	3 black metal cross w/ fresh wreaths "Jose" and white metal w/ wreath	100	15N	w
SN197	Light blue metal cross w/ black scroll	100	15N	w
SN196	Arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop w/ heart-shaped scroll "Juan" & DODF; behind that is brown brick gable-roofed w/brown cross atop w/ heart-shaped scroll "QEPD Israel"; behind that is a white granito flat-roofed w/ cross [arm missing] w/ scroll.	100	15N	e
SN195	White metal outline-type cross w/ scroll; attached to a fence	101	15N	w
SN194	Rock nicho w/ turquoise metal cross atop w/ scroll & wreath	103	15N	e
SN193	Unpainted wood cross w/ scroll	103	15N	w
SN192	White granito nicho, .5m sq x 2m tall, gable roof, bronze-colored cross atop, inside a Jesus crown-of-thorns plaque.	103	15N	e
SN191	White granito, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop	104	15N	w
SN190	White granito, gable-roofed nicho, .5m sq	104	15N	w
SN189	1 concrete cross, 3 metal, 2 black, 1 pink cross near intersection	104	15N	e
SN188	20m north of 187 white granito nicho, 1.5m tall, w/ arched roof and 0.5m tall statue of NSGuad with an arched rose spray over it. On top of the nicho is a cross w/ initials "D.R.F., 2-jun-1996" and then a cross atop the door inscribed; "QEPD" on either side are urns with same initials and smaller gable-roofed nichos. All three openings are padlocked. On either side of the whole thing are 2 planters painted gold & green matching the concrete work w/ trees in them, one is quite dead.	104	15N	e
SN187	.5x1x1m, brown adobe nicho w/concrete gabled roof & cross atop & visitation pebble on it. Has metal & glass door. Inside; 12 votives, 2 burning, and St Jude statue.	104	15N	e
SN186	Unpainted concrete flat-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear and multi-colored wreath. 10 ft behind is a concrete flat-roofed, open-faced nicho.	105	15N	w
SN185	Black metal cross w/ scroll; facing N	106	15N	m
SN184	Black metal cross w/ scroll & blue & white wreath; on northern outskirts of Hermosillo	107	15N	m
SN183	Huge Guadalupe shrine in Hermosillo, built into road-cut & extending down to sidewalk. Rock painting, nicho & many votive candles on the sidewalk.	111	15N	w
SN182	Wood cross	116	15N	e

SN181	White concrete cross	117	15N	w
SN180	Unpainted concrete nicho 1m cubed, gable-roofed	118	15N	e
SN179	Light blue metal cross w/ scroll	119	15N	e
SN178	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop, flowers	121	15N	m
SN177	White metal cross w/ scroll on concrete pedestal w/ green wreath	123	15N	m
SN176	Wood dross [lumber], ribbon-bow hanging from it	130	15N	m
SN175	Red metal cross w/ scroll & yellow stripes on the arms & flowers	132	15N	m
SN174	2 white metal crosses w/ scrolls on a concrete pedestal	134	15N	e
SN173	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; "Rigoberto Aujene, RIP 21-Feb-1993" and under that "Amigos La Palma".	134	15N	e
SN172	Shrine to San Francisco. A truck & a car w/Arizona plates are parked here. 3mx5m deep & tall, white concrete w/ red tile gabled roof, has a front facade w/ points on either side & a flat middle that supports a x-fix of the same material. It sits on a raised platform w/ 3 steps, that is about 1m larger than the shrine & each corner features a 0.5m tall angel statue that is part of a stone & concrete patio area w/ raised footings & black wrought iron fence. There are ficus trees on 2 corners & a juniper on a third. Inside: 3 wooden kneelers, 5 votive candle racks w/ 40 votive candles, about 15 lit. The central figure is a reclining St Francis statue on a centered altar w/ painting of St Francis. There are scores of identification cards, business cards & photos surrounding the main icon. On either side are 2 wooden crucifixes, to the left is a print of, I don't know for sure, maybe its supposed to be God and Jesus. Most of the votive candles are pretty 'normal' but there is one that is unusual; The Seven African Powers & printed on it is; "Oh seven African Powers, who are so close to our Divine Savior, with great humility I kneel before thee and implore to your intercession before the Almighty, hear my petition that I may glory in your powers, protect me and provide for my needs. Concentrate on this fire. Amen" on the front is a picture; "Chango, Llenalia, Orulla, Ogura, Urejugla, Ochuen, something else ?" This is an informal rest stop.	134	15N	m
SN171	White granito cross, 1m high	134	15N	m
SN170	Black metal outline-type cross; flowers	135	15N	e
SN169	Large cross , 2m tall, 1 homemade concrete & 1 small white metal outline-type; flowers	138	15N	m
SN168	1.5m tall white metal cross [the type w/ a smaller horizontal arm above the regular one], lots of red & green flowers; "Garcia".	140	15N	e
SN167	White granito nicho w/pillars on sides supporting gabled roof, wedge in front; behind is a small white granito cross.	142	15N	e
SN166	1m tall, arch-roof nicho w/ white cross atop	143	15N	w
SN165	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns behind is brown metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	143	15N	m
SN164	White metal cross w/ scroll above the horizontal arm	144	15N	m

SN163	Black metal cross w/ scroll	145	15N	w
SN162	White granito cross, 1.5m tall and 1 black metal w/ scroll	146	15N	m
SN161	White metal cross w/ scroll & flowers	148	15N	e
SN160	3 white metal cross; 2 are 1m tall, other is 0.5m tall; pipe-types w/ scrolls	149	15N	e
SN159	Black & red metal cross w/ scroll; "Mike"	151	15N	m
SN158	Small white metal cross w/ scroll	151	15N	m
SN157	White pipe-type cross w/ filigrees & scroll	151	15N	m
SN156	2 black metal crosses w/ filigrees & scroll	153	15N	m
SN155	White metal roof-type cross	155	15N	e
SN154	Black metal cross w/ red & green wreath	155	15N	m
SN153	Gable-roofed nicho, open front & back, white concrete w/ cross inside	155	15N	e
SN152	2-tone wood crosses w/ 3 wreaths	155	15N	m
SN151	Black metal outline-type cross	156	15N	e
SN150	White concrete cross	157	15N	m
SN149	Brown metal cross	157	15N	m
SN148	White granito cross	161	15N	w
SN147	2 white granito cross	161	15N	w
SN146	Large shrine at a truck stop. Inside is a central altar w/ shelf behind it & glass encased statue of Jesus [the suffering pre-crucifixion one]; there are some oranges and grapefruit in front. On the right wall is a print of St Jude w/ 2 votive candles burning. Outside the gate is a large [2x4ft] print of NSGuad w/ a lot of red & green decorations around it & some rocks & cacti with reindeer on them. 6m wide x 8-10m deep x 6-8m tall including the main steeple. It is sort of ambiguous because inside the central figure is Christ, but Guadalupe is out front of the entryway. It seems, judging by the fruit offerings, that Christ is the central figure. This truck stop and a major bus stop; a lot of people are hanging out near the shrine waiting for their buses.	163	15N	e
SN145	White pipe-type cross w/ filigrees & scroll	165	15N	m
SN144	White granito cross	165	15N	e
SN143	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; "F.C.O." painted white; this is in the way of a road-widening project & is being worked around rather than moved.	166	15N	m
SN142	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	168	15N	m
SN141	3 black metal crosses on a pedestal; all w/ filigrees & scroll	169	15N	m
SN140	Blue metal cross w/ scroll	169	15N	m
SN139	White metal cross w/ spear-point tips, filigrees & scroll; facing north	173	15N	m
SN138	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll, facing north	173	15N	m
SN137	White metal cross	175	15N	w
SN136	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	175	15N	m
SN135	4 white granito crosses, one 1m tall, others 0.5m tall	177	15N	w
SN134	Green & white metal cross, 1m tall, w/wreath	177	15N	m
SN133	Black metal cross w/ scroll & white tips	177	15N	m
SN132	White metal cross w/ scroll	179	15N	m

SN131	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	179	15N	m
SN130	2 black metal crosses on pedestals w/ scrolls, filigrees & urns; light blue on white pedestal [nicho?]; white metal, matched the black ones.	179	15N	m
SN129	Black metal cross w/ scroll	181	15N	m
SN128	Black metal cross w/ scroll	182	15N	m
SN648	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	184	15N	m
SN127	White metal cross	189	15N	e
SN126	Small white metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	189	15N	m
SN125	2m tall pillar cross w/ small cross atop	189	15N	e
SN124	Small white concrete nicho w/ cross atop	190	15N	m
SN123	White granito cross, 1m tall	190	15N	m
SN122	White metal cross w/ scroll	191	15N	m
SN121	(Almost dark); black metal cross w/ scroll	201	15N	m
SN120	White metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	201	15N	m
SN119	White granito cross	201	15N	m
SN118	Yellow concrete shrine, 2m sq x 3m tall, flat-roofed w/ facade, black WI door	202	15N	w
SN117	2 black pipe-type crosses, 1.5m tall 7 1m tall, w/ scrolls	203	15N	m
SN116	2 black metal cross w/ scrolls	206	15N	w
SN115	White metal cross w/ filigrees & red bow on a pedestal, scroll w/ black inscription and 1 black metal cross w/ red reflector tape on a pedestal.	208	15N	m
SN114	Black metal cross w/ scroll & spear-point tips	210	15N	e
SN113	White concrete cross	211	15N	w
SN112	2 black pipe-type cross on a pedestal	212	15N	m
SN111	2 large white granito cross, 1.5m tall on a pedestal; both w/ wreath	212	15N	m
SN110	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & white scroll & wreath	220	15N	e
SN109	White granito cross, large	222	15N	e
SN108	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	225	15N	m
SN107	2 white granito crosses	225	15N	m
SN106	2 large white metal crosses w/ pointed tips & red reflector tape, 1.5m tall, on a pedestal	226	15N	m
SN105	White concrete, flat roofed nicho, 1m sq,	227	15N	e
SN104	Dome-roofed shrine to Virgin of Guadalupe; turquoise, w/ 4 pillars, cross atop	228	15N	w
SN103	White metal cross w/ filigrees, 2m tall	231	15N	m
SN102	White metal cross w/ sun-rays on pedestal	232	15N	w
SN101	White concrete cross and 1 green metal	232	15N	e
SN100	2 white concrete nichos, .5m tall, arch roofed w/ rusted metal crosses atop	234	15N	w
SN99	2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees, one w/ round scroll other w/ wreath	235	15N	w
SN98	White granito nicho w/ tablet & arch & red wreath	238	15N	e
SN97	Wood cross [2x2 lumber] on concrete pedestal	239	15N	w
SN96	White granito nicho, 1m tall, gable -roof w/ cross atop	240	15N	m
SN95	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll and 1 small wood	241	15N	e

	cross on pile of rocks			
SN94	1 yellow shrine, 2 urns, NSGuad	243	15N	e
SN93	Concrete nicho, WI gate	243	15N	e
SN92	2 tan metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls	244	15N	m
SN91	Lime green concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear, 2x3x3ft	245	15N	e
SN90	White granito cross w/ flowers	246	15N	e
SN89	Open patio-type shrine w/ 4 posts & roof to NSGuad	247	15N	e
SN88	Against a pole, blue wood cross on a blue pedestal	248	15N	e
SN87	Brown outline-type cross w/ scroll	248	15N	m
SN86	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	254	15N	e
SN85	White metal cross w/ wreath	259	15N	m
SN84	Black-painted concrete cross on concrete slab [also painted](see sheet 4 drawing)	262	15N	m
SN83	White metal cross w/ scroll on a concrete slab	263	15N	e
SN82	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll on a slab w/ a pottery pot at its base	264	15N	e
SN81	Black cross & 1 white metal on a pedestal, both w/ filigrees & scroll	265	15N	m
SN80	2 black metal crosses on a pedestal w/ wreath	267	15N	e
SN79	Blue concrete, flat-roof nicho, .25m sq, black metal cross atop rear; faced west	267	15N	m
SN78	A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross atop w/filigrees & scroll; faced parallel to road	268	15N	e
SN77	Black metal cross on slab w/ wreath	269	15N	e
SN76	White granito cross w/ urn	269	15N	w
SN75	Black pipe-type cross w/ wreath	273	15N	e
SN74	2 white metal cross w/ filigrees, scrolls & wreaths	274	15N	m
SN73	White granito cross w/ red bow	279	15N	m
SN72	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	282	15N	m
SN71	White granito nicho w/ cross atop and visitation pebbles on the flat roof	283	15N	m
SN70	White granito cross on pedestal	283	15N	m
SN69	Black metal outline-type cross w/wreath	283	15N	e
SN68	Black metal cross on concrete & rock pedestal	285	15N	m
SN67	White granito nicho w/ cross atop	287	15N	m
SN66	Black metal cross on wedge pedestal	287	15N	m
SN65	White granito nicho w/ cross atop	288	15N	m
SN64	Arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop and black metal cross nearby	288	15N	m
SN63	Black metal cross	288	15N	m
SN62	Cross, obscured by red wreath	290	15N	e
SN61	2 black metal crosses	291	15N	w
SN60	Tile shrine, up on a 1.5m tall pillar to NSGuad	295	15N	e
SN59	White granito nicho, black WI door, 2 urns & cross atop	300	15N	m
SN58	2 white A-frame nichos w/ metal crosses atop	302	15N	m
SN57	Pink tile shrine on a blue concrete pedestal, arch-roofed to NSGuad	305	15N	w

SN56	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	308	15N	e
SN55	Small wood cross on large pile of rocks	308	15N	m
SN54	Black metal cross w/ scroll on conc. pedestal	310	15N	m
SN53	White granito sun-ray-type cross and a wedge-type monument within a fence	313	15N	e
SN52	Concrete nicho, 6" sq, w/ rusted metal cross atop rear	313	15N	m
SN51	Sky blue metal cross on concrete slab same color	314	15N	m
SN50	White granito cross, small	316	15N	m
SN49	White metal cross with filigree	317	15N	m
SN48	White metal nicho w/ metal nicho box welded onto the cross arms & hinged at the bottom w/ votives inside	321	15N	m
SN47	Green concrete shrine, next to a business to St. Jude	322	15N	w
SN46	White granito cross	327	15N	m
SN45	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop & flowers	329	15N	e
SN44	Black metal cross	331	15N	m
SN43	2 white metal crosses w/ spear point tips on pedestals w/ identical wreaths	333	15N	e
SN42	Brick flat-roofed nicho w/ 2-step pedestal & white metal cross atop rear; faced parallel	334	15N	m
SN41	3 black metal cross w/ wreaths	334	15N	m
SN40	Black metal cross	335	15N	w
SN39	Black metal double cross [one atop the other] on a white nicho	335	15N	m
SN38	Shrine to NSGuad, 2m cubed, flat roof w/ facade & cross atop, black WI gate	342	15N	w
SN37	3 black pipe-type cross on a pedestal	345	15N	e
SN36	White concrete nicho on 2-tiered pedestal w/ white concrete cross atop; faces parallel to road	346	15N	e
wB42	Sonora/Sinaloa boundary; end L3, Sonora	348	15N	
wB47	Boundary CH/SN; transect W1	0	16E	
SN647	1m sq, brick shed-roofed nicho w/ NSGuad print & white WI locked door	12	16E	s
SN646	3m cubed pink concrete shrine to St Jude; its nearly dark	26	16E	n
SN645	Concrete open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop	54	16E	n
SN644	White metal cross w/ filigrees & tiled pedestal; "Victor Manuel Fontes Dias, dic 17, 1963- jul 26, 1998" there is a plaque to the side;"?Manuel Segere?".	66	16E	s
SN643	Granito nicho w/ metal cross & scroll;"Alfredo Gavia Castillo, 17 aug 1973-26 jul 1998; siempre estaremos recordote" inside a small StJude statue & fresh flowers & votive candles.	66	16E	n
SN642	White metal cross w/ scroll	67	16E	n
SN641	Small nicho w/ NSGuad image	70	SN17E	n
SN640	3m cubed turquoise shrine to NSGuad	89	SN17E	
SN639	Black metal cross w/filigrees & scroll; by a bridge	91	SN17E	s
SN638	2 white metal crosses w/ scrolls on pedestal	102	SN17E	s
SN637	White concrete cross, 2 ft tall, on a road-cut bank	104	SN17E	n
SN636	3m wide x 12m tall shrine/rock painting of NS Guad w/	106	SN17E	n

	small niche & 25 votive candles			
SN635	Light blue shrine to NSGuad, 2x3x2.5m, w/ white cross atop front of gabled roof	113	SN17E	n
SN634	2x3x3m, pink concrete nicho w/ white metal cross w/filigrees & scroll atop front of gabled facade on a shed roof. Inside is painted turquoise w/ altar w/ 12 candles (4 lit), 6 bouquets.	120	SN17E	s
SN633	White granito nicho w/ 2 turns, 2 crosses & wedge- open-book: "Ing. Luis Antonio Aguilar R., aug 14, 1980 a la edad de 22 anos, DEP; recuerdo de sus padres Y amigos" & "Ing. Fausto Valencia Z., nacio mar 1, 1956, aug 14, 1980, DEP; recuerdo de sus padres Y amigos".	120	SN17E	s
SN632	Cross, 1 white concrete set in stone & concrete	121	SN17E	n
SN631	Just across the road is an open nicho to NS Guad, w/ 25 votives, some lit. Painted on the side is; "dec 1998 Lorena Penunuri" I'm not sure if this was a death site or not.	123	SN17E	s
SN630	3m sq x 4m tall, concrete shrine to St. Jude, tan w/ green & white trim and has a cross atop the front. SJ statue, votive candles, some lit, & fresh flowers.	123	SN17E	n
SN629	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees on a concrete pedestal	126	SN17E	s
SN628	A brick nicho to Jesus Malverde with an arched roof and a small altar with a bust of Malverde on it. A man who lives in the nearest house said that one of the neighbors put this up, its not because anyone died here, rather it is out of devotion to Malverde. In Anglophone terms, he is a sort of Robin Hood who robbed from the rich to give to the poor; and he is a people's saint. In fact the man referred to him as a saint; he also called him "un senor" and described him as a Mafioso. And he said, I don't know if I should linger here long, that people around here used to be Mafiosos. And also pointed out that up on the hill, about 200m south of the village, across country, there is a statue of the Virgin. There was no pretending that Malverde was not a criminal, rather it is his criminality that has elevated him to sainthood in the popular imagination.	132	SN17E	n
SN627	The main shrine has a San Judas to the right & NSGuad to the left. To its left is an open shrine with a large ceramic of NSGuad that is about 4 feet tall and hand painted; inside of a little niche in it is another ceramic done in glitter paint and there is a pipe cross behind it. Attached to the cross are pieces of cloth, children's socks, rosary beads, and all sorts of little gadgets and gizmos attached to it. In front of these is a pool fed by a hot spring that, according to a lady who was there with her children and her sister's kids, has healing powers. The shrines were built by people who came here and were cured. It was quite fun, the kids posed and hammed it up. Meanwhile, people keep arriving and going straight to the pools.	153	SN17E	s
SN626	Dark blue wood cross or concrete w/ flowers	160	SN12E	n

SN625	Double nicho/shrine, 4m wide x 2m deep x 2m tall, has a double gabled roof (looks like an 'M') supported by 2 pillars & crucifix centered where the 2 roofs meet. 2 arched doors; inside 1 is a 2.5ft tall statue of StJude, other has a 2.5ft tall statue of BVM.	163	SN12E	n
SN624	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	163	SN12E	n
SN623	White granito nicho w/ cross atop gabled roof in rear	163	SN12E	n
SN622	Concrete pedestal w/ 5 black metal crosses; middle 3 are identical and the 2 on the ends are identical; from E-to-W; "Sr. Ing. Jose L. Machado C. edad 36 anos, 1956-1993, San Jose de B." "Sylvia L. Garcia, 12-aug-1993" "Carlos A. Lavia G. 12-aug-1993" "Santa C. Leal F. 12-aug-1993" "Nino Jose Jesus ?" It looks like the middle 3 were made first & the ones on the ends were made at different times because the concrete foundation is not monolithic; though it was made to look as if it were.	164	SN12E	s
SN621	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	166	SN12E	n
SN620	Rusted metal cross	166	SN12E	s
SN619	Large shrine to San Judas	166	SN12E	n
wSN23	End transect W1: jct15N/117E at Esperanza	168	SN12E	

Table A4.4: Sinaloa

Site #	Description	Mile	Rte Dir	A s p
wB42	Sinaloa/Sonora boundary; transect L3	0	15N	
SA531	Black metal cross w/ filigrees on concrete pedestal	1	15N	e
SA530	White granito cross, 2 urns & open book	3	15N	w
SA529	Concrete nicho	6	15N	w
SA528	1 tan tile, gable roof nicho, 1x.5x1m, brown metal cross atop front, faced parallel to road w/ rear to on-coming traffic	7	15N	e
SA527	1m tall white pipe-type cross at a bridge abutment w/ a tire & some car part hung from the cross arms	9	15N	m
SA526	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	9	15N	m
SA525	Black metal cross	9	15N	e
SA524	Blue concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop; at 30 degree angle to road, in front of a bridge abutment	10	15N	e
SA523	Blue concrete, home-made cross	12	15N	e
SA522	White metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & a fresh bow	15	15N	m
SA521	Red metal cross w/ green filigrees & white & purple wreath	16	15N	m
SA520	Red metal cross, green filagrees & white & purple wreath.	20	15N	e
SA519	2 black metal crosses pedestal w/ scrolls	20	15N	e
SA518	White granito nicho, .5m tall, arch-roof, blue WI gate & cross atop rear, open book pedestal; enclose in white WI fence; facing parallel to road.	23	15N	e
SA517	2 white granito nichos / 2 crosses & 4urns, 2 open books; 2m tall	24	15N	e
SA516	Black metal cross	24	15N	m
SA515	2 white granito nichos; [were] 2 crosses & 4urns, 2 open books; 2m tall	25	15N	w
SA514	White granito cross w/ large crucifix & open book wedge	26	15N	e
SA513	Red metal cross w/ red WI fence around it & the area, up to 1m high, is full of rocks	32	15N	e
SA512	White A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	32	15N	m
SA511	Black metal cross	32	15N	m
SA510	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	33	15N	e
SA509	Blue metal cross w/ filigrees facing parallel & 1 white metal facing road	37	15N	e
SA508	White metal, gable roof nicho, .25m cubed, w/ white metal cross atop rear	38	15N	e
SA507	White granito, nicho, 3m tall, 3-tiered base, arch-roofed w/ roman-style cross atop and WI door	38	15N	e
SA506	Turquoise metal cross on concrete pedestal and flowers	39	15N	m
SA505	Cross on a pedestal covered by flowers	39	15N	e
SA504	Cross, a cactus and a bunch of flowers	39	15N	m
SA503	Homemade concrete cross on large raised tomb platform w/ part of a fender lying across the front; parallel to road.	41	15N	e
SA502	White granito cross w/wedge base & 2 urns	41	15N	e
SA501	White metal cross w/ wreath	43	15N	w
SA500	Green tile nicho, 2m tall w/ tile roof & metal door & white cross atop rear and 2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees	45	15N	e

SA499	Black metal cross	45	15N	e
SA498	Black metal cross and 1 white metal cross	45	15N	e
SA497	White concrete cross with 2 smaller metal crosses nearby	46	15N	e
SA496	White granito nicho w/ large inscription plate & 2 urns in front; 2 black metal crosses	47	15N	e
SA495	2m tall cross and 5 smaller ones	48	15N	w
SA494	White granito, flat-roof nicho w/ cross atop & 2 urns in front & black metal cross	48	15N	e
SA493	Black metal cross w/ red bow on it	49	15N	e
SA492	White concrete cross w/ flowers	50	15N	e
SA491	White concrete cross w/ flowers	50	15N	e
SA490	Light blue metal cross; flowers	51	15N	w
SA489	Black metal cross	52	15N	e
SA488	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear w/ filigrees & scroll	52	15N	e
SA487	Brick, gable-roofed nicho	53	15N	e
SA486	White metal cross	53	15N	e
SA485	Cross covered by flowers	53	15N	e
SA484	2 black metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls on a pedestal; flowers	55	15N	e
SA483	Black metal cross with filigrees; flowers	55	15N	e
SA482	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scrolls within 1m tall white WI fence	56	15N	e
SA481	2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & flowers	57	15N	e
SA480	Granito, arch-roofed nicho	57	15N	e
SA479	2 white metal crosses w/ scrolls & filigrees	57	15N	w
SA478	Black metal cross with filigrees	58	15N	e
SA477	Black metal cross with filigrees & scroll w/ red flowers	59	15N	e
SA476	White metal cross w/ flowers	59	15N	e
SA475	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear w/ filigrees & scroll	60	15N	e
SA474	Black metal, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear, red & white flowers	61	15N	e
SA473	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	61	15N	w
SA472	Small pink A-frame nicho w/ pink cross atop rear covered w/ flowers	62	15N	e
SA471	Black metal cross, flowers	63	15N	w
SA470	2 black metal crosses, flowers	63	15N	e
SA469	Cross, covered by wreath	63	15N	e
SA468	Black metal cross w/ red & white wreath	64	15N	w
SA467	Black metal cross on pedestal w/ flowers	64	15N	m
SA466	Small concrete A-frame nicho, white metal cross atop rear & lots of flowers	65	15N	e
SA465	Unpainted concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear w/ flowers	66	15N	e
SA464	3 white metal crosses; 2 large & small one in between, all w/ filigrees	66	15N	e
SA463	Concrete nicho with metal cross atop	66	15N	w
SA462	Gray concrete nicho	66	15N	e

SA461	Blue concrete A-frame nicho	66	15N	e
SA460	Concrete nicho w/cross & wreath	67	15N	e
SA459	2 crosses covered by flowers	67	15N	m
SA458	Cross covered by blue & white wreath	67	15N	e
SA457	Black metal cross	67	15N	e
SA456	Large arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	67	15N	w
SA455	3 crosses in series; yellow metal and gray metal and black metal. Last;"fallacio Angel Felix B. el dia 15-9-91 a la edad de 22 anos" it has a coconut hanging on it & flowers.	67	15N	e
SA454	White concrete cross	68	15N	w
SA453	3 crosses, obscured by wreaths	68	15N	w
SA452	White metal cross	69	15N	e
SA451	White granito nicho & cross inside a light blue WI fence	69	15N	e
SA450	White concrete nicho, 2-tiered w/ black metal cross atop rear w/ red & white flowers	70	15N	w
SA449	Black metal cross	70	15N	m
SA448	Flat roofed, black & blue nicho w/ black metal cross	71	15N	e
SA447	Black metal cross inside a white metal fence	72	15N	e
SA446	White metal cross inside a white metal fence	73	15N	w
SA445	Blue concrete nicho w/ blue home-made concrete cross atop and unpainted home-made concrete cross	74	15N	e
SA444	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop	74	15N	e
SA443	2 white concrete crosses	76	15N	w
SA442	White concrete cross	77	15N	w
SA441	3-tiered, flat-roofed concrete nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear; faced parallel to road w/ opening opposite to traffic flow	78	15N	w
SA440	Black metal cross w/ flowers	79	15N	w
SA439	Yellow nicho w/ cross atop	79	15N	m
SA438	White concrete, flat roof nicho, w/ WI door, 1m cubed, w/ white metal atop rear w/ filigrees & scroll	80	15N	w
SA437	Small A-frame nicho w/ cross atop & flowers	81	15N	e
SA436	White rebar cross attached to a bridge railing	81	15N	w
SA435	Black metal cross w/ pointed tips, filigrees & scroll	82	15N	w
SA434	White metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees & flowers	85	15N	e
SA433	Small nicho behind white metal cross	87	15N	e
SA432	2 black metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls	89	15N	e
SA431	Brick, broken-up nicho w/ cross in rear w/ fresh wreath	89	15N	e
SA430	Small A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross in rear	90	15N	w
SA429	Tombstone-like marker monument	91	15N	w
SA428	Black metal cross w/wreath	91	15N	e
SA427	Nicho with cross atop & red wreath	91	15N	w
SA426	White granito clover-type cross	92	15N	e
SA425	White metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	93	15N	w
SA424	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal atop front w/ red & white wreath	94	15N	w
SA423	2 white granito crosses w/ wreaths	94	15N	w
SA422	Black metal cross w/wreath	95	15N	e
SA421	2 green metal crosses with filigrees & wreath	96	15N	w

SA420	Cross, obscured w/ wreath	96	15N	w
SA419	White metal cross w/ pointed tips, purple & white wreath; within fence	96	15N	w
SA418	White concrete, home-made cross on concrete pedestal w/ flowers; partially destroyed	96	15N	e
SA417	White granito cross	97	15N	w
SA416	2 white metal crosses	97	15N	w
SA415	Cross, covered by wreath	98	15N	w
SA414	White granito, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	98	15N	e
SA413	White concrete cross w/ wreath	98	15N	w
SA412	Large white metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll, 2.5m tall	99	15N	w
SA411	3 black metal crosses	99	15N	e
SA410	2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls	99	15N	e
SA409	White metal outline-type cross	99	15N	e
SA408	Cross	100	15N	e
SA407	Cross	100	15N	w
SA406	3 nichos	101	15N	e
SA405	Cross	101	15N	w
SA404	Cross	101	15N	e
SA403	Cross	101	15N	e
SA402	Cross	102	15N	e
SA401	Concrete cross	102	15N	e
SA400	2 black metal crosses; flowers	103	15N	w
SA399	Nicho	103	15N	w
SA398	Concrete cross, flowers	104	15N	w
SA397	Cross	106	15N	e
SA396	Cross & nicho	106	15N	w
SA395	Cross & nicho	106	15N	e
SA394	Nicho	107	15N	e
SA393	Cross & nicho	107	15N	w
SA392	Nicho	108	15N	e
SA391	Nicho	109	15N	e
SA390	Cross	109	15N	e
SA389	Nicho	109	15N	w
SA388	Cross	110	15N	e
SA387	Cross	110	15N	w
SA386	Nicho	112	15N	e
SA385	Nicho	115	15N	w
SA384	Metal cross	116	15N	w
SA383	Nicho	116	15N	w
SA382	Black metal cross & concrete cross	117	15N	e
SA381	Concrete cross	118	15N	e
SA380	Nicho	118	15N	w
SA379	Cross	119	15N	w
SA378	2 white lumber crosses	119	15N	e
SA377	2 red metal crosses	119	15N	e
SA376	Black metal box-type nicho w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll in front; all on a concrete pedestal	121	15N	e

SA375	White granito nicho w/ cross atop and small white granito cross next to it	122	15N	w
SA374	Concrete, flat-roofed nicho on a pedestal w/ rusted metal cross atop rear; faced away from road	124	15N	e
SA373	White metal cross w/ wreath	125	15N	e
SA372	White granito nicho w/ cross atop & square pillar w/ shelf atop	125	15N	w
SA371	2 white plain concrete cross on pedestals	125	15N	e
SA370	2 concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear w/ blue wreaths	126	15N	w
SA369	White concrete cross	126	15N	w
SA368	3 black metal crosses w/ scrolls & filigrees and 3 white concrete crosses	126	15N	e
SA367	White concrete cross, 1m tall	129	15N	e
SA366	White metal cross w/ flowers	131	15N	e
SA365	Cross	131	15N	e
SA364	Red metal cross at intersection w/ a dirt road; next to it a wood [stick] cross	136	15N	w
SA363	White concrete cross	137	15N	e
SA362	1ft sq. open-faced, brown nicho w/ cross atop & flowers	137	15N	w
SA361	Concrete nicho on 2-step pedestal open-faced w/ white metal cross atop & gallon jug w/ wilted flowers in front	142	15N	e
SA360	Large white metal cross w/ filigrees & flowers	142	15N	e
SA359	Cross with flowers	143	15N	e
SA358	Nicho w/ cross w/flowers	143	15N	w
SA357	White concrete cross; by a bridge	143	15N	w
SA356	3 nichos with crosses atop, 1 is blue	144	15N	w
SA355	2 metal crosses; 1 white & 1 blue	144	15N	e
SA354	4 nichos with white granito crosses atop	144	15N	e
SA353	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	144	15N	e
SA352	Brown concrete double A-frame nicho w/ crosses in rear	144	15N	w
SA351	Mostly destroyed nicho	145	15N	w
SA350	Gray concrete nicho w/ cross in front w/ fresh flowers	145	15N	e
SA349	Brick nicho w/ cross in rear	145	15N	e
SA348	Blue concrete flat roof nicho, w/ large blue cross	145	15N	e
SA347	Dark blue metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	146	15N	e
SA346	White granito nicho w/ WI gate, 2m tall, arch-roofed	146	15N	e
SA345	White concrete cross w/ flowers	146	15N	w
SA344	Concrete nicho w/ black metal cross covered by wreath	147	15N	w
SA343	Large green metal cross on concrete pillar w/ flowers	149	15N	e
SA342	Black metal cross w/ scroll; behind guard rail	151	15N	e
SA341	2 black metal crosses, 1m tall, w/scrolls in buckets of concrete; one w/ flowers	151	15N	e
SA340	White metal cross w/ filigrees	151	15N	w
SA339	Blue nicho w/ cross atop	152	15N	e
SA338	White granito nicho, 2m tall, cross atop	152	15N	w
SA337	A-frame green concrete nicho with green metal cross, fresh flowers	152	15N	e
SA336	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, black metal cross atop rear; faced parallel to road; .5m sq x .5m tall	153	15N	w

SA335	2 white metal crosses, filigrees & scrolls; 8" tall & 16" tall	155	15N	w
SA334	3 red metal crosses; all the same on a concrete pedestal	156	15N	w
SA333	White granito nicho	157	15N	e
SA332	Arch-roofed concrete nicho	157	15N	w
SA331	Cross in a bucket of concrete; obscured by flowers	159	15N	w
SA330	Cross obscured by flowers	159	15N	w
SA329	Cross obscured by flowers	160	15N	e
SA328	Black metal cross, filigrees & scroll; red flowers	161	15N	e
SA327	2 white metal crosses	163	15N	e
SA326	Blue concrete 3-tiered, flat-roofed, nicho, light blue metal cross atop	163	15N	w
SA325	White metal cross w/ pointed tips, leaning against a tree w/ fresh flowers	164	15N	e
SA324	Metal cross w/ flowers	164	15N	w
SA323	Large white granito nicho w/ angel atop	166	15N	e
SA322	2 crosses	166	15N	e
SA321	2 white concrete A-frame nichos w/ white metal cross between them	175	15N	e
SA320	Black pipe cross	175	15N	e
SA319	White metal cross w/ filigrees & flowers	175	15N	e
SA318	2 concrete crosses	176	15N	w
SA317	White tile double nicho; bottom is 1m cube w/open-face, top is .5m tall, gable-roofed; behind is a white metal cross.	176	15N	w
SA316	White granito nicho w/ cross atop, 3m tall	178	15N	e
SA315	Small gray nicho	178	15N	e
SA314	White concrete cross	178	15N	e
SA313	Lime green concrete, flat-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear covered w/ flowers	178	15N	w
SA312	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ flowers	179	15N	e
SA311	Bronze-colored metal cross w/ filigrees	179	15N	e
SA310	4 identical white metal crosses; "Guadalupe Gonzales de Zomara fallacio 14-9-97" "Jesus Zomara Gonzales, 14-9-97" "Rodrigo Zomara Gonzales, 14-9-97" "Giovanni Roberto Portillo Gonzales, 14-9-97".	179	15N	w
SA309	White nicho w/ cherubs in front & blue metal cross behind	179	15N	w
SA308	Gray metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	180	15N	w
SA307	Pink concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ votive candle inside & white metal cross atop rear w/ filagrees & spear-point tips.	181	15N	w
SA306	Gray A-frame nicho w/ cross atop & flowers	181	15N	e
SA305	Black metal cross	181	15N	w
SA304	On 5m tall x 1m sq pedestal; A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross centered in rear	182	15N	w
SA303	Brick & concrete, gable roof w/ black metal cross atop rear	182	15N	w
SA302	Concrete .5m tall, A-frame nicho w/ granito cross in rear; "DEP" on top arm, cross-arm-"Prof. Fernando Chavez Corales, 20-?-23/3-1-91" white DODO & 1m tall WI fence.	183	15N	e
SA301	Blue & white A-frame nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear w/ filigrees & scroll	183	15N	e

SA300	White metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll	183	15N	w
SA299	Large white concrete cross	184	15N	w
SA298	White concrete gable-roof nicho, 1m cubed, painted yellow inside w/ homemade turquoise concrete cross inside.	184	15N	w
SA297	Gray pipe-type cross w/ scroll	185	15N	w
SA296	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	185	15N	w
SA295	Black metal cross w/ filigrees	186	15N	e
SA294	Black pipe-type cross on concrete pedestal	186	15N	e
SA293	White granito nicho, 1.5m tall, gable roof, WI door, cross atop	187	15N	w
SA292	White concrete, bee-hive roof nicho, gray metal cross atop rear, faced away from road	187	15N	e
SA291	Flat roof, arched windows, open patio nicho; blue metal cross atop	187	15N	w
SA290	White granito nicho w/urns, cross atop gabled roof, flowers	188	15N	w
SA289	A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross behind	189	15N	w
SA288	3 A-frame nichos w/ light blue crosses atop rear	189	15N	e
SA287	A-frame nicho, 1.5 ft tall, white concrete w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees atop rear	190	15N	e
SA286	White granito nicho	190	15N	w
SA285	3 white granito crosses	190	15N	w
SA284	White granito, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop; "Fernando Beltran Cuen, 29-4-61/4-9-84, recuerdo de sus papas" large wreath.	191	15N	e
SA283	White granito cross w/ white flowers	192	15N	w
SA282	Small light blue A-frame nicho, black metal cross atop rear	192	15N	e
SA281	Black metal cross w/ scroll	192	15N	e
SA280	2 white granito, flat-roofed nichos, 1.5m tall x1m sq, w/ WI gates, crosses atop rear; atop a road-cut; both w/ flowers	194	15N	w
SA279	2 A-frame nichos, 1ft tall w/ a gray cross between them	195	15N	e
SA278	2 white granito, gable -roof nichos w/ crosses atop rear and a large white granito cross to their left	195	15N	e
SA277	White granito, arch roof nicho, cross fallen over, NSGuad statue inside, black cross painted on the rear wall, 1.5m tall	196	15N	e
SA276	White pipe-cross w/ filigrees & scroll, concrete pedestal	196	15N	e
SA275	White granito, arch-roofed nicho, w/2 urns in front	198	15N	w
SA274	3 metal crosses, ? black; ? white	200	15N	w
SA273	Concrete, A-frame nicho	200	15N	e
SA272	Brick nicho w/ black wood cross atop	200	15N	e
SA271	Rust-colored metal cross, 8" tall, w/ rocks around it painted the same color	202	15N	e
SA270	Gray cross, 3 m tall, w/ filigrees & scroll	202	15N	w
SA269	Gray metal cross w/ scroll	203	15N	w
SA268	Blue metal cross, 2.5m tall, on concrete pedestal	206	15N	e
SA267	White metal cross w/ large flowers	207	15N	w
SA266	White metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll	208	15N	e
SA265	Black metal cross w/ red & white wreath, black WI fence	208	15N	e
SA264	White concrete A-frame nicho, 1ft tall, w/ white cross atop rear w/ flowers	209	15N	e
SA263	White metal cross covered by wreath	209	15N	e

SA262	Blue metal cross w/ filigrees; white metal cross; 3m tall wood, blue & white cross	209	15N	e
SA261	White flat-roofed, concrete nicho w/ cross atop rear	211	15N	w
SA260	Black pipe-type cross w/ wreath	211	15N	w
SA259	Black metal cross w/filigrees & flowers	211	15N	w
SA258	2 white crosses, 1 black in between; all w/ flowers	216	15N	e
SA257	Blue metal cross w/ flowers	216	15N	e
SA256	White metal cross w/ spear-tips & wreath	218	15N	e
SA255	White concrete cross w/ huge wreath, 2m tall	221	15N	e
SA254	White metal cross w/ scroll	221	15N	e
SA253	Cross, covered by wreath	221	15N	w
SA252	White metal cross, 1m tall, flowers	222	15N	w
SA251	White metal cross w/filigrees & is delineated by a large rectangle of white-washed rocks & cleared ground	223	15N	e
SA250	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & wreath	223	15N	e
SA249	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear inside a black WI fence, flowers;	223	15N	w
SA248	Small concrete, gable-roofed nicho [1.5ft tall] w/black metal cross [1m tall] w/ filigrees & scroll	227	15N	e
SA247	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ filigrees and large white wreath	228	15N	e
SA246	White concrete cross, 1m tall	229	15N	e
SA245	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & flowers	229	15N	e
SA244	2 brick arch-roofed nichos, black metal crosses atop rear, 1m tall x .5m wide	230	15N	w
SA243	White concrete cross	231	15N	e
SA242	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	231	15N	e
SA241	Pink concrete, gable-roof nicho, little angels atop on corners & black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll on center: "E.L.S.N. 8-10-83/23-4-89" 2 votives lit inside, looks like the flowers have been freshly watered.	213	15N	e
SA240	Concrete nicho w/ concrete cross atop, covered by wreath.	233	15N	w
SA239	White metal cross, flowers	234	15N	e
SA238	Concrete cross	237	15N	w
SA237	White concrete cross, 2m tall w/ flowers	237	15N	e
SA236	Small concrete nicho; at a crossroad	239	15N	w
SA235	Wood cross on a concrete pedestal	240	15N	e
SA234	White metal cross, filigrees, scroll & flowers above in a tree	242	15N	e
SA233	Concrete cross	243	15N	w
SA232	2 white granito nichos w/ crosses	243	15N	e
SA231	White granito, arch nicho w/ a cross atop	244	15N	w
SA230	Yellow nicho w/ white cross atop	244	15N	w
SA229	Turquoise nicho w/3 white crosses	244	15N	w
SA228	Old granito nicho w/ spires	245	15N	e
SA227	Blue metal, arch-roofed nicho w/ 3 crosses atop & 2 spires	248	15N	e
SA226	3 concrete crosses w/ urns; "Jose Martin Damien Castro, fallacio nov 13, 1989 a la edad de 25 anos" "Mario Arreyano Chevarria, age 42" "Daniel Guin Neblas, age 28" and a black metal cross	250	15N	e

	behind them.			
SA225	White granito nicho and white concrete cross nearby	251	15N	w
SA224	2 black metal crosses on concrete pedestal	251	15N	e
SA223	Turquoise concrete A-frame nicho w/ cross atop	251	15N	w
SA222	White nicho, 1m tall, w/cross atop & flowers	254	15N	w
SA221	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	254	15N	e
SA220	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	254	15N	w
SA219	Rough wood cross w/ metal name plate, visitation stones on arms & top, fresh roses in coffee cans at base	256	15N	e
SA218	White granito nicho w/ cross atop & flowers	256	15N	e
SA217	Concrete cross & homemade nicho	256	15N	w
SA216	Large turquoise, arched roofed shrine w/ 2 gates	259	15N	w
SA215	White concrete cross	261	15N	e
SA214	Concrete nicho w/ cross behind	262	15N	e
SA213	Blue nicho w/ cross atop rear	262	15N	e
SA212	White concrete A-frame nicho on a platform, NSGuad ceramic in front & white metal cross in rear	262	15N	e
SA211	3ft tall, flat-roofed nicho w/ facade, 2m cubed, white concrete w/ blue metal cross atop and a white metal cross in front w/ filigrees & flowers.	265	15N	e
SA210	White, 3m cubed shrine, white WI gate, 20m above road	266	15N	w
SA209	4 small crosses covered w/flowers and large NSGuad rock painting [20ft tall x 10ft wide] above	267	15N	w
SA208	4 white metal crosses, 2 w/ flowers	268	15N	e
SA207	Cross, covered w/ flowers	268	15N	w
SA206	2 black metal crosses	268	15N	e
SA205	White metal cross w/ scroll	269	15N	e
SA204	White granito nicho, .5m tall	271	15N	w
SA203	White granito cross, 2.5m tall, w/ an angel	271	15N	e
SA202	2x2ft, gabled nicho w/ white metal cross atop & flowers	272	15N	e
SA201	White metal nicho w/ white metal cross atop, flowers	274	15N	e
SA200	White concrete cross and 1 green metal	274	15N	e
SA199	Concrete cross, 1.5m tall	274	15N	e
SA198	2 white concrete crosses	275	15N	w
SA197	Cross, covered by flowers, & dome-roofed nicho	275	15N	e
SA196	Brown metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll in a bucket of concrete, flowers	278	15N	w
SA195	White nicho w/ turquoise metal cross atop rear	278	15N	e
SA194	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop rear also a white metal cross	278	15N	w
SA193	Blue wood cross on white pedestal, flowers	281	15N	e
SA192	White, 4ft tall nicho, w/ black metal cross atop covered w/flowers	283	15N	e
SA191	Black pipe-type cross and 2x1ft yellow tile nicho w/ black pipe cross atop	283	15N	e
SA190	Cross, covered w/ flowers	283	15N	w
SA189	Box-type, concrete nicho w/ concrete cross atop rear	284	15N	w
SA188	Block shrine w/ pillars on both sides of black WI gate	286	15N	w
SA187	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ bronze-colored cross behind	287	15N	w

SA186	2 concrete crosses; 1 white on open-book pedestal, & 1 black metal cross	287	15N	e
SA185	White metal cross in white WI fence, flowers	290	15N	w
SA184	Concrete, badly weathered cross	291	15N	e
SA183	White granito, flat-roofed nicho, 4 pillars, crucifix atop & a company emblem	293	15N	w
SA182	Metal cross, 1m, tall w/ 2 small metal crosses on the arms	293	15N	w
SA181	Blue concrete shrine, 2x3x1.5m, white cross atop	294	15N	w
SA180	Concrete cross, 18" tall	296	15N	w
SA179	Shrine, next to a business	296	15N	w
SA178	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ flowers	296	15N	e
SA177	Black metal cross w/ flowers	297	15N	w
SA176	White gable-roofed nicho; 1m sq w/ white metal cross atop,	297	15N	w
SA175	White concrete cross	297	15N	w
SA174	Black metal cross, 1 white concrete, 1 black metal on a freshly painted white concrete pedestal	298	15N	w
SA173	2 concrete crosses	298	15N	e
SA172	White concrete cross	299	15N	w
SA171	2 white metal crosses	299	15N	e
SA170	Large white granito nicho w/ cross & belfries atop gable-roof; decorated w/ flowers	299	15N	w
SA169	Blue concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	300	15N	w
SA168	Black metal cross [twisted WI], pointed tips & scroll	300	15N	w
SA167	Cross, fresh flowers obscuring the cross	302	15N	w
SA166	Concrete cross, 2m tall, on a wedge pedestal, just behind a private property fence.	303	15N	w
SA165	Cross	304	15N	w
SA164	Cross	304	15N	e
SA163	Cross	305	15N	w
SA162	Cross & nicho	307	15N	e
SA161	Cross	307	15N	w
SA160	Cross & nicho	307	15N	e
SA159	Cross & nicho	307	15N	w
SA158	Cross	308	15N	w
SA157	2 crosses	308	15N	e
SA156	Cross	308	15N	w
SA155	Cross & nicho	309	15N	w
SA154	Cross	309	15N	w
SA153	Cross	311	15N	w
SA152	Nicho	311	15N	e
SA151	Cross	311	15N	e
SA150	Cross	312	15N	w
SA149	3 crosses	312	15N	w
SA148	Cross	313	15N	e
SA147	Cross	313	15N	e
SA146	Cross	313	15N	w
SA145	Cross	314	15N	e
SA144	Cross	314	15N	e

SA143	Nicho	315	15N	e
SA142	Nicho	314	15N	w
SA141	Nicho	317	15N	e
SA140	Cross	318	15N	e
wSA02	Jct. 15N & 40 W @ Villa Union	320	15N	
SA98	Yellow 1/4m cubed, gable-roofed nicho w/ yellow metal cross w/ center name plate behind	321	15N	e
SA97	3 black metal crosses, w/ red flowers on single pedestal	323	15N	w
SA96	White granito roman-type cross	325	15N	w
SA95	Silver metal cross between the vertical posts of a sign	326	15N	e
SA94	White granito crucifix w/ 2 urns	326	15N	e
SA93	Black metal cross	326	15N	e
SA92	Shrine where the first photo shows part of the highway and all of the steps leading up to it. There are areas to pull-off the road on both sides. Inside: large (18"x 36") NSGuad print in a wood & glass frame; surrounding it are red roses. There is also a blue wood cross made from 2x4s, a bunch of other flowers, a bunch of votive candles. Out back there is a cabana for people to rest, maybe have a picnic. Looks like gets a lot of visitation; a lot of the candles were burning and there is a large scrap heap of burnt out candles behind the shrine.	326	15N	W
SA91	3 black & 1 white cross on blue concrete pedestal	326	15N	e
SA90	Concrete, 3-tiered nicho w/ white metal sun-burst cross atop: "Jesus Adrian Navvaro Lopez, nacio 6 abril 1986-fallacio 21 mayo 1998, recuerdos de su mama y hermanos".	328	15N	e
SA89	3 crosses: Open book inscription in front one cross "Sr Feliciano Chinoia Concha, 9 junio 1960, 11 nov 1995; recuerdo de su esposa y hijos. recuerdo de sus padres, espose, hijos, y companeros de servicio panamericano de proteccion suc. Mazatlan, Sin." The cross (black metal w/ spear-point tips) that is immediately to the right of it says: En memoria de amor Feliciano Chicoya Concha, fallacio 11 nov 1995; Cristo te tenga gozando en su reino" The cross to the left says: (its a spindle type) "Sr. [same name] on the heart-shaped with an arrow through it center scroll.	329	15N	W
SA88	White metal sun-burst type cross on concrete pedestal	329	15N	w
SA87	White metal cross	330	15N	w
SA86	Concrete, partly broken cross	330	15N	w
SA85	Small dome-roofed nicho w/ white concrete cross behind & flowers in front	330	15N	e
SA84	2 black metal, outline-crosses w/ scrolls & red flowers on concrete pedestal	331	15N	e
SA83	White concrete crucifix on 3-tiered pedestal; "Ing. Jose Luis Garza"	333	15N	e
SA82	White nicho w/ white cross atop	333	15N	w
SA81	White dome-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop "Descanso Pedro"	333	15N	w
SA80	1m tall granito nicho w/ cross atop; next to it is a similar recuerdo w/ cross broken off	335	15N	e
SA79	Rusted metal outline-type cross	335	15N	e

SA78	White concrete nicho, pedestal w/ small arch-roofed nicho on rear, silver metal outline cross atop, fresh flowers & nicho opening covered by bricks.	338	15N	E
SA77	White granito roman-type cross	338	15N	w
SA76	Crucifix, 2 side urns, 1 urn in front, small nicho box behind: "jamie rodriguez luna; 6 julio 11996 edad 28 anos; recuerdo de sus padres y hermanos".	339	15N	W
SA75	White concrete open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ black WI door & black WI fence around it. 1.5m tall	340	15N	e
SA74	Natural concrete box-type nicho w/ black metal cross atop	340	15N	w
SA73	White nicho/cross	340	15N	w
SA72	Black metal cross on 1m tall concrete pedestal; red flowers on cross	340	15N	e
SA71	Black metal cross on white concrete slab	341	15N	e
SA70	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	341	15N	e
SA69	2 white concrete crosses on separate pedestals	342	15N	w
SA68	Black metal cross	343	15N	w
SA67	White concrete cross	343	15N	e
SA66	Black metal cross on turquoise concrete pedestal	343	15N	e
SA65	White concrete cross on nicho pedestal	344	15N	e
SA64	White concrete cross & 1 black metal cross on granito nicho & urn slab	344	15N	w
SA63	Small brick nicho with a white concrete cross on it	345	15N	w
SA62	White concrete cross	345	15N	w
SA61	White nicho w/ crucifix in the middle	345	15N	e
SA60	Concrete nicho w/ concrete cross atop	345	15N	e
SA59	White concrete clover-cross, 2 urns, & Jesus figure attached	345	15N	w
SA58	White nicho w/ black metal cross atop & red floral bouquet	346	15N	w
SA57	Blue metal cross	346	15N	w
SA56	Silver-colored metal cross w/ center name scroll	347	15N	w
SA55	Black painted cross on vertical stanchion on bridge over Rio Guaymole "Luis Alfredo Rodriguez Villa 12 marzo 1998" just outside of Rosario.	347	15N	w
SA54	White concrete roman-style cross	348	15N	e
SA53	Silver-colored cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	349	15N	e
SA52	White concrete cross w/ white concrete angel in front	349	15N	e
SA51	Concrete nicho, 2m tall, w/ white crosses atop	350	15N	e
SA50	White metal cross w/ center name scroll on concrete base. 1m tall	351	15N	w
SA49	Rusted metal cross	351	15N	e
SA48	White concrete cross	352	15N	e
SA47	18" tall concrete roman-style cross w/ center name plate	352	15N	w
SA46	White concrete roman-type cross w/ 2 urns	352	15N	w
SA45	White nicho w/ white cross atop	352	15N	e
SA44	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ white concrete cross centered in rear	354	15N	e
SA43	2 large granito cross/nichos; 1m+ tall; situated closely	355	15N	e
SA42	White gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross on rear	355	15N	e
SA41	White gable-roofed nicho w/ large black metal cross beside	355	15N	w

SA40	Concrete block, 1m cubed nicho w/ white concrete cross & Jesus Sacred Heart statue atop	356	15N	w
SA39	3 black metal crosses w/ red & green flowers	357	15N	w
SA38	1m tall roman-type cross w/ Jesus Sacred Heart statue in front & an urn w/ red flowers in front of the statue	357	15N	w
SA37	Small white cross	357	15N	e
SA36	Open-faced, box-nicho w/ NSGuad statue	357	15N	w
SA35	Open-faced, box-nicho w/ NSGuad statue & arch behind	357	15N	e
SA34	4 white metal crosses on concrete pedestal w/6" tall arch-roofed nicho between the second & third crosses	358	15N	w
SA33	2 metal crosses; 1 blue & 1 pink on blue concrete pedestals	359	15N	e
SA32	Dark blue nicho, lots of visitation pebbles. Rear 3-step facade, blue metal cross w/ an unusual arch on it: "Jorge Filipe Rivera Hidgez, fallecio el 24 de marzo de 1996 a la edad de 19 anos, recuerdo de su familia y amigos"	360	15N	w
SA31	Small white box-nicho w/ wooden cross on rear; .25m sq.	361	15N	e
SA30	Monument, white Jesus Sacred Heart statue; 0.5m tall	362	15N	w
SA29	Concrete, 3m tall, pipe cross w/ arms approx 6" diameter	363	15N	e
SA28	White concrete sun-burst-type cross	363	15N	w
SA27	White concrete roman-type cross	366	15N	w
SA26	3 white metal crosses on single pedestal	366	15N	w
SA25	Light blue nicho w/ white metal cross centered in rear	366	15N	e
SA24	White metal outline-cross w/ filigrees, concrete pedestal	367	15N	e
SA23	Black metal cross on pedestal	367	15N	e
SA22	2 black metal outline-cross w/filigrees; 1 white concrete cross; on a single pedestal	368	15N	w
SA21	Blue box-nicho w/ silver-colored frame-type cross atop nicho about 1/4m cubed w/front opening, facing the road smaller than the front.	371	15N	e
SA20	White concrete crucifix on pedestal, granito	372	15N	w
SA19	White, adobe brick, flat-roofed nicho w/ a black spear-point cross atop and with 2 large stones on the inside. Inscription: "Zugale Evangilina Rendon Jimenez, fallacito a las diez anos el dia 17 de diciembre 1989, recuerdo de sus padres y familiares, D.E.P."	373	15N	E
SA18	Turquoise shrine. 2x2.5x2.5m has a gabled-roof w/top flattened & wings on the side. 2 black metal crosses in front on the wings, enclosed by black WI fence w/turquoise post. Painted part of shrine is concrete; face is white tile w/ black WI door. The area enclosed by the fence is planted with flowers and tropical plants. Inside; large NSGuad print, fresh flowers, photo of a young male, above it another NSGuad print "Saludos de Navidad por una carina familia" One of the interesting things about this site is that there was no name or date, just the man's photo. Obviously it is a death site, and a recuerdo, but there is no way of knowing who or when. The flowers in there were fresh. (cont.): I just finished having lunch just near that last site and as I was finishing up; a guy pulled up in his pickup truck with his three sons and got out at the site and started cutting some of the flowers off of the planted flowers outside of the nicho/shrine (but inside of	374	15N	E

	the fence) and took the in to refresh the flowers inside. So I went over and talked to him and as I pulled up I noticed he had California plates and so the whole conversation took place in English. I asked him quite pointedly, why does this happen instead of just in the graveyard, I asked him in several different ways. I asked him does this happen when somebody is out working in the field and they fall, does somebody put up a shrine out in the field? He said: "Well, they can" he didn't say they do, rather that they can. So I asked him OK how about like my Dad died last February and he had been sick for quite some time, when something like that happens do you put up something in the place where he died? He said; No, of course, we can't do that in the hospital and we know that. This is an old custom and when people expect someone to die we just put them in the cemetery, and we honor them in the cemetery. But this is for when somebody dies and you don't expect it. You know it hurts much more, the pain is much more when somebody who is young dies. His name was Estaban and he is the cousin of the boy whose picture is in the nicho. In his own words, from a Mexican, he confirmed what I previously thought. Further elaborating on the conversation with Esteban, he said: "You know in America you can leave home at the age of eighteen, but you can't do that here. You have responsibility to your parents because they brought you up; so you have that responsibility for your whole life. He said: Although the deceased was only his cousin, they were very close. I thought this was really quite interesting because it showed how close these (extended) family ties are here.			
SA17	Concrete crucifix, 1m tall, enclosed by 4 natural wood posts and barbed wire "Sergio ? Martinez"	376	15N	w
SA16	White metal, rusted chapel-shaped nicho	377	15N	w
SA15	White pipe-type cross w/ center scroll	378	15N	w
SA14	Dark blue concrete, gable-roofed, nicho w/ black metal cross centered in the rear & black WI door	378	15N	e
SA13	2 black metal crosses w/ filigrees and a single pedestal	379	15N	w
SA12	Small concrete cross	379	15N	w
SA11	1x0.5x1.5m brick & stucco white nicho w/ cross on the front; on private property	379	15N	e
SA10	White granito cross on brick pedestal	379	15N	w
SA09	White concrete roman-type cross on a pedestal	380	15N	e
SA08	White metal cross w/ filigrees, on a concrete pedestal	380	15N	e
SA07	Light blue, 1m cubed, open-faced nicho, w/ black metal cross in the rear	380	15N	w
SA06	Dark blue box-nicho w/small opening facing road & blue metal cross centered in rear	385	15N	w
SA05	White Cristo Rey statue, 0.5m tall monument	387	15N	w
SA04	Black metal cross, part of a soil slump below road level	390	15N	e
SA03	White concrete cross; fallen over as part of a soil slump	390	15N	e
SA02	2 white metal outline-crosses on separate pedestals, 2m tall	393	15N	e
SA01	Blue metal outline-type cross	394	15N	
wB28	Boundary Nayarit & Sinaloa; end L3, Sinaloa	394	15N	

wB41	Stateline Durango/Sinaloa; transect W2	0	40W	
SA99	Turquoise concrete nicho w/ red metal gable roof w/ white cross atop front, 3x2x2ft	1	40W	s
SA100	Rust red metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll on concrete pedestal	5	40W	s
SA101	White pipe-type cross w/ scroll	6	40W	s
SA102	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	7	40W	s
SA103	White concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop and white metal cross	9	40W	s
SA104	White wood cross	9	40W	s
SA105	Blue tile shrine, built into road-cut, 1m cubed, w/ small statue of Vof SanJuan & several vases of flowers	10	40W	n
SA106	White granito nicho w/ white cross atop & 2 urns in front	11	40W	s
SA107	White granito cross	12	40W	s
wSA03	Tropic of cancer	13	40W	
SA108	Blue metal cross	14	40W	n
SA109	Concrete & brick shrine, 2 sets of steps going up in an arch to small nicho; inside there are statues of NSGuad & St Jude. In the parking lot of a restaurant built on the side of the mountain. Rose bushes, gladiolas planted, lots of votive candles lit, fresh flowers inside, lots of live foliage planted around the stairs. Very impressive. Restaurant La Pasidita and there is also a little motel across the street. We had a conversation with the girl in the store and she said that the family that lives here, that owns the store built it out of their devotion to their devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe.	15	40W	n
SA110	Turquoise pipe-cross w/ white filigrees & scroll; "Jesus??"	17	40W	n
SA111	Very old nicho w/ cross atop, lots of visitation pebbles	18	40W	n
SA112	White granito nicho w/ 2urns & inscription plate; "Euclides??"	18	40W	n
SA113	Shrine in La Capilla de Taxde; NSGuad & a man kneeling down praying. About 4m cubed, pink w/ gable roof.	22	40W	n
SA114	Wood cross	22	40W	s
SA115	Black lumber cross	23	40W	s
SA116	White, 3-tiered, gable roof nicho, fresh flowers	23	40W	s
SA117	White concrete, gable roof nicho w/ 3 crosses atop, 1x.5x.5m	24	40W	s
SA118	2 crosses & open-book on a pedestal; "Amando Castaneda P. 25 oct 74 & Teracio Castaneda P. 15 oct 71" "Hijos mios cada amencer de pedimos al Senor resignacion por tan irreparable perioda, los recordamos con amor y carino, sus padres, hermanos, hija, sobrinos, esposas, amigos, trelares de rio grande. Nov 24, 1993" the next one is a gray maltese-style, inscribed; "Juan Rene Hernandez Maroquin, 10 dic 1995, a la edad de 23 anos." Has wooden rosary beads hanging from the vertical arm of the cross. The fourth is a x-fix w/ the christ about gone; "Suboficial PEC Jesus Salvador Torres Alguilar, 25 dic 1963/12 dic 1996, recuerdo de su esposa y hijos, padres, hermanos, y companeros, DEP"	26	40W	n
SA119	2 crsosses; 1 white granito cross, and 4-tiered pedestal cross	29	40W	s
SA120	Black metal cross on 2-tiered pedestal w/scroll & filigrees	34	40W	n
SA121	Rusted metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	34	40W	n
SA122	White metal cross	35	40W	n

SA123	Brown & white tile nicho	35	40W	n
SA124	White concrete, 2m tall shrine, black WI gate	37	40W	n
SA125	White granito nicho, 3m tall, arch-roofed w/ a company emblem atop, white metal cross behind, within black WI fence; lots of flowers.	38	40W	n
SA126	White metal cross; "Jose ?"	39	40W	n
SA127	The first noticeable thing here is that there is nearly case of empty Modello cans sitting about the area, There's a metal framework w/ 5 crosses on it, behind that is a black metal cross, the top arm has "INRI" the cross-arm; "17 mar 1969/ 3 oct 1999" the bottom arm; "Rincon de Romas" and the scroll; "Luis Armando Rodriguez Reyes, mientras viva tu amor no morire del todo, mientras tu amor aliente vivire en tu recuerdo" in front of that is a wedge inscribed; "En memoria al Ing. Luis Armando Rodriguez Reyes, todo en esta vida hermano estrastado por un corto numero de anos, prestada es la vida la familia y los amigos disfrutimos lo que Dios nos en dia cada dia, de tus companeros procisa constuctistas Telmex y Teleconstructores." 3 oct 1999, DEP" behind the metal cross is a beautiful hand-carved crucifix and then there is a white wall behind it. The guys at Telmex really put in some labor on this.	39	40W	n
SA128	Green tile nicho, votives lit, "Prof. Juan Manuel Lopez Salazar" w/ a barbed wire fence around it	42	40W	n
SA129	White granito nicho, 3m tall, crucifix atop & 2 urns,, inside; 8x10 print of NSGuad, bottle of ? & photos.	42	40W	n
SA130	2 granito crucifixes w/ 2 urns in front	42	40W	n
SA131	White metal cross w/ scroll	43	40W	s
SA132	White concrete cross on 3-tiered pedestal w/ 2 urns, facing away from road	45	40W	n
SA133	Lime green concrete shrine, 4x5x4m, gabled red tile roof, black pipe cross atop & beneath the apex of the gable is a ceramic x-fix, WI windows & door (locked) has several plantings around the outside (roses & citrus trees) on a concrete 9x7m platform. Inside; 20-30 votive candles on a wooden table under an offering box, more votives on the floor (lit), 35 vases full of fresh flowers...data lost.	50	40W	s
SA134	Nicho	50	40W	n
SA135	Cross	51	40W	n
SA136	Nicho	53	40W	n
SA137	1 cross, 1 nicho	55	40W	s
SA138	2 nichos	56	40W	s
SA139	Cross	57	40W	n
wSA08	Jct 40W/15N @ Villa Union; end (devil's backbone) transect W2	59	40W	

Table A4.5: Nayarit

Site #	Description	Mile	Rte Dir	Asp
wB28	Boundary Nayarit & Sinaloa; transect L3	0	15N	
NT104	Red metal cross w/ center scroll on concrete pedestal	1	15N	w
NT103	Turquoise metal outline-type cross w/ filigrees	2	15N	e
NT102	Cross, covered with floral wreath	3	15N	w
NT101	Adobe, 2x1x1.5m, nicho 20m off road. Empty inside	3	15N	w
NT100	White concrete diamond-shaped cross over a small nicho box w/ a name hand-painted on the cross	4	15N	w
NT99	Monument, statue of Cristo Rey	4	15N	e
NT98	Black metal cross w/ filigrees on a concrete pedestal	6	15N	w
NT97	Black metal cross on turquoise concrete box nicho w/ red flowers	6	15N	w
NT96	White granito open-faced nicho w/Jesus Sacred Heart statue inside. Both this & 97 are on a dangerous curve down below road level & are difficult to see, there may be more down there that was not visible from road-level.	7	15N	w
NT95	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	7	15N	w
NT94	White concrete cross on pedestal	8	15N	e
NT93	Natural wood cross on concrete pedestal. Between this & 94, on the west, is the rusted remains of an overturned bus.	10	15N	e
NT92	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ built-in nicho	10	15N	w
NT91	1m tall turquoise metal w/ center name plate & filigrees	10	15N	e
NT90	White concrete roman-cross; fallen off of its pedestal	13	15N	w
NT89	Monument, 1m tall white concrete statue of Jesus Sacred Heart enclosed in white WI fence	14	15N	w
NT88	White concrete cross on granito nicho pedestal, w/ blue floral wreath	15	15N	e
NT87	White concrete cross on granito nicho pedestal	15	15N	w
NT86	2 light blue metal outline-crosses, one atop the other	16	15N	e
NT85	White concrete cross	16	15N	w
NT84	White concrete double arch w/ cross beneath	16	15N	e
NT83	Dark blue concrete cross on 2x1x0.5m blue tile pedestal	16	15N	w
NT82	Natural concrete cross	17	15N	w
NT81	Black metal cross on 1m tall concrete pedestal	20	15N	e
NT80	2 white metal crosses on single pedestal	21	15N	e
NT79	Large concrete cross on pedestal w/ flowers	21	15N	e
NT78	2 black metal crosses	24	15N	e
NT77	2 white concrete crosses	24	15N	e
NT76	Large flat-roof, white granito nicho w/cross atop middle, black WI door.	24	15N	w
NT75	Nicho w/ white crown cross atop "Fallacieron junio 25, 1970 Miguel Rodriguez Morfin agente judicial Magdeleno Rodriguez Moreno agente judicial, Jose de Jesus Fausto Meji cabo de infanteria, Jose Ramirez Torrez soldado".	25	15N	e
NT74	White tile cross on a pedestal	25	15N	e
NT73	White concrete, 1m tall, cross (used to be light blue tile but they've fallen off) on concrete pedestal	26	15N	e

NT72	Used to be white concrete cross on a pedestal, the cross part is broken off; all that's left is the pedestal and some pieces of fender.	28	15N	w
NT71	White concrete roman-type cross on concrete base, partially deteriorated	28	15N	e
NT70	White concrete cross w/ light blue inscription plate; on a pedestal	30	15N	e
NT69	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	32	15N	e
NT68	White granito dome-roof, 3-tiered nicho w/cross	32	15N	w
NT67	White metal cross, 1.5m tall, sun-burst type, on a HARD curve	32	15N	e
NT66	Box-nicho, parallel to road, behind; a white metal outline-cross	33	15N	w
NT65	Nicho w/ 2m tall sunburst cross w/ black tile insert, Christ figure & urns to either side."Sr. Augustin Vandufano L., 12 abril 1989, recuerdo de sus companeros, amigos y familia"	34	15N	
NT64	White granito nicho w/2 urns & cross	34	15N	w
NT63	Orange metal cross atop white concrete dome-roofed nicho	37	15N	w
NT62	Black metal cross	37	15N	w
NT61	1m+ tall turquoise metal cross & smaller turquoise metal cross. Larger one was plain Roman, the smaller was a spear-tip style. Both on same concrete pedestal.	39	15N	w
NT60	Large monument w/ 3 granito crosses; next to it is the remains of another monument that had at least 2 crosses. Both had built-in nichos	40	15N	w
NT59	Black metal outline-cross, concrete pedestal, floral wreath	40	15N	w
NT58	1m+ tall granito monument w/a shield backdrop, 2 crosses and 2 urns	41	15N	e
NT57	White concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross centered in the rear	42	15N	w
NT56	White concrete clover-type cross on pedestal	43	15N	w
NT55	Monument; statue of BVM & Christ child. Below it is an open-book inscription and all are on a turquoise pedestal, all of concrete.	44	15N	e
NT54	Rusted metal cross	45	15N	e
NT53	Black metal cross	45	15N	e
NT52	Light blue nicho w/ white metal cross atop	51	15N	w
NT51	Blue tile, arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop	53	15N	e
NT50	Black metal cross	53	15N	w
NT49	White concrete, flat-roofed nicho w/2 crosses inside	54	15N	
NT48	White metal outline-type cross	54	15N	w
NT47	Bright yellow nicho	54	15N	w
NT46	2 White metal crosses	55	15N	w
NT45	2 white concrete crosses	55	15N	e
NT44	2 white metal outline-type crosses on a pedestal	55	15N	e
NT43	Turquoise nicho	55	15N	w
NT42	White concrete cross	55	15N	w
NT41	Turquoise metal cross, attached to a tree. A burnt out hollow in the tree, above the cross, has been turned into a nicho.	56	15N	e
NT40	White granito cross up on a bank w/urns	56	15N	e
NT39	White granito crucifix w/ 2urns w/ flowers in them. 25m north	57	15N	

	of this is a bridge over the Rio Santiago			
NT38	Yellow metal outline-type cross on a yellow brick pedestal	57	15N	e
NT37	White granito cross w/ 2 urns	57	15N	e
NT36	White metal cross	59	15N	w
NT35	White granito cross w/NSGuad plaque standing in front & 2 urns to each side	59	15N	e
NT34	2 white granito crucifixes w/ a small nicho box between them	60	15N	w
NT33	White granito crucifix up on a bank	60	15N	w
NT32	White concrete cross	61	15N	e
NT31	White granito nicho w/crucifix	63	15N	w
NT30	Black metal cross w/ white WI fence around it	63	15N	w
NT29	White metal cross w/ wreath	63	15N	e
NT28	White concrete cross on pedestal	65	15N	e
NT27	White granito cross on pedestal	66	15N	w
wNT09	Junction 74E and 15N	67	15N	
NT26	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ many visitation pebbles; "Jose Angel Alvarez"	76	74E	n
NT25	Green metal cross w/set of wings at the crux	79	74E	n
NT24	White concrete crucifix	88	74E	s
wNT08	San Blas	88	74E	
NT23	Dark blue metal cross	108	sr11	n
NT22	Small concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho built into a retaining wall. Empty inside	112	sr11	s
NT21	White concrete cross. Hand painted "Jose Ricardo Rinteria, 21-6-92" says this is the place where he died and has a picture of a bleeding Jesus w/halo; real nicely done.	113	sr11	n
NT20	Small white granito nicho w/cross of white granito, pretty old, has lots of mildew.	114	sr11	n
NT19	Yellow cross	120	76W	n
NT18	Small wood cross, just outside of the town of Cingueata	122	76W	n
NT17	White concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ 3 white metal crosses inside, all with the date 5 April 98. Inscribed "S.M.Cr." "P.M.R. Cr." "A.F.L." behind are 3 wooden crosses w/ same initials.	125	76W	n
NT16	Blue metal cross w/floral wreath	126	76W	n
NT15	Granito white nicho w/cross atop. nicho box empty	129	76W	s
NT14	2 gray metal crosses w/ center scrolls	130	76W	n
NT13	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	130	76W	n
NT12	Gray metal cross "P.O.Y. 8-9-86"; nicho "Jesus Hector Curiae?" granito crucifix atop a pedestal w/small niche opening and w/ urns on either side.	130	76W	s
NT11	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	138	76W	n
NT10	White concrete cross on pedestal w/brick foundation "Stra. Professor Rosala Lopez Savalla, aug 24, 1955-aug 22, 1976" there is also a white concrete cross 10m west of this.	138	76W	
NT09	White concrete cross	140	15N	e
NT08	Cross painted on a rock. I've seen several of these, but this one had a name painted on the rock also, making it a definite death marker.	140	15N	w

NT07	Light blue tile, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho; built into a road cut on a dangerous curve. NSGuad image on inside rear wall.	141	15N	w
NT06	White granito, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ urns on either side & cross centered in the middle	148	15N	w
NT05	White granito crucifix w/urns to either side	155	15N	e
NT04	White granito roman-type cross on pedestal	156	15N	w
NT03	Light blue metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	157	15N	e
NT02	White granito cross w/ an urn	157	15N	e
wNT01	Break in transect on outskirts of Tepic	161	15N	
wNT13	Resume transect on Tepic to Puerta Vallarta road	0	200S	
NT105	Small adobe nicho w/ a blue metal cross w/ a center name plate behind it	3	200S	e
NT106	White concrete cross on a pedestal	4	200S	w
NT107	White concrete cross	7	200S	w
NT108	White concrete crucifix on a pedestal	17	200S	w
NT109	White concrete roman style cross on a pedestal	17	200S	e
NT110	White concrete cross on a pedestal	18	200S	e
NT111	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete crucifix on it	25	200S	e
NT112	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho built into the side of a road-cut and there is a white concrete cross inside	26	200S	e
NT113	White concrete crucifix on a pedestal	27	200S	w
NT114	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete crucifix on it	27	200S	w
NT115	Black metal cross	29	200S	e
NT116	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete crucifix on it	29	200S	w
NT117	Black metal outline-type cross w/ black WI fence around it	29	200S	e
NT118	White concrete cross	29	200S	e
NT119	2 white concrete crosses on separate pedestals	29	200S	e
NT120	Silver-colored outline type metal cross on a 2-tiered concrete pedestal w/ red & white floral wreath on it	30	200S	w
NT121	White concrete nicho w/ crucifix above	30	200S	w
NT122	Black metal outline-type cross w/ filagrees on a blue & turquoise box nicho	31	200S	w
NT123	White metal cross w/ filgreeing & center name scroll on a 2-tiered pedestal	32	200S	w
NT124	White concrete crucifix w/ 2 urns under a post and tin roof shelter	32	200S	e
NT125	Black metal cross w/ floral wreath	32	200S	e
NT126	At intersection of 68 & 200. A pedestal with 5 crosses on it, from left to right. "Maria de Jesus Cornejo H., 11-8-90"; "Francisco Moreno F., 11-8-90"; "Alberto Guerrero L., 11-8-90"; "Pedro Fuentes T., 11-8-90"; "Maria Luisa Anguiano P., 11-8-90". The three step pedestal is inscribed: "Padres nos dejaron por herencia el mas precioso tesoro el recuerdo de su ejemplo y de su vida en la tierra y sabemos que no han muerto han empesado a vivir." Amen	33	200S	W
NT127	White metal, 30' tall, cross up on a hill just to the left 20m off the road	34	200S	e
NT128	White metal cross w/ square-shaped center name plate	37	200S	e
NT129	White metal sun-burst type cross w/ center name plate on a	37	200S	e

	concrete pedestal			
NT130	One of the largest shrines I've seen. It is red and has steps going up to a little chapel on the top; has 2 niches on the bottom, each with 4 votive shelves. The left side niche has a print Christ walking on water, a plaque-type statue of Christ w/ crown of thorns, next to it is Virgin of Guadalupe statue, above them is a 0.5m tall statue of NSGuad next to it is a crucifix. Above those within a brick arch on the left is a small Christ Sacred Heart and on the right is a larger Christ Sacred Heart about 0.5m tall. The is a sign hanging in the middle that says "Favor, no deterrar la something something [the tape is bad, probably 'don't throw trash'] another sign to it s left "Capilla del Sagrado Corazon de Jesus, donado por Miguel Agurre Tovar 18 junio 1995, el senor delune tu camino" 30 steps to the top and there is another shrine type opening with 2, 1m tall Christ Sacred Heart statues, whole bunches of flowers and votive candles [tape garbled again] outline cross with red roses on it and two belfries that have little bells in them.	42	200S	e
NT131	White granito crucifix "Sergio Membrilla 4 julio 1968-11 enero 1997"	43	200S	e
NT132	20m south of NT131; white concrete cross with lots of plastic roses on it: "Senora Rosa Hilda Barajas U, el 20 de oct. 1964, el 11 de julio 1996; recuerdo de sus padres y hermanos" Just after this site: "there goes a wrecking truck going the other direction carrying a crashed bus."	43	200S	w
NT133	White granito cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	43	200S	w
NT134	White metal cross	45	200S	w
NT135	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop & blue metal cross to one side	45	200S	e
NT136	White pipe-type cross w/ center scroll on concrete pedestal	46	200S	e
NT137	Black pipe-type cross w/ red wreath on concrete pedestal	47	200S	w
NT138	Sky-blue metal outline-cross w/ filagrees on concrete pedestal; had a weathered wooden cross in front.	50	200S	w
NT139	Blue wood cross on brick pedestal; visitation stones on the cross arms	51	200S	w
NT140	White cross, 1m tall concrete on pedestal "Jose ??"	51	200S	w
NT141	Green tile nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	52	200S	e
NT142	Concrete 3m wide nicho w/ 5 concrete crosses atop; 1.5m tall	52	200S	w
NT143	2 light blue Cross, w/ blue wreath on concrete pedestal; just outside of Las Varas	54	200S	e
NT144	2 blue metal crosses on pedestal	54	200S	w
NT145	White metal outline-type cross on pedestal	54	200S	w
NT146	White concrete nicho w/ granito cross & 2 urns atop; 1m cubed, cross 0.5m tall	55	200S	w
NT147	Blue tile nicho w/ white cross atop & floral wreath	56	200S	e
NT148	White gable-roofed nicho w/ white concrete cross centered in rear & 2 urns in front	57	200S	e
NT149	White granito crucifix on pedestal w/ 2 urns	57	200S	w
NT150	White concrete cross & 1 blue concrete pedestal w/ metal cross	58	200S	e

	broken off w/ only a few inches left			
NT151	White metal outline-type cross on pedestal	58	200S	e
NT152	White granito cross on wedge pedestal	59	200S	e
NT153	2 white granito crosses w/ an urn between	59	200S	
NT154	Weathered wooden cross in front on a tree	61	200S	w
NT155	2 white granito Cross, w/ 2 urns on pedestal	61	200S	
NT156	White concrete cross	62	200S	e
NT157	White concrete cross; "Samy"	62	200S	e
NT158	Small white concrete nicho w/ light blue metal cross atop	62	200S	e
NT159	White concrete cross w/ urn in front & flowers on the cross	63	200S	e
NT160	Bronze-colored metal cross on concrete pedestal	64	200S	w
NT161	Forest green sun-burst style cross	65	200S	e
NT162	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & oval name plate	65	200S	e
NT163	White concrete cross on pedestal	66	200S	w
NT164	White concrete cross on raised tomb style slab	66	200S	w
NT165	White metal cross	68	200S	w
NT166	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete clover cross atop & red floral bouquet	70	200S	e
NT167	2 natural (un-milled) wood cross	71	200S	w
NT168	White granito nicho w/ 2 white crosses on either side	73	200S	w
NT169	Silver-colored metal cross on a pedestal	73	200S	w
NT170	White concrete Maltese style on pedestal	73	200S	e
NT171	White concrete clover cross; 1m tall	76	200S	w
NT172	White concrete crucifix	76	200S	e
NT173	Remains of blue concrete cross	78	200S	w
NT174	White concrete cross	81	200S	e
NT175	2 white concrete cross on a pedestal; one is broken	85	200S	w
NT176	2 white concrete crosses on a pedestal	85	200S	w
NT177	White concrete cross	89	200S	e
NT178	Blue metal cross	89	200S	
NT179	White wood cross	89	200S	w
NT180	White concrete nicho, 2m tall, w/ white concrete cross atop & red wreath	90	200S	e
NT181	White concrete crown-type cross	90	200S	e
NT182	Yellow & green tile cross & monument	91	200S	w
NT183	4 concrete cross on a pedestal	91	200S	w
wB29	NT/JL boundary; end L3, Nayarit	101	200S	
wB27	End Jalisco, begin Nayarit; transect W3a	0	15N	
NT01	White concrete cross w/ red flowers	48	15N	e
wNT01	End W3a, jct L3 at Tepic	51	15N	

Table A4.6: Chihuahua

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wCH01a	Janos: jct 2E/10S; begin transect B4	0	2E	
CH07	Wood cross	3	2E	s
CH06	White cross	15	2E	n
CH05	5 small white crosses & 1 large wood cross	19	2E	n
CH04	White cross	21	2E	n
CH03	0.75x0.75x0.5m brick nicho w/ concrete gabled roof. Inside; crucifix, 5 votives, 1 floral bouquet, statues of NSGuad & 2 other Virgin Marys	44	2E	n
CH02	White cross	45	2E	s
CH01	4 black metal crosses on dangerous curve	46	2E	n
wB2	CH/SN boundary; end B4, Chihuahua	46	2E	
wCH01	Janos: jct 2E/10S; begin transect L2	0	10S	
CH08	3 x 3.5 x 3m brick & stucco shrine. Inside: 0.6x1.2m print of St. Jude w/ reclining St. Francis in front of it, & a small statue of a saint holding a feather, 12 votives.	10	10S	e
CH09	3 white crosses	12	10S	e
CH10	4 white crosses	13	10S	w
CH11	White cross	18	10S	e
CH12	2x2x2.5m brick shrine, dome roof, wrought iron gate. Inside: tile floor, glass windows, 1m St. Jude statue, 0.25m reclining St. Francis statue, 20x10cm plaque of NSGuad, 12 votives (2 burning), 1 vase of red roses (plastic).	19	10S	w
CH13	1x0.75x0.75m brick nicho w/ tin gabled roof. Inside: 20x25cm print of Jesus Sacred Heart, small Nino de Atocha statue, 5 votives.	20	10S	w
CH14	2.5x.5x2m brick shrine, concrete gable roof w/ church spire wrought iron work atop on sides & dome at rear center. Glass crosses built into brick work on sides. Inside: 0.75m tall statue of NSGuad, 0.5m statue of St. Jude, 4 votives, 2 plastic floral bouquets, & 2 small bags of salt.	22	10S	e
CH15	1.5x1x1.5m white stucco nicho, tin gabled roof & black WI cross atop; attached to private property fence & house nearby. Inside: 0.5m statue of St. Jude, smaller bust statues of Jesus Malverde & Nino de Atocha.	26	10S	w
CH16	1x1x1m brick & white stucco shrine, blue tin, gabled roof. Inside: Nino de Atocha statue & print, print of NSGuad, 9 votives, & 2 floral vases.	32	10S	e
CH17	Blue cross	34	10S	w
CH18	2 white crosses & plaque	35	10S	e
CH19	2 x 1 x 1m brick nicho, partially built, w/out a roof. 20m off the road, 0.5km south of CH18.	35	10S	e
CH20	White cross; in city of Nuevo Casas Grandes	37	10S	w
CH21	2 blue crosses; outskirts of old Casas Grandes	42	10S	e
CH22	White cross	45	10S	w
CH23	White cross	46	10S	e
CH24	2x2x2m brick nicho, front painted green, tin gable roof. Inside: 3 Nino de Atocha prints, 6 votives, 2 bunches of	53	10S	w

	flowers, & a braid of hair in one corner.			
CH25	1x1x1.5m white stucco nicho w/ tin gabled roof. Inside: 28 x35cm print of NSGuad, 12 x 18cm print of Nino de Atocha, 12cm statue of Joseph & Holy Child, 2 bouquets of fresh wildflowers.	53	10S	w
CH26	1x1x1.5m brick nicho w/ tin gabled roof. Inside: 46cm statue of Jesus Sacred Heart.	54	10S	w
CH27	3 white crosses	55	10S	w
CH28	Large concrete cross	56	10S	e
CH29	Green pipe-type cross	58	10S	w
CH30	2 white crosses	59	10S	w
CH31	3x3x 4m brick & stucco shrine, tin gable roof, NSGuad painted on north wall. Inside: 61x91cm NSGuad print, 20 x 30cm Nino de Atocha print in very nice wooden frame, 20 floral bouquets (both fresh & plastic), & 20 votives (10 lit).	60	10S	w
CH32	.75x.75x1.5m white metal nicho, 20cm St. Jude statue inside.	60	10S	w
CH33	White cross	60	10S	e
CH34	1x1x1m raw stucco nicho, green Astroturf, gable roof w/ white cross atop, & glass door. Inside: crucifix & 4 votives.	60	10S	e
CH35	0.5x1x1m white adobe brick nicho, pink grout, tile roof; 50m above road. Inside: St. Jude statue & 20 votives.	64	10S	e
CH36	3 x 1.5m rock painting of Nino de Atocha, 50m S of CH35	64	10S	e
CH37	7 black crosses	64	10S	e
CH38	White cross	64	10S	w
CH39	Nicho, in ruins	64	10S	e
CH40	1.5x1.5x2.5m gray stucco shrine w/ flat concrete roof, WI door (locked), & windows on either side.	65	10S	e
CH41	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m white metal nicho on stilts w/gabled roof & centered cross atop. Inside: St. Jude statue & 3 votives.	65	10S	e
CH42	2x2x2.5m white stucco shrine, tin gabled roof, square facade. Inside: 75x30cm wood lacquering of St. Jude print, 45cm statue of St. Jude, 2 NSGuad prints, 1 faded print of Nino de Atocha, 1 stylized crucifix, 3 Jesus prints, 5 bibles, 12 votives, 2 bowls containing coins.	66	10S	e
CH43	White metal cross: "Sra Eulogia Sandoval Glez. 01/10/93"	66	10S	e
CH44	2 white metal crosses	73	10S	w
CH45	5 white concrete crosses	75	10S	w
CH46	Green metal cross	78	10S	w
CH47	2 white crosses	81	10S	e
CH48	Beige 2.5x2x3.5m stucco shrine. Inside; 1m statue of St. Jude & wall plaques on either side, 12 votives, & 2 floral bouquets. 2km south of Galiana.	82	10S	e
CH49	3.5x2x2.5m gray brick shrine w/ tin gabled roof & cross atop. Inside: 45x90cm framed Nino de Atocha print, 5 floral bouquets, 4 votives, 2 hand written supplications & 1 of thanks, in a wicker basket.	85	10S	w
CH50	White concrete cross	87	10S	e
CH51	White pipe cross	88	10S	w

CH52	White pipe cross	89	10S	w
CH53	White cross; in a cage inside town of Lagunitas	91	10S	e
CH54	Rusted wrought iron cross	93	10S	e
CH55	Gray metal cross	96	10S	e
CH56	Concrete cross	98	10S	e
CH57	Black metal cross in San Buenaventura	100	10S	e
CH58	Blue metal cross	108	10S	w
CH59	White wood cross	108	10S	w
CH60	0.25x0.25x0.5m metal nicho w/ gable roof, has a statue of San Antonio de Padua.	110	10S	e
CH61	White metal cross, plastic flowers. Inscription: "M.O.V. 1993.31.10"	111	10S	w
CH62	White cross	114	10S	w
CH63	White cross "A.P.P."	115	10S	w
CH64	White cross	117	10S	e
CH65	White cross	117	10S	w
CH66	Nicho	123	10S	e
CH67	White pipe cross	123	10S	e
CH68	White cross, "MONI"	124	10S	e
CH69	Tablet tombstone	126	10S	w
CH70	Nicho	126	10S	w
CH71	White cross	126	10S	e
CH72	White cross	133	10S	e
CH73	Black pipe cross	137	10S	w
CH74	3 black crosses	137	10S	w
CH75	Black wooden cross	140	10S	e
CH76	White metal 0.5x0.5x1m nicho w/ gable roof & glass door, situated on a dangerous curve. Inside: 10 votives, 20 x 25cm NSGuad print, 12 ceramic plaques of NSGuad. Immediately to the north are 2 tables for votive candles & a rock painting of NSGuad.	140	10S	w
CH77	2 white pipe crosses	140	10S	e
CH78	Black pipe cross; 2m tall	140	10S	e
CH79	Black cross on white painted rock	140	10S	w
CH80	1.5x1x1.5m white & red stucco nicho, gable roof, centered cross, & WI door. Inside: 60x90cm NSGuad plaque w/ scenes of Juan Diego story in each corner, 20x25cm print of NSGuad, broken statue of NSGuad, 30cm statue of NSGuad, 30 votives, 2 floral vases, 1 floral basket, 1 candelabra, & a hand made statue of ?	140	10S	e
CH81	Black pipe cross	141	10S	w
CH82	Small white cross	142	10S	w
CH83	2 crosses, 1 black & 1 white	155	10S	w
CH84	Black metal cross on wedge-type gravestone	167	10S	e
CH85	3 black crosses & 1 white cross	171	45S	e
CH86	White cross	171	45S	m
CH87	Black cross	178	45S	m
CH88	White cross	179	45S	e

CH89	White cross on concrete pedestal	180	45S	e
CH90	1x0.5x0.75m white & natural plywood nicho w/ gabled roof & centered cross atop & a black metal 1x0.5m cross in front inscribed; "J. Martin Quinonez 16.11.94" Inside: 20 x 25cm print of St. Martin de Porres, 2 votives, 1 floral vase, & 1 empty styrofoam cup.	183	45S	w
CH91	2 white concrete crosses on a concrete pedestal	184	45S	w
CH92	2 nichos & 1 cross: 2x1x0.25m raised concrete base w/ 0.25x0.75x1m open niche containing a built-in crucifix. Flower urns on either side of the niche & a rectangular flower holder at the foot of the base. Centered plaque reads: "Sr Diego Gonzalez Hernandez "Camotero" 13- Nov- 59 + Sep- 06- 95, Si el dolor y el sacrificio esuma oracion sin palabras estamos orando por ti- desde que nos dejastes sin nos me quisistes hermanos y amigos no me olvides en nuestra oraciones. Dedicacion esposa hijos padres hermanos y companeros." Next to this is 0.25 x 0.25 x 0.5 metal & glass gabled nicho & cross inscribed; "Diego Gonzales H. 13 Nov 59 + 01 Sept 95 "Camotero"" Lying between them is a fallen homemade crucifix, truck fender parts & 6 votives.	186	45S	w
CH93	2 white crosses & 1 green cross	187	45S	w
CH94	White pipe cross	189	45S	m
CH95	2 black crosses, flower laden	194	45S	w
CH96	White cross	196	45S	w
CH97	White, arch-roofed, 0.25x0.5x1m, nicho w/ glass & wood door inside 2m sq. WI fence & flanked by 2 white 1m tall crosses. North cross inscribed; "Margarito Castillo M. 10-17-54 + 6-22-78 familia y amigos lo recuerdan y en una manana triste de los mas dulces dias la muerte la celosa por ver que me querias como a una margarita de amor te desajo." South cross inscribed;"22-6-78 Fallecio Luis Felipe Velezquez Garcia familia y amigos recuerdan" Inside of the nicho has 4 votives.	198	45S	w
CH98	Nicho, 1m tall obelisk	201	45S	w
CH99	White cross w/ box on top	202	45S	w
CH100	See text.	205	45S	m
CH101	White pipe cross	206	45S	w
CH102	White concrete cross	208	45S	e
CH103	Black cross	209	45S	m
CH104	Black cross	210	45S	m
CH105	2 crosses, 1 black, 1 white	211	45S	w
CH106	White cross	211	45S	m
CH107	2 white crosses w/ small open nicho w/ NSGuad; .25x.25m	215	45S	m
CH108	10x6x5m blue stucco chapel w/ centered cross & a bell atop. Inside: 6 kneel-sit pews (4 persons each) & 2 one person kneelers near front altar area. North wall has cork boards across its length & is full of photos, hair braids, notes of supplication & thanks, baby clothing & booties, hats & toy stuffed animals. South wall has a votive alcove & offering	215	45S	e

	pot. Front altar wall has 3 large (1.5 to 2m) statues, 9 smaller statues, & 6 prints of St. Jude, 1 crucifix, picture of the Pope, 28 x 40cm print of NSGuad, small print of "Santissima Virgin de Juquila", & 1x2m h& painting of Jesus & John the Baptist.			
CH109	Black cross	215	45S	e
CH110	Turquoise cross	216	45S	w
CH111	White cross	216	45S	w
CH112	2 white crosses	219	45S	w
CH113	2 white crosses	221	45S	m
CH114	Turquoise pipe cross	222	45S	m
CH115	White broken concrete cross	223	45S	w
CH116	White cross	226	45S	e
CH117	White cross	226	45S	m
CH118	7 small crosses joined together	229	45S	e
CH119	2 black crosses & 1 white cross	233	45S	m
CH120	Black cross	237	45S	e
CH121	White cross	238	45S	m
CH122	White cross	244	45S	e
CH123	Black cross on pedestal, 1m tall	244	45S	e
CH124	10x5x8m shrine & concession complex. The main feature is 2m statue of St. Christopher, also has prints of NSGuad, Theresa of Avila, Jesus Sacred Heart, Nino de Atocha, P. Perdo de Jesus Maldonado, Immaculate Conception, Sts. Cosmos & Damian, The Last Supper, 2 large petition & thanks boards & 12 votives.	246	45S	w
CH125	Brown metal nicho (.25x.25x.5m) w/ gabled roof & 30cm statue of St. Jude & 8 votives.	247	45S	e
CH126	White metal cross	247	45S	e
CH127	Black cross w/ white cross painted on ground in front	247	45S	e
CH128	White cross w/ inscrip. "JA Gutierrez 1-28-85"	247	45S	
CH129	Small green cross; in Cd. Chihuahua	261	45S	w
CH130	Black cross w/ blue flowers	273	45S	w
CH131	Blue cross	275	45S	e
CH132	White cross	276	45S	m
CH133	White cross	276	45S	e
CH134	4 white crosses	276	45S	m
CH135	Concrete cross	277	45S	w
CH136	4 white crosses	278	45S	w
CH137	White cross	280	45S	e
CH138	1x1x1m granito nicho w/ flat roof at a bridge built on a slope, w/ an angel statue outside & 20 x 29cm St. Jude print inside. Inscribed; "Sr. Oscar Armenta S. el 16 de Mayo 91 a la edad de 31 anos Q.R.Z. Angel Perverso V. 427 Angeles Latinos tus companeros te recuerdan- Figuermex" This is on a 3x2m slab & has a potted cactus outside. Adjacent to it is a black metal cross inscribed; "El senor Oscar Armenta Zavala nacio el 6 de enero 1963 fallecito el 16 de mayo 1994. Recuerdo de sus padres, hermanos, hijos, esposa, y	281	45S	w

	amigos. D.E.P."			
CH139	White cross	281	45S	m
CH140	2 white crosses	283	45S	w
CH141	White cross	284	45S	w
CH142	White cross	284	45S	e
CH143	2 crosses, 1 black cross & 1 concrete cross	287	45S	m
CH144	Black cross	288	45S	e
CH145	White concrete cross	288	45S	e
CH146	White cross	289	45S	w
CH147	White cross	289	45S	m
CH148	White nicho ; in brick	289	45S	m
CH149	White cross	291	45S	m
CH150	2 white crosses	291	45S	m
CH151	Natural wood cross	293	45S	m
CH152	0.25x0.5x1m arched niche w/ St. Jude statue & flower vases on sides of the niche; in front, an open book inscribed; "Javier Ramirez Huerta (Guerrero) 25-Nov-95 recuerdo de sus companeros Nunca te olvidaremos tus amigos de Autotransportes tresguerras que ahora que estas en el cielo sabemos que te acuerdar de nosotros como nosotros de ti."	294	45S	e
CH153	White cross	294	45S	e
CH154	White cross	295	45S	m
CH155	4 red, white & blue crosses, Americans?	296	45S	e
CH156	4 white crosses	296	45S	w
CH157	White cross on concrete pedestal	301	45S	w
CH158	Brown cross	303	45S	e
CH159	White cross	310	45S	e
CH160	Black cross	315	45S	e
CH161	White concrete cross	316	45S	m
CH162	White concrete cross	316	45S	e
CH163	White concrete cross	322	45S	w
CH164	White cross	324	45S	w
CH165	Blue cross	329	45S	w
CH166	White cross	329	45S	w
CH167	White cross by toll station	330	45S	w
CH168	Black, broken concrete cross	336	45S	w
CH169	White metal cross	339	45S	m
CH170	Brick, 0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m nicho w/ concrete gabled roof & centered cross. Inside: 20cm oval Nino de Atocha plaque, 6 votives, 3 scrolls of petition & thanks.	348	45S	m
CH171	Burnt-out nicho, San Judas chapel	349	45S	w
CH172	White cross	352	45S	w
CH173	Blue cross	360	45S	w
CH174	White cross	361	45S	w
CH175	White pipe cross	363	45S	m
CH176	White concrete cross	366	45S	m
CH177	White, 1m tall cross	370	45S	m
CH178	White cross	371	45S	m

CH179	2 crosses; 1 large white cross & 1 small white cross	372	45S	m
CH180	White cross	372	45S	e
CH181	White cross	373	45S	m
CH182	White concrete cross	374	45S	e
CH183	White cross	377	45S	m
CH184	3x4x5m, inaccessible nicho, no photo; gray concrete	377	45S	m
CH185	White cross	378	45S	m
CH186	White cross, 2m tall w/ wrought iron fence	379	45S	m
CH187	White metal cross	380	45S	m
CH188	White pipe cross	381	45S	m
CH189	Blue cross	384	45S	m
CH190	White wrought iron cross	387	45S	m
CH191	5 crosses; 2 white crosses, 2 blue crosses & 3 black crosses; all same design	388	45S	m
CH192	White cross w/arch; 2 smaller ones on concrete base	389	45S	m
CH193	Blue pipe cross	392	45S	e
CH194	White cross	395	45S	e
CH195	1 x 1 x 2m granito nicho w/ flat roof. Inside: 1 cross, Chevy symbol painted on wall, inscribed; "Jesus Barcenos Vicencio 22 nov 1990 recuerdo de sus companeros"	395	45S	e
CH196	White concrete cross, 1m tall	397	45S	w
CH197	Black wrought iron cross	399	45S	w
CH198	White pipe cross	399	45S	w
CH199	White pipe cross	405	45W	s
CH200	White pipe cross	406	45W	s
CH201	Blue wood cross	410	45W	n
CH202	3 crosses; 2 white pipe crosses & 1 concrete cross	412	45W	n
CH203	White concrete cross	412	45W	n
CH204	Blue metal cross	413	45W	s
CH205	White pipe cross	413	45W	n
CH206	White pipe cross	413	45W	n
CH207	White pipe cross w/scrolls	414	45W	n
CH208	White cross	415	45W	s
CH209	White cross	416	45W	s
CH210	White concrete cross	421	45W	n
CH211	Blue, rusted cross	421	45W	s
CH212	White concrete, broken cross	424	45W	s
CH213	White metal cross	424	45W	n
CH214	White Cross	427	45W	n
CH215	1.5x2x2m concrete nicho w/ flat roof & wrought iron gate. Inside: 1m tall statue of Jesus Sacred Heart, inscription; "en memoria del co. Hector Martinez G sus cos telefonistas" has a telephone dial symbol, 2 floral bouquets, & company logo of telephone company.	428	45W	s
CH216	2 white crosses w/ red borders	432	45W	n
CH217	White concrete cross	432	45W	n
CH218	3 white crosses w/ wrought iron fence	435	45W	n
CH219	Gray concrete cross	436	45W	n

CH220	Large white cross w/ 2 smaller white crosses on arms	436	45W	s
CH221	2 white crosses	437	45W	n
CH222	Concrete cross w/ open book	438	45W	n
CH223	White cross	439	45W	n
CH224	White cross, 3m tall	440	45W	n
CH225	On the outskirts of Parral, a 1 x 0.75 x 1m marble tile, gable roofed nicho w/ a 1m tall cross adjacent to it. Inside: 12 x 18cm print of Jesus Sacred Heart, 6 votives, & a strand of red & silver xmas tree garland.	441	45W	s
CH226	White concrete cross w/ sunflower motif	449	45S	w
CH227	2 white concrete crosses	449	45S	e
CH228	White concrete cross	452	45S	w
CH229	White pipe cross w/ scrolls	453	45S	e
CH230	White wood cross	454	45S	e
CH231	Small white metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	457	45S	w
CH232	White metal cross	458	45S	w
CH233	White concrete cross	458	45S	e
CH234	2 white concrete crosses on pedestal w/ concrete fence	459	45S	w
CH235	1 black metal cross	461	45S	w
CH236	2 white concrete crosses	462	45S	e
CH237	White concrete cross	465	45S	e
CH238	White metal cross	465	45S	e
CH239	White metal cross w/ scrolls	466	45S	w
CH240	Blue pipe cross	470	45S	e
wB3	JL/DG boundary; end L2, Chihuahua	473	45S	
wB48	US/MX border @ Ojinaga; begin transect W1	0	16E	
CH328	White metal cross w/scroll & wreath	4	16E	n
CH327	White metal cross w/ pointed tips & wreath	4	16E	s
CH326	White wood (1x3"), 1m tall cross mounted in concrete w/ white wreath	5	16E	n
CH325	Small wood-lumber cross w/ red flowers	16	16E	n
CH324	Black metal cross atop a road-cut bank	21	16E	s
CH323	Black metal cross w/scroll & a yellow metal cross	26	16E	s
CH322	True grotto, shrine to NSGuad. Inside the cave: 12 of 20 votives are lit, 2 prints of NSGuad & an offering box w/out a lock on it.	27	16E	n
CH321	White metal, 2m tall, cross; scroll, spear-point tips, flowers	27	16E	s
CH320	White metal cross, 20ft above road, w/red flowers	30	16E	s
CH319	Gray metal outline-type cross w/triple-forked tips & scroll	40	16E	s
CH318	White metal cross w/ scroll & flowers	52	16E	n
CH317	White stucco, 3m cubed, shed roof shrine w/gabled facade, wooden cross atop in front, metal door & windows on 2 sides; altar has a 2x3ft print of sacred heart Mary	56	16E	n
CH316	White metal cross w/ scroll	64	16E	n
CH315	Concrete nicho, w/ aluminum gable-roof; inside is a small wooden niche w/ a Jesus sacred heart print on top (in wood-burning) was the word "Recuerdo" but I couldn't see any more; in front is a white metal cross w/ pointed tips; up on a	78	16E	s

	bank above eye level			
CH314	2 white pipe-crosses w/ flowers	86	16E	s
CH313	White-washed stone & concrete shrine to NSGuad, cross atop front of gable roof; small statue & print of NSGuad	86	16E	s
CH312	Shrine	96	16E	s
CH311	2 white metal crosses w/ wedge-type pedestals; "MCV, 24-7-92" & "JDCD, 24-7-92" & 3m away; white granito cross, 1.5m tall; "Jesus Manuel Cepeda Arrigones, 28-7-92"	109	16E	n
CH310	Wood cross w/3 or 4 wreaths	112	16E	n
CH309	White metal cross w/flowers	113	16E	s
CH308	White metal outline-type cross; "FG?"	119	16E	s
CH307	White metal cross, 2m tall	120	16E	s
CH306	White concrete cross w/flowers	121	16E	s
CH305	White concrete cross	121	16E	n
CH304	Black metal cross w/ flowers	122	16E	s
CH303	White concrete cross, 1m tall	123	16E	n
CH302	Large shrine, to St. Jude	139	16E	s
CH301	White metal cross w/flowers	177	16E	s
CH300	White granito nicho & white metal outline cross	178	16E	s
CH299	White concrete cross	178	16E	s
CH298	Brick A-frame nicho, 3ft tall	179	16E	s
CH297	Light blue metal cross; 'Manuel'	181	16E	s
CH296	White metal cross w/wreath	183	16E	m
CH295	White metal cross w/flowers	185	16E	s
CH294	Black cross metal w/ scroll; "Rene"	188	16E	m
CH293	White metal cross w/ scroll	189	16E	s
CH292	White metal cross w/flowers	191	16E	s
CH291	Black metal cross w/forked tips & wreath	192	16E	s
CH290	Black metal cross w/ scroll	196	16E	n
CH289	White metal cross w/wreath; by toll booth	198	16E	n
CH288	White concrete cross	202	16E	n
CH287	In the parking lot of restaurant "Piedra Gorda"; small brick nicho, gable-roofed, 2ft cubed, w/ print of NSGuad inside	202	16E	s
CH286	White brick, 2m cubed, shed-roofed shrine w/arched facade w/ cross centered in front		16E	s
CH285	White brick/stucco nicho, 1x0.5x0.75m, flat-roofed w/ arched facade w/metal cross atop front & glass & WI door		16E	s
CH284	Black metal cross w/filigrees & scroll	206	16E	s
CH283	Blue metal cross w/ blue & white wreath	207	16E	n
CH282	Black metal cross w/ red wreath	210	16E	m
CH281	White metal cross w/ scroll, red painted inscription	224	16E	s
CH280	Gray metal or wood cross	226	16E	n
CH279	Black pipe-type cross w/ heart-shaped scroll	226	16E	s
CH278	Black pipe-type cross w/ scroll	226	16E	n
CH277	Brick nicho, 2 ft tall	229	16E	s
CH276	Small wooden nicho box w/ a votive candle; in a little cave	230	16E	s
CH275	White concrete; 1m cubed, gabled roof nicho w/ metal cross atop rear w/ 2 nino d atocha prints inside	230	16E	n

CH274	4 nichos, all about 5m apart, away from the road & up a hill. Starting nearest the road: concrete, 1m sq x 1.5m tall, gabled tin roof, inside are 2 prints of NSGuad. The second nicho is about 16" tall, made of wood w/ gabled roof that is covered w/ sheet metal. Inside is a nice, h&-made copper cone w/ a cross atop; embedded in the side of the cone is a print of senor del calvario or justo juez, I'm not sure which. Third is an old nicho of stuccoed brick which no longer has a roof; two steps up to it are inlaid w/ inscription plates but my record of these was lost on a bad tape as was the information about the fourth nicho.	230	16E	s
CH273	6 white crosses; 4 identical pipe-types & 2 identical flat metal	231	16E	s
CH272	White, concrete nicho, 1m cubed, gable-roofed w/ cross atop front & a white metal cross, 1m tall, next to it	233	16E	n
CH271	2 white metal crosses w/scrolls & wreaths	233	16E	n
CH270	1 black metal cross w/wreath	236	16E	s
CH269	White concrete cross	236	16E	n
CH268	2 white pipe-crosses w/ flowers	237	16E	n
CH267	1 black metal cross w/ scroll	239	16E	n
CH266	1 black metal cross w/scroll &flowers	240	16E	n
CH265	2 crosses; 1 green pipe-type cross & 1 white concrete cross, both 1m tall	241	16E	n
CH264	White metal nicho w/ spires & crosses, 1m sq x 2m tall	242	16E	n
CH263	White concrete nicho, metal gable roof & front & back facades, metal cross atop front, black WI gate, 1x1.5x1	244	16E	s
CH262	Tan metal cross w/ scroll	247	16E	s
CH261	White metal cross w/scroll & filigrees & flowers	250	16E	s
CH260	Brick nicho w/ tin arched roof	254	16E	s
CH259	1 brick arch-roofed nicho	254	16E	s
CH258	Gray metal cross w/ flowers	258	16E	s
CH257	White metal cross, 2m tall, w/flowers	259	16E	n
CH256	White metal cross w/flowers	259	16E	n
CH255	White wood cross	261	16E	s
CH254	Brick, arched roof, square façade, nicho w/ 2 metal crosses on either corner	285	16E	n
CH253	Faded wood cross	288	16E	s
CH252	White concrete gabled roof nicho; "Sr Juan de Dios Enrique C. apr 30, 1956-dec 28, 1995; abrigame Padre Eterno en tu pecho": cross w/ heart-shaped wreath atop	288	16E	s
CH251	Brick, 1m cubed, nicho, gabled roof (runs perpendicular to opening), black metal cross w/ scroll; "AOG, dec 27, 1998"	289	16E	s
CH250	White metal nicho, .5m sq x 1m tall, green gabled roof & metal cross atop	292	16E	s
CH249	White concrete nicho w/ white metal cross atop front	293	16E	s
CH248	Concrete cross	293	16E	s
CH247	White gable-roofed concrete nicho, 2ft cubed	298	16E	n
CH246	Wood cross set in stone & concrete; just inside El Caracol	312	16E	s
CH245	Turquoise wood cross	315	16E	n

CH244	Concrete block nicho w/ plastered tin roof	320	16E	n
CH243	Monument w/ brass plate; "Ramon Chacon, Jesus Potillo, Roberto Molina; descansa en paz" aug 7, 1974; Pavimentos SA" & a white cross	336	16E	s
CH242	Wood cross w/concrete platform w/ marble cross inlaid; "Jose Carera B."	341	16E	n
CH241	Rustic wood cross; 1.5m tall; rough sawn, this is timber country	350	16E	n
wB47	CH/SN boundary; end W1, Chihuahua	367	16E	

Table A4.7: Durango

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB3	Boundary CH/DG; transect L2	0	45S	
DG01	2 white metal crosses 50m off road on private property	1	45S	w
DG02	3x2x2.5m white & red brick & stucco nicho w/ gable roof, centered cross, & 1 x 2m locked metal door. Inside: 1m tall statue of Jesus Sacred Heart (broken but pieced together), 2 floral vases on either side.	1	45S	e
DG03	White metal cross w/ brick wall behind	2	45S	w
DG04	White pipe cross	2	45S	w
DG05	2 white pipe crosses	2	45S	w
DG06	2 white pipe crosses	2	45S	w
DG07	White concrete cross	2	45S	w
DG08	3 white pipe crosses	2	45S	w
DG09	See text.	7	45S	e
DG10	White pipe cross on private property	10	45S	w
DG11	Small white open nicho w/ cross inside	10	45S	e
DG12	Unfinished brick & concrete nicho, 3 x 2 x 3m	13	45S	w
DG13	Small white open niche nicho	13	45S	e
DG14	White concrete cross w/ open book	14	45S	e
DG15	White nicho w/ crucifix	14	45S	e
DG16	White cross w/ floral wreath	15	45S	w
DG17	Black pipe cross	17	45S	w
DG18	White concrete box nicho w/ concrete cross in rear	21	45S	w
DG19	0.5x0.25x0.25 brick nicho w/ flat concrete roof & centered blue cross. Inside: Print of Nino de Atocha, & a cross w/ initials; "H.B.A."	21	45S	e
DG20	Black metal cross	21	45S	e
DG21	5x3x3.5 "Capilla de San Judas" & rest area w/ picnic tables & bridge across an arroyo to the "restroom of the outback" Shrine is white stucco w/ red gabled roof & yellow cross on the roof. Inside: brown tiled floor & walls, wood & glass encased statue of St. Jude w/ 7 cattle, 2 praying males, 1 praying female, 1 child, 1 arm, & 1 leg milagros. 4 fresh floral bouquets & a framed prayer to St. Jude w/ "familia Hernandez Santana febrero de 1993" printed at the bottom; off to the side is a votive shelf w/ 5 of 20 candles burning.	22	45S	w
DG22	2 white crosses	27	45S	w
DG23	White concrete cross on pedestal	29	45S	w
DG24	White concrete cross on pedestal	29	45S	w
DG25	White metal cross on pedestal	30	45S	w
DG26	White concrete cross w/ concrete pulpit	34	45S	w
DG27	Blue pipe cross	37	45S	w
DG28	0.25x0.5x0.5 white brick nicho w/vaulted roof & centered wire cross. Inside: Jesus Sacred Heart bust fallen over.	39	45S	e
DG29	Large white metal cross next to a bridge	49	45S	w
DG30	Black metal cross	51	45S	w
DG31	White metal cross	56	45S	e
DG32	4 small white crosses	61	45S	e

DG33	0.25x0.25x0.5m white granito nicho w/ gable roof & cross atop; black padlocked wrought iron door, & a white metal cross adjacent to the nicho inscribed; "El chocho A.He.G. 21 06 98" outside of the nicho is inscribed; "Arturo Herrera G." Inside: 15cm Nino de Atocha statue, a bunch of dried flowers, & a vase of plastic flowers.	67	45S	e
DG34	White metal cross on pedestal	70	45S	w
DG35	1 x 1 x 1.5 brick nicho w/ a flower basket hung from the front. Inside is full of votives & plastic flower	86	45S	w
DG36	White concrete nicho w/ beehive roof & centered cross, 1 x 1 x 1m w/WI & glass door. Inside: small Nino de Atocha doll, larger statue of Nuestra Senora de Zalpopan(?), looks like N.S.de San Juan but w/ dark skin, 2 votives.	99	45S	w
DG37	See text.	99	45S	e
DG38	White cross	102	45S	w
DG39	2 large blue crosses & 2 small blue crosses	109	45S	e
DG40	White concrete cross w/ wrought iron fence	112	45S	e
DG41	Brown wood cross on concrete pedestal	113	45S	w
DG42	White concrete cross w/ black wrought iron fence	115	45S	w
DG43	Turquoise cross w/ turquoise wrought iron fence	118	45S	w
DG44	White metal cross w/ black wrought iron fence	118	45S	w
DG45	Black wrought iron cross & white fence	120	45S	e
DG46	Gray cross w/ black wrought iron fence	123	45S	w
DG47	White concrete cross	125	45S	w
DG48	White metal cross w/ black wrought iron fence	131	45S	w
DG49	White concrete cross	133	45S	e
DG50	Nicho, metal & glass door carved into mountainside on a dangerous curve	134	45S	w
DG51	Blue metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	148	45S	e
DG52	2 wood crosses on concrete pedestal	150	45S	e
DG53	2 white wood crosses & 1 green wood cross	150	45S	e
DG54	3 wood crosses	152	45S	w
DG55	Gray cross w/ brick pedestal & wrought iron fence	154	45S	w
DG56	0.75 x 0.75 x 0.75m white & green concrete w/ a small Nino de Atocha statue, 4 votives, & 4 floral pots inside.	157	45S	e
DG57	Blue wood cross w/ concrete pedestal	158	45S	e
DG58	White metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	158	45S	e
DG59	White metal cross over a tiny nicho	164	45S	e
DG60	Tiny white cross w/ initials "ASG" on tiny white concrete nicho	165	45S	e
DG61	White metal cross w/ white wrought iron fence	166	45S	e
DG62	Blue metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	167	45S	w
DG63	Blue metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	168	45S	e
DG64	White metal cross on round concrete pedestal	170	45S	w
DG65	White concrete cross	173	45S	e
DG66	3 blue crosses in front of 3 white nichos	173	45S	w
DG67	2 large & 1 small green cross "AGO" & "FER" & "ATA"	173	45S	e
DG68	White metal cross w/ scrolls	177	45S	w

DG69	White nicho on private property	178	45S	w
DG70	White concrete (broken) cross	178	45S	w
DG71	3x2x2m brick shrine, tiled gable roof, copula w/brown metal cross atop w/ initials "MMR" welded on. Inside: tiled floor, walls, & ceiling; 5 gallon paint bucket full of fresh flowers, & WI & glass door has a rose wreath attached.	178	45S	w
DG72	2 white metal crosses on concrete slab	181	45S	e
DG73	2 white metal crosses	181	45S	e
DG74	Small adobe nicho w/ white metal cross	182	45S	e
DG75	White metal cross	182	45S	w
DG76	2 blue metal crosses on concrete base	187	45S	w
DG77	White concrete cross	187	45S	e
DG78	White metal cross w/ white metal fence	189	45S	e
DG79	1 white concrete cross "RCP", 1 white metal cross "BGM", 1 white metal cross "CGG"	189	45S	w
DG80	Empty brick nicho, 1x0.5x1m	189	45S	w
DG81	Cross, data lost.	189	45S	e
DG82	White metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	192	45S	e
DG83	Black wrought iron cross	193	45S	e
DG84	White concrete cross w/ pedestal 25m off road on private property	194	45S	e
DG85	White concrete cross on 1m tall pedestal	194	45S	e
DG86	White concrete cross on 1m tall pedestal	195	45S	e
DG87	Large concrete tablet cross w/ brass cross inlaid	195	45S	e
DG88	White concrete cross	196	45S	w
DG89	White metal cross w/ wrought iron	196	45S	w
DG90	White metal cross w/ small beige open niche	196	45S	w
DG91	2 white metal crosses w/ wrought iron roofed fence made to look like a chapel	198	45S	e
DG92	3 crosses, 1 blue, 1 black, 1 white metal	200	45S	w
DG93	White concrete cross w/ wrought iron fence	200	45S	w
DG94	Yellow metal cross	201	45S	e
DG95	White concrete cross w/ wrought iron fence	201	45S	e
DG96	White metal cross	202	45S	w
DG97	White concrete cross on pedestal; inscribed "Jesus Hoens(?) S 13-1-80"	202	45S	e
DG98	3 white metal crosses & marble tablet	205	45S	e
DG99	White metal cross	208	45S	e
DG100	Blue metal cross	210	45S	w
DG101	Large white handmade wood cross	210	45S	e
DG102	White metal cross	210	45S	e
DG103	3 white metal crosses	210	45S	e
DG104	4 white metal crosses, 1 lacquered wood, 1 red rock-painted cross	211	45S	w
DG105	3 white metal crosses; DG104-10 are on a dangerous curve	211	45S	e
DG106	2 white concrete crucifixes	211	45S	e
DG107	Small wooded cross on a small nicho	211	45S	e
DG108	Broken, white concrete cross	211	45S	w

DG109	White wood cross on concrete pedestal w/ a gabled back	211	45S	w
DG110	White metal cross on 3 tiered pedestal w/ chain-link fence	211	45S	w
DG111	Black metal cross w/ flower pot	212	45S	e
DG112	Black metal cross, 1m tall	213	45S	w
DG113	White metal cross	214	45S	w
DG114	2 x 1.5 x 2m yellow brick & stucco shrine w/ green (stripe?). Inside: 30cm statue & 60 x 90cm print of St. Jude, 7 floral vases, 7 votives- 1 burning.	215	45S	w
DG115	Natural wood cross over black concrete	216	45S	w
DG116	2 crosses, 1 white & 1 blue metal	216	45S	w
DG117	White concrete cross on pedestal	217	45S	e
DG118	White concrete cross	217	45S	e
wDG08	Durango City	218	45S	
DG119	Yellow metal cross	222	45S	e
DG120	2 white metal crosses	225	45S	w
DG121	4 white metal crosses, 1 black metal cross	227	45S	w
DG122	Blue metal cross	228	45S	e
DG123	2 crosses; 1 white, 1 black metal	228	45S	e
DG124	4 blue metal crosses	228	45S	w
DG125	Blue metal cross	229	45S	e
DG126	Rusted metal cross	229	45S	w
DG127	2, 3m tall, blue metal crosses	230	45S	w
DG128	2 crosses; 1 white, 1 black metal	230	45S	w
DG129	White metal cross	230	45S	e
DG130	White metal cross w/ concrete pedestal	231	45S	e
DG131	Small blue metal cross	232	45S	e
DG132	Blue metal cross	232	45S	w
DG133	1 x 0.5 x 1m brick nicho w/ flat concrete roof, a white, metal, 2m tall, cross is set in the foundation & extends through the roof; inscribed "6-3-59 + 9-23-85 RPM"	232	45S	e
DG134	White stucco 1x1x1m nicho w/ flat roof & wrought iron arched door. Inside: 10 x 20cm print of Nino de Atocha, palm fan w/ ribbons, & 3 votives.	233	45S	e
DG135	See text.	234	45S	w
DG136	See text.	235	45S	w
DG137	2 white metal crosses	235	45S	e
DG138	White metal cross w/ red roses (plastic)	236	45S	w
DG139	White metal cross	237	45S	w
DG140	2 white concrete crosses over nicho	237	45S	w
DG141	3 white metal crosses	237	45S	w
DG142	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ flower vase	238	45S	w
DG143	Rusted metal cross & a pedestal w/ cross broken off	238	45S	w
DG144	2 white metal crosses	238	45S	w
DG145	White metal cross w/ 6" open niche	240	45S	e
DG146	2 white concrete clover crosses on brick pedestal	242	45S	w
DG147	3 nichos: 1.5x1x1m yellow block w/ red tile gabled roof & centered cross, plaque; "para el Santo Nino de Agripina huiteron de carcaño 5-v-1991" Inside: 7x12cm print of	244	45S	w

	NSGuad, 20x25cm print in gold leaf frame of Niño de Atocha in front of metal bars, behind are 2 glass encased dolls of Niño de Atocha in front of prints of same. 4 votives & 2 flower pots. 1x1.5x1m nicho of the same color & construction. Inside: 15cm statue of Niño de Atocha, 2 flower vases, 4 votives, 1 empty vase & a pack of matches. .75x.5x.75m brick beehive shaped nicho w/ Niño de Atocha dinner plate centered & mortared into the roof. Inside: old-looking, silver w/ turquoise stones, framed Niño de Atocha 7x12cm print. Adjacent to these on the south is a 1m cross.			
DG148	3x2.5x3m yellow stucco nicho, gable roofed w/ centered cross & white (locked) metal door. Inside: 1m statue of St. Jude w/ bouquets of red roses on either side, & 12 votives.	245	45S	e
DG149	0.25x0.25x1m marble nicho w/ flat roof, centered cross, & metal gate. Outside inscription; "El Sr. Facundo Ramos Merguia + el 2 de Marzo 1987" Inside: 2 floral bouquets. Next to the nicho is a white metal cross.	245	45S	e
DG150	White metal cross, and a white concrete bas relief tablet	246	45S	w
DG151	White 1 x 0.5 x 0.75m stucco beehive nicho w/centered cross inscribed; "Joaquin Leal V. 24 fbr 59 24 abr 96" Inside: brass crucifix centered into the rear wall, 1 votive, 2 wilted floral bouquets.	248	45S	w
DG152	Blue metal cross	248	45S	e
DG153	White metal cross	248	45S	e
DG154	White metal cross on brick pedestal	252	45S	w
DG155	2 white metal crosses	252	45S	e
DG156	10x5m gray marble cross on 5x5x2 stepped pedestal. Metal plate inscription: "Santa Mision RR.PP. Redentoristas Jose Ma. Mayo y Carlos Hernandez Parrago, Lic. Pedro Ordaz A., Nombre de Dios, Dgo. 19-Octubre-1986" 2 flower pots in front, 2 on side.	253	45S	e
DG157	Green wood cross in concrete base	253	45S	e
DG158	2 crosses; 1 white pipe cross & 1 blue wood clover cross	257	45S	e
DG159	Blue metal cross w/ scrolls	259	45S	w
DG160	0.25 x 0.5 x 1m gray concrete beehive nicho (see text). Inside: silver-colored pipe cross, inscribed; "Sr. Jesus Telles Ruiz fallicito el 11 nov de 1990 de 32 años"	261	45S	e
DG161	White metal cross	261	45S	e
DG162	White metal cross	262	45S	e
DG163	White metal cross	262	45S	w
DG164	Blue metal cross	262	45S	w
DG165	White metal cross	262	45S	e
DG166	White concrete cross	264	45S	w
DG167	White concrete cross	264	45S	e
DG168	White metal cross	264	45S	e
DG169	White metal, rusted cross	265	45S	e
DG170	White metal cross w/ red & white wreath	267	45S	w
DG171	White metal cross	268	45S	w

DG172	White concrete clover cross	271	45S	e
DG173	3 white concrete crosses	276	45S	e
DG174	White metal cross	276	45S	w
DG175	White metal cross in yellow open niche, 0.5m tall	276	45S	e
DG176	White concrete cross on pedestal	277	45S	e
DG177	White metal cross	277	45S	w
DG178	White metal cross	277	45S	e
wB4	Durango/Zacatecas boundary; endL2, Durango	277	45S	
wB49	Boundary CL/DG; transect W2	0	40W	
DG263	White metal cross w/filigrees & scroll; "Miguel Angel"	5	40W	m
DG264	Large white granito cross	8	40W	m
DG265	White metal cross	12	40W	s
DG266	2 white & 1 blue cross	12	40W	s
DG267	White metal cross	12	40W	s
DG268	Concrete gable-roofed nicho, 1m cubed	13	40W	s
DG269	White metal cross w/flowers	13	40W	n
DG270	Cross		40W	
DG271	White metal cross w/ red tips, scroll & flowers	15	40W	n
DG272	Blue metal cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	16	40W	n
DG273	White granito nicho	16	40W	n
DG274	2 white concrete crosses	17	40W	s
DG275	Blue concrete nicho w/ concrete cross atop rear	17	40W	s
DG276	4 white concrete crosses	18	40W	s
DG277	White concrete cross	18	40W	n
DG278	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ black WI door, .25m sq x 1.5m tall	18	40W	s
DG279	Triple nicho of tan concrete, A-frame; center one has St. Jude print' side ones have candles	19	40W	n
DG280	Red concrete nicho, 1m sq x 2m tall, gabled roof; has been knocked off its foundation; white metal cross atop front.	19	40W	n
DG281	Black metal cross w/filigree & scroll	19	40W	n
DG282	1 small Shrine, near a restaurant	20	40W	n
DG283	White granito nicho on pedestal, gabled, 1m tall	21	40W	s
DG284	White concrete cross w/ flowers; "Nina"	23	40W	s
DG285	Blue metal cross w/scroll & flowers	24	40W	s
DG286	3 turquoise metal crosses	25	40W	s
DG287	6 white concrete crosses	25	40W	n
DG288	White granito crown-type cross	32	40W	n
DG289	White pipe-type cross w/scroll & flowers	35	40W	n
DG290	Metal gable-roofed nicho	36	40W	n
DG291	2 white granito crown-crosses	36	40W	s
DG292	White concrete cross	36	40W	n
DG293	White concrete box-nicho, 1m cubed w/ white metal & glass doors; inside is a 11x14 print of Christ crucified in center, 1 votive candle burning, 6" tall statue of StJude, a 3" plastic StJude, a Christ crucified, Nino de Atocha, VdSJ print in a brass heart-shaped frame, vase of plastic daisies.	37	40W	n
DG294	White concrete cross	39	40W	s

DG295	2 white concrete crosses; "Jose" "German"	41	40W	n
DG296	White concrete arched roof nicho; "El Chofo" & 2 white metal crosses in front of it	41	40W	s
DG297	White granito arched roof nicho	41	40W	n
DG298	White granito gable-roofed nicho w/ brass door	48	40W	n
DG299	White granito nicho w/ cross atop & flowers	48	40W	n
DG300	2 white concrete crosses w/1 urn on a pedestal	54	40W	s
DG301	Small shrine, outside restaurant Lucy	55	40W	s
DG302	2 white concrete crosses in an interchange	56	40W	n
DG303	Sky blue pipe-cross, silver painted tips, scroll; at RR tracks	56	40W	s
DG304	Little shrine to NSGuad, orange w/ green trim & sun-ray cross atop & over top of all is a tarp in a frame	57	40W	s
DG305	White granito nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear, 2m tall	57	40W	s
DG306	White metal cross, pointed tips, reflector in crux, pedestal	58	40W	s
DG307	White metal cross	59	40W	n
DG308	White metal, clover-type cross	59	40W	s
DG309	2 white metal crosses	63	40W	s
DG310	White concrete cross on pedestal	64	40W	s
DG311	White concrete cross on pedestal, 1m tall	65	40W	s
DG312	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, 2ft tall & 1 white WI & glass, gable-roofed nicho, 1.5n tall & 1m sq, w/ cross atop front.	66	40W	n
DG313	Black metal cross w/filigrees & scroll on pedestal; the cross, including its concrete footing, has been picked up & moved as part of a road-widening project.	67	40W	s
DG314	White concrete cross on bed-type pedestal	70	40W	s
DG315	White granito nicho; 1 wood & 1 concrete cross	71	40W	
DG316	White concrete cross w/ bouquet of artificial red roses	72	40W	s
DG317	Blue gable-roof nicho, Nino de Atocha; built into road-cut	76	40W	s
DG318	Cross	77	40W	s
DG319	Black metal cross	77	40W	n
DG320	Concrete gable-roofed nicho, 2m cubed	77	40W	n
DG321	Gray metal cross w/filigrees & concrete pedestal	78	40W	s
DG322	White metal cross w/ scroll & flowers	79	40W	s
DG323	2m cubed, shrine w/cross atop front of gable roof	87	40W	n
DG324	Granito crown-type cross on pedestal, 1m tall	92	40W	s
DG325	White granito cross on trapezoidal pedestal & concrete platform	96	40W	s
DG326	1m cubed, gable-roofed w/ front pillars & cross atop front; "Gilberto Padilla S. 8-18-58/8-2-98" in the eaves of the gable; "Feline" the centerpiece is an 11x14 photo of this person. There is an open-book; "Jesus le dijo, Yo soy la resurreccion y la vida el que crea en mi aunque muera viviera y todo el que vive y crea en mi no mirira para siempre. Juan 11-27" & in front of that is a glass votive box 3 c&les in it, 2urns behind, doric columns & plastic red carnations, nearby a dried up bouquet of flowers & a jug of water.	108	40W	n
DG327	White concrete cross w/red flowers at the crux, behind that is 1 wood cross	109	40W	n

DG328	White concrete cross on concrete pedestal	110	40W	n
DG329	3 white concrete crosses, urns, wreaths & behind is a 2m tall concrete cross	111	40W	
DG330	White concrete cross	116	40W	s
DG331	White concrete cross	118	40W	n
DG332	White concrete cross; "Arsenio"	119	40W	n
DG333	Unfinished wood, 1x2 cross w/flowers, mounted in a pile of rocks	119	40W	n
DG334	White concrete cross on concrete pedestal	120	40W	n
DG335	White metal cross	120	40W	n
DG336	Black metal cross w/scroll	121	40W	
DG337	Cross, covered by blue & white wreath	123	40W	s
DG338	White metal cross w/ scroll	133	40W	n
wDG23	Intersection 40W & 45S a Cd. Durango	160	40W	
DG179	White wood cross on fencepost	161.6	40W	n
DG180	White wood cross	161.9	40W	n
DG181	White metal cross w/ filigree	165.7	40W	n
DG182	Brown metal cross	165.7	40W	n
DG183	2 crosses; 1 unpainted wood cross & 1 white metal filigree cross	165.7	40W	n
DG184	2 crosses, 1 nicho	166	40W	n
DG185	Nicho	166.9	40W	n
DG186	Cross	167.1	40W	n
DG187	2 white metal crosses on a slab	167.8	40W	n
DG188	2 white metal crosses	168.3	40W	n
DG189	White metal cross	168.3	40W	n
DG190	Lumber cross	169.7	40W	s
DG191	White concrete cross	170	40W	s
DG192	Black metal filigree cross	171.1	40W	s
DG193	White concrete nicho	173.6	40W	n
DG194	White & blue tile nicho, white metal cross	174.4	40W	s
DG195	2 white, stone? crosses	174.5	40W	n
DG196	Nicho	174.8	40W	n
DG197	Nicho	174.9	40W	n
DG198	Nicho	175.2	40W	s
DG199	Burned cross, wreath	175.3	40W	s
DG200	Nicho w/ 3 gray crosses inside, visitation stones	176.1	40W	n
DG201	1x1x2m white metal Shrine, w/ gabled roof & glass windows; san Judas & NSGuad statues & flowers inside	176.3	40W	s
DG202	White nicho, NSGuad, 2 crosses, flowers	177.8	40W	n
DG203	White metal cross, flowers	181.6	40W	n
DG204	Black metal cross	182.5	40W	n
DG205	Nicho	182.7	40W	n
DG206	Cross	182.9	40W	s
DG207	White metal cross	186.1	40W	s
DG208	Blue metal cross	187.5	40W	s
DG209	2 white metal crosses	189.5	40W	s
DG210	2 white metal crosses, flowers	190.2	40W	n

DG211	White concrete cross w/ slab; "Ing. Fco. Alfonso Raigoza Enriquez, 2 X 194? 24 V 1993"	190.2	40W	n
DG212	White metal cross	191.7	40W	n
DG213	White metal cross	194	40W	n
DG214	Nicho	198.2	40W	s
DG215	2 wood crosses	201.5	40W	s
DG216	Cross	202.2	40W	s
DG217	Blue nicho, white metal cross	202.8	40W	s
DG218	White concrete cross	203.4	40W	n
DG219	3 crosses: "Roberto Ramirez Tapia, mar 8, 1983 a la edad de 33 anos" & "Felix Sanchez Zapeda, mar 8, 1983 a la edad de 31 anos" "Recuerdo de sus esposas, padres y hijos y companeros"	204.5	40W	s
DG220	White metal cross, pointed tips, filigrees, flowers; pedestal	206.3	40W	n
DG221	Red metal cross w/ filigrees; blue nicho w/ black metal cross & red reflectors "M.A." inside votive candles & flowers.	208.2	40W	s
DG222	2 nichos; 1 white concrete nicho & 1 green metal nicho	208.7	40W	n
DG223	Brown, gable-roofed nicho	211.8	40W	s
DG224	2 blue metal crosses, larger looked like pipe-type, smaller was flat metal w/ pointed tips; both had flowers	212	40W	s
DG225	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho, WI door, .25m cubed	212.9	40W	n
DG226	White metal cross, 1.5m tall, white WI fence, wreath	214	40W	n
DG227	Blue wood cross	219.2	40W	s
DG228	Cross, on a rock	221.2	40W	s
DG229	Blue metal nicho w/ blue metal cross & belfries atop	221.6	40W	s
DG230	White metal cross	221.6	40W	s
DG231	White metal, gable-roofed nicho	222.6	40W	s
DG232	Turquoise pipe type cross w/ scroll	222.8	40W	s
DG233	Wood unpainted cross	223.7	40W	s
DG234	Yellow metal cross, 1m tall	225.9	40W	n
DG235	Small, white, arch-roofed nicho; flowers	228.1	40W	n
DG236	Wood cross w/in a wood plank corral	229.2	40W	s
DG237	4, 1' tall, concrete crosses	229.6	40W	s
DG238	Metal cross	229.7	40W	s
DG239	Cross, carved into the rock w/inscription, on a road-cut	236	40W	n
DG240	White granito cross, 1.5m tall; "Arelia Artera??"	241.4	40W	n
DG241	White old, metal cross, on rock & concrete base	244.9	40W	n
DG242	Brick, gable-roofed nicho	248.1	40W	n
DG243	Turquoise stuccoed brick shrine, WI & glass windows & door, 3.5square x 3m tall, w/ belfries & trapezoid w/ a cross inside it. Inside, X-mas decorations, niche w/ sacred heart Jesus, 18x36 Nino d Atocha plaque, st. jude statue 1' tall on a niche box shaped like a church & has another small SJ statue & print & San Martin Cabellero print. Nino d Atocha statue, x-mas tree w/ manger scene (Mexican style) ; on the rear wall is a h& carved x-fix. Mary queen of heaven print, 4' tall statue of NSGuad, leather [beautifully made] statue of St Jude that is painted, a string-art 18x24 of NSGuad, VSJdIL print, 6 votive candles, 10 floral bouquets. In the town of	248.3	40W	s

	Buenas Aires			
DG244	Concrete cross, 2m tall	252.2	40W	n
DG245	Shrine; brick rear wall, others WI, 2m tall x1.5m square, w/tin roof & gold-painted cross w/ spear-point ends, filigrees. Inside is a ceramic of NSGuad & concrete inscribed; "Santissima Virgin de Guadalupe compremos nuestro promesa por tantos favores recibimos de tu protejion, familia Gulien Cardenas, Culiacan 25 agosto, 1977"	252.6	40W	s
DG246	Cross, "Israel Chavez", on a rock	254.2	40W	n
DG247	Cross, 1 w/inscription carved concrete attached to the rock on a road-cut	256.3	40W	n
DG248	Turquoise metal nicho, 1x1x1.5ft, white metal cross atop	258.9	40W	n
DG249	Concrete cross w/ inscription & red material draped across arms; "Joven??"	259.3	40W	s
DG250	1m square, concrete nicho w/ tin gabled roof & large statue of Jesus sacred heart	260.1	40W	n
DG251	White concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop	261.7	40W	s
DG252	White concrete gable-roofed, arched doorway nicho; nice scenery	261.9	40W	s
DG253	3 nichos, behind guard rail, on the edge of a ravine.	262.3	40W	s
DG254	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; "RIP"	263.7	40W	s
DG255	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scrolls & flowers; one had a golden sun-spray in center	263.9	40W	s
DG256	Cross, w/inscription on a rock "1984"	266.8	40W	n
DG257	Blue tile on red-painted concrete nicho, cross atop w/ filigrees, inside a WI fence; inside is a concrete arched altar w/ a prefab cross atop the arch, there is a 3x5 print of VdSJdIL, fresh flowers, glass & mirror niche, a cross built-in, 3 Nino d Atocha statues, 1ft tall. At the top is a sign done in little pieces or mirror: "Santo Nino de Chorrito" below it "Esta imagine del santo nino fue installada en este lugar el 8 de agosto 1975 por los Senores Reyes Agilar H. y Refugio Aguirre F. y embocada su bendicion por el Padre" signed "Ernesto Alvarez" to the side is a granito slab inscribed; "Recuerdos del Refugio Aguirre y familia y sus amistades que con el visitaron este sagrado lugar Reyes Algilar y familia, Culiacan, Sin. 1975, 8-8" this is interesting because it specifically says that it is a sacred place!	267.2	40W	s
DG258	Embedded in a rock road-cut, white concrete nicho w/ gable roof; newly built	267.6	40W	n
DG259	Black metal cross w/ white filigrees & scroll, 8" tall, w/in a fence of branches	268.6	40W	s
DG260	White concrete nicho, Nino d Atocha, gabled w/ cross atop	270.7	40W	n
DG261	White wood cross & 1 white metal outline-type	272	40W	s
DG262	Green metal, gable-roofed nicho, 1ft square, w/ red flowers; built into face of granite road-cut	275.8	40W	n
wB41	Stateline Durango/Sinaloa	277	40W	

Table A4.8: Zacatecas

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB4	Durango/Zacatecas border; transect L2	0	45S	
ZT01	White concrete cross	4	45S	e
ZT02	White concrete cross w/ turquoise floral wreath	6	45S	w
ZT03	Brick beehive nicho in ruins	7	45S	w
ZT04	White pipe cross in pink concrete nicho	8	45S	w
ZT05	White concrete arch, 0.25 x 2 x 1.5m nicho w/ blue metal front & gate. Inside: 2 white metal crosses inscribed: "el Sr. Gustavo Olvera Furaga el 28-feb-99 un recuerdo de su esposa, hijos, madre y hermanos" & "el joven Fco. Javier Olvera Fraga el 28- feb- 99 un recuerdo de sus padres, hnos y familia"	10	45S	w
ZT06	White concrete nicho	11	45S	e
ZT07	Concrete tablet cross w/ brass cross inlaid	13	45S	w
ZT08	White concrete cross	14	45S	w
ZT09	White concrete cross	15	45S	w
ZT10	0.25 x 0.5 x 0.5m granito nicho w/gable roof & white metal door. Inside: cross inscribed; "Sra Sandra A. Garay de Campos 6 die 1996 un recuerdo de su esposo e hijos"	15	45S	e
ZT11	10 x 10 x 10m chapel to Sacred Heart of Jesus. 2m statue of same inside glass doors, 2 blue metal & glass votive shelves outside, 40 votives inside, most lit.	15	45S	w
ZT12	Green 0.25x0.25x0.5m concrete nicho, flat roof & cross inside.	15	45S	e
ZT13	2 white concrete crosses, 1 fallen over	15	45S	e
ZT14	2 white concrete nichos, both w/crosses	16	45S	e
ZT15	Blue nicho w/ white cross	16	45S	e
ZT16	White metal cross	16	45S	e
ZT17	White concrete beehive nicho w/ cross at entrance to town of Sombrette	17	45S	w
ZT18	Small nicho	22	45S	w
ZT19	White metal cross w/ red & blue stripes	22	45S	e
ZT20	Concrete pedestal w/ cross broken off	23	45S	w
ZT21	White metal cross	23	45S	e
ZT22	White concrete cross	25	45S	w
ZT23	White concrete cross	27	45S	w
ZT24	1x0.5x0.75m white stucco beehive nicho w/ WI door. Inscribed into the concrete is "Un recuerdo de sus padres y hmnos. Grasiela Vasquez Antonio Rodriguez"	28	45S	e
ZT25	White pipe cross	29	45S	w
ZT26	White metal cross w/ floral wreath	30	45S	e
ZT27	Blue metal cross broken off of concrete pedestal	32	45S	w
ZT28	White metal cross	32	45S	e
ZT29	White stucco nicho w/ flat roof, 1x1x1.5m w/ wrought iron gate. Inside: cross on back wall, marble tablet on floor inscribed; "Aqui fallecieron Benito Castro F, Antonia Chairez de E., Luisa Castro de L., Manuel Lopez M. y la niña Marta Eugenia Lopez C. Descansen en paz"	32	45S	w

	I think it is right about here that I got pretty full of taking names & started to only list number of deaths. It was getting to me, emotionally to be at the death sites of so many real people, including children & I felt like I needed to distance myself from the passion & pain that was obvious in these structures.			
ZT30	2 yellow metal crosses	34	45S	w
ZT31	Large cross & 1 small white concrete w/ tablet on pedestal	35	45S	w
ZT32	White metal cross behind white stucco nicho w/ 2 urns	41	45S	w
ZT33	Cross; "Hector Pulido Reyes 11-1-97"	41	45S	w
ZT34	White metal cross	41	45S	e
ZT35	0.25 x 0.5 x 1m gray concrete beehive nicho w/ blue wood cross inside. Roof inscribed in the concrete "Ena Serano G Murio el 21 de Mayo de 1986 21 año de edad, sus padres hejas le dedican este recuerdo y su esposo" Adjacent to it is a green & gray concrete cross inscribed "21 de Mallo 1986 murio el señor Narsizo Muro Cheyaqua Recuerdos de sus padresijos I esposa"	42	45S	e
ZT36	White pipe cross	42	45S	w
ZT37	Concrete cross w/ steel cross over it	42	45S	w
ZT38	Wood cross, fallen over	45	45S	e
ZT39	White metal cross	45	45S	e
ZT40	Blue metal cross	46	45S	e
ZT41	White metal cross	47	45S	w
ZT42	White 0.5 x 0.5 x 1m stucco domed nicho w/ blue cross inside.	49	45S	e
ZT43	White concrete cross w/ 2 flower urns	51	45S	e
ZT44	White metal cross w/ brick pedestal	55	45S	w
ZT45	White concrete cross w/ black metal cross inlaid	55	45S	w
ZT46	White concrete cross	55	45S	e
ZT47	White concrete cross	56	45S	w
ZT48	Brown cross on white nicho	60	45S	e
ZT49	Black metal cross	62	45S	w
ZT50	1x1x1m stucco nicho w/ gable roof & centered crucifix. Inside: 30cm statue of St. Jude, 30cm statue & 20x28cm print of Sacred Heart of Jesus, inscription "Jose Alberto Montes Macias 1952-1999"	62	45S	e
ZT51	Large brown pipe cross w/ wrought iron fence; 22 May 90	64	45S	w
ZT52	Black metal cross	64	45S	w
ZT53	White metal cross	65	45S	w
ZT54	1.5x1x1.5m, granito nicho w/ gable roof, wrought iron gate, crucifix & death tablet inside, 1 male.	65	45S	w
ZT55	White concrete cross	65	45S	w
ZT56	White concrete cross	66	45S	e
ZT57	White metal cross	67	45S	w
ZT58	White metal cross	69	45S	e
ZT59	White metal cross	69	45S	e
ZT60	White concrete Maltese cross	70	45S	e
ZT61	3 white metal crosses on concrete pedestal	74	45S	e

ZT62	2 white metal crosses	74	45S	e
ZT63	White metal cross	75	45S	m
ZT64	White concrete cross	75	45S	m
ZT65	9 white crosses on black pedestal	75	45S	m
ZT66	White metal cross	75	45S	m
ZT67	Black metal cross	75	45S	m
ZT68	Black metal cross	76	45S	m
ZT69	3 blue metal crosses	76	45S	m
ZT70	White metal cross	77	45S	m
ZT71	5 white metal crosses, 1 white concrete cross	78	45S	e
ZT72	Cross & Virgin of ? statue on pedestal; 1 death	78	45S	e
ZT73	3 gray metal crosses	78	45S	e
ZT74	White concrete cross	89	45S	e
ZT75	White concrete cross	90	45S	e
ZT76	White metal cross	90	45S	e
ZT77	White metal cross	91	45S	w
ZT78	Blue metal cross	93	45S	m
ZT79	Black metal cross	94	45S	m
ZT80	Black metal cross	94	45S	m
ZT81	White concrete cross	94	45S	m
ZT82	White metal cross on pedestal	98	45S	m
ZT83	White metal cross	98	45S	m
ZT84	White concrete cross w/ nicho built into it	99	45S	w
ZT85	White concrete clover cross	99	45S	w
ZT86	Small stucco nicho w/ cross	102	45S	w
ZT87	White metal cross	102	45S	w
ZT88	White metal cross	103	45S	m
ZT89	2 white metal crosses w/ beehive nicho	104	45S	m
ZT90	White metal cross & 1 brown concrete cross	106	45S	w
ZT91	White metal nicho w/ niche box on stilts	108	45S	e
ZT92	White concrete nicho	113	45S	m
ZT93	White pipe cross	114	45S	m
ZT94	White metal cross	115	45S	w
ZT95	Black metal cross	115	45S	m
ZT96	White metal cross	116	45S	w
ZT97	White concrete cross	116	45S	m
ZT98	White metal cross	117	45S	m
ZT99	White metal cross	118	45S	w
wZT04	Zacatecas (altitude 2200m)	119	45S	
ZT100	White metal cross in the city	124	45S	m
ZT101	White pipe cross	124	45S	m
ZT102	Brown metal cross w/ 1 arm bent upwards	126	45S	m
ZT103	Black metal cross centered on purple nicho	128	45S	w
ZT104	White metal cross	129	45S	e
ZT105	Blue metal cross on blue 1x1x1m nicho	129	45S	w
ZT106	White stucco cross w/ pillar beside it	129	45S	w
ZT107	2 white metal crosses	130	45S	w
ZT108	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	130	45S	e

ZT109	White metal cross	132	45S	e
ZT110	White concrete cross	132	45S	w
ZT111	2 white metal crosses	134	45S	w
ZT112	White concrete cross w/ white concrete nicho	137	45S	w
wZT06	Begin route 49	138	49S	
ZT113	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	139	49S	e
ZT114	White metal cross on small adobe nicho	140	49S	e
ZT115	White concrete cross, 1m tall	140	49S	e
ZT116	Black metal cross on white nicho	141	49S	e
ZT117	Box nicho w/ green metal	141	49S	w
ZT118	Black metal cross	141	49S	e
ZT119	2 white concrete crosses on pedestal w/ open book	142	49S	w
ZT120	Black metal cross on adobe pedestal	143	49S	w
ZT121	White concrete cross on pedestal	144	49S	w
ZT122	White metal cross on tiered pedestal	144	49S	w
ZT123	3 white concrete crosses on single pedestal	147	49S	w
ZT124	2 white metal crosses on single pedestal	147	49S	e
ZT125	2 white concrete crosses	147	49S	w
ZT126	Good example of the cross/nicho type that became common yesterday. 0.5 x 0.5 x 1m adobe nicho w/ blue wrought iron cross, nothing inside.	152	49S	w
ZT127	5 white, 7 black, 1 blue metal cross in a cluster	152	49S	e
ZT128	Broken metal cross	152	49S	w
ZT129	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ heart-shaped wreath	152	49S	e
ZT130	Small white stucco nicho	152	49S	w
ZT131	Stucco nicho w/ 1 white metal w/floral wreath	152	49S	w
ZT132	4 deaths; 3 white pipe crosses for 1 adult & 2 children, & 1 brown metal cross for 1 adult. 7 x 12cm print of NS de Fatima & 2 votives in a small niche box.	153	49S	w
ZT133	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	153	49S	w
ZT134	2 white metal crosses on a large (0.5 x 2 x 1m) stepped wedge base w/ an open book centered. Old green wooden crosses & car parts in front.	154	49S	w
ZT135	4.5m tall monument topped by Sacred Heart of Jesus statue w/ a small open nicho built into it. Inside: Metal crucifix, 6 pebbles. 2 more pebbles on outer ledge- 1 death.	154	49S	w
ZT136	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	155	49S	w
ZT137	2 white metal crosses on concrete pedestal	155	49S	w
ZT138	1 x 1 x 1m turquoise, flat roofed nicho w/ locked yellow metal door & centered yellow metal cross. Inside: 12 x 18cm Niño de Atocha print in fancy metal frame.	156	49S	w
ZT139	Black cross & 1 white metal cross	158	49S	e
ZT140	White tile open nicho w/ centered cross	160	49S	e
ZT141	White metal cross on blue & white tiered pedestal	160	49S	e
ZT142	White stylized cross w/ 4 arch dome	161	49S	e
wB5	Zacatecas/SanLuis Potosi boundary	163	49S	
ZT385	White & black adobe nicho w/ gray cross (0.25 x 0.25 x 0.5m) gray cross on a 0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m pedestal 2 black	165	49S	w

	crosses blue cross on a brick nicho blue pipe cross on 0.5 x 0.25 x 0.5 blue brick nicho, & 2m long horizontal cross/monument w/ sloped wall behind, both on a 1m tall block pedestal			
ZT386	Blue metal cross on 3 tiered pedestal	165	49S	e
ZT387	5 gray, 5 white metal crosses on single pedestal	167	49S	e
ZT388	Blue pipe cross	167	49S	w
ZT389	White metal cross on turquoise nicho	168	49S	w
ZT390	3 black metal crosses on separate pedestals	169	49S	w
ZT391	White metal cross	169	49S	w
ZT392	Yellow metal & glass nicho w/ gable roof & initial "A" etched on the glass sides, brown wooden cross inside w/ death inscription for 1 person & bunch of wilted flowers	171	49S	e
ZT393	2 white concrete crosses, 1 white crucifix	171	49S	w
ZT394	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	172	49S	w
ZT395	Concrete nicho w/yellow metal cross	174	49S	w
ZT396	Concrete nicho w/white metal cross	174	49S	w
ZT397	White metal cross w/ 2 tiered pedestal	175	49S	w
ZT398	Black metal cross	176	49S	w
wB7	2nd ZT/SL boundary; end L2, Zacatecas	179	49S	
wB24	CL/ZT boundary; transect W3	0	54S	
ZT143	White & blue tile nicho w/ white concrete cross atop, on a hard curve	1	54S	w
ZT144	White concrete nicho w/ green wood cross centered in top	1	54S	
ZT145	White concrete nicho w/ black pipe cross atop	2	54S	e
ZT146	White concrete cross, "Paz Luisa Ma. junio 12 1997, recuerdo de sus hijos"	2	54S	
ZT147	Granito nicho w/white concrete cross atop	3	54S	w
ZT148	2 red and a blue cross "Sr. Renaldo Lopez de la Torre, fui un rey del camino ahora soy un testigo silencio con sus oraciones, descanso en paz, Gracias" "Agrademos a todas las personas que en alguna forma ayudaron en su ultimo viaje a nuestro hijo atentamente... data lost.	4	54S	
ZT399	3m cubed, white concrete shrine w/ black metal outline cross atop gabled roof & red tile cross above door	4	54S	
ZT149	Nicho, inscribed: "El niño Alfredo Congorra falleció a la edad de 16 años el 26 de octubre de 1960, su madre Petra García Vda. de Congorra y hermanos dedican esta recuerdo, R. en Paz".	4	54S	
ZT150	10 crosses, 1st 2 are blue, others are white. All are wood spindle-types set in the soil and have center name plates, and are home-made. 1st "Andreas Retile Ayalina Solin, oct 4, 1998" 2nd "Lucina Virginia Alberto Agoule, same date" 3rd "Raphaella Gloria Nicolosa same date" 4th has floral wreath in front "Ascencio Beltran Vergilio same date" 5th "Jose Francisco Rosas Retillo same date" 6th "Ignacio Melitone Flores same date" 7th "Reynaldo Rosas Flores same date" 8th "Melgurio Cenebes ?" 9th "Alberto Beltran Retillo 10 meses niño" 10th "Ramiro Rosas Retillo 6 años" 5 adult males, 3	9	54S	e

	adult females, 2 children (blue crosses) surrounding the site are broken auto parts and windshield fragments, a shoe. This is obviously EXACTLY the place where these people died.			
ZT151	1m tall white concrete crucifix on pedestal	10	54S	w
ZT152	White nicho w/ white metal cross	11	54S	
ZT153	White concrete cross	11	54S	w
ZT154	White metal cross; junction of cross is dominated by nameplate; "Juan Antonio Diaz Lopez 28 Dec 1997"	12	54S	e
ZT155	Silver metal cross on concrete pedestal, at an intersection	13	54S	
ZT156	White concrete nicho w/white concrete cross. 18" tall, built into a road-cut	17	54S	w
ZT157	Small pink, gable-roofed nicho w/ white cross atop	17	54S	w
ZT158	Small, open nicho w/ Roman cross & pedestal atop, inscribed: "Bartola Laredo Sanchez el 10 de mayo 1992" in front is another Roman cross of a slightly different design, also on a pedestal, inscribed "Sra. Navidad Jerimillo el 10 de mayo 1992" behind these is a rather grandiose (4x3x3m) double arch memorial w/ a stylized cross inside & flowers and the base is inscribed "Salvador Sanchez sacradote 10 mayo 1992" on one side; on the other side "mazapil y concepcion del oro te recuerdo" 2 ladies and a priest	19	54S	w
ZT159	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	22	54S	w
ZT160	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	22	54S	e
ZT161	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	23	54S	w
ZT162	Brown metal cross on white concrete pedestal behind a brown wooden cross w/ rocks around it; both delineated by whitewashed stones.	25	54S	w
ZT163	On top of a road-cut, brown metal cross on a concrete pedestal	25	54S	w
ZT164	4 silver pipe crosses: From left-to-right they read: "El 23 de diciembre de 1980 fallacio el Sr. Ishmael Salsido Reones edad 36 anos, sus padres Decidiero Salcido Lopez y Maria Guadalupe Reones de Salcedo" "23 de diciembre de 1980 fallecio el nino Miguel A Salcido Cardenas edad 3 anos, sus abuelitos Decidiero Salcido Lopez y Maria Guadalupe Reones de Salcedo" "23 de diciembre de 1980 fallacio la nina Gabriela Salcido Cardenas edad 4 anos sus abuelitos Decidiero Salcido Lopez y Maria Guadalupe Reones de Salcedo" "23 de diciembre de 1980 fallacio Sra. Gloria H. Cardenas de Salcido edad 25 anos sus suegros, Decidiero Salcido Lopez y Maria Guadalupe Reones de Salcido"	32	54S	w
ZT165	White concrete cross	36	54S	w
ZT166	White concrete cross w/ white metal fence surrounding & flowers & the name "Jesus ??"	36	54S	w
ZT167	2 yellow (maybe tan?) metal crosses, inscriptions no longer readable	38	54S	e
ZT168	White concrete cross	39	54S	w
ZT169	White concrete cross	40	54S	e
ZT170	2 silver or white metal crosses	40	54S	w

ZT171	White concrete cross on pedestal	41	54S	e
ZT172	Small home-made nicho on pedestal w/ lots of floral wreaths & visitation pebbles w/white wooden cross	42	54S	
ZT173	Light blue cross & white cross on tile foundation	45	54S	w
ZT174	White concrete crucifix "Jose Luis Mercado Salas Oct4, 68-Jan17,99 Recuerdo de su familia" w/ red wooden X w/prints of Christ child & San Martin Caballero hanging on it & auto parts in front.	45	54S	w
ZT175	White metal cross "Norma A.A. Lugo 17-9-85, 7-1-58"	45	54S	w
ZT176	Large cross, more than 1m tall, light blue metal "Berta Olivia Ramirez Arroyo RIP 30Dec 1993"	46	54S	w
ZT177	White concrete cross, "nino Alan Ulyssus Carion Perez"	58	54S	e
ZT178	VdeGuad, Nino deA, and Juan Diego ?, Mary & Joseph, St. Francis of Assisi. 5x2x2m white concrete Shrine, w/cross centered atop.	60	54S	
ZT179	5 white metal crosses	61	54S	w
ZT180	Large monument w/ a crucifix in the middle & a small cross beside it	61	54S	e
ZT181	White & bronze metal cross w/ a white & bronze metal fence around it	62	54S	w
ZT182	White metal cross, "Chemel"	65	54S	e
ZT183	Large white concrete cross over a small nicho w/ 2 urns. Inscription: "Sr. Manuel Ortega M., julio 4 de 1996, edad 62 anos; Recuerdo de su esposa y hijos." Has sun-burst & silver-colored crucifix in the middle of the cross.	65	54S	w
ZT184	Blue metal cross w/ blue & white flowers	66	54S	w
ZT185	Double arch w/ stylized cross, exactly like the one a ways back, & this is another priest; "Antonio Sandoval, sacradote. Murio aqui el trece de julio de 1968" on the left. "lo recuerda Mazapile" on the right.	67	54S	w
ZT186	The site is in 2 parts: there is a (1m+) granito monument w/ crucifix centered & 4 urns (2 on either side on steps) has a lengthy inscription that is illegible. Next to it is a small tan, arch-roofed nicho w/ black centered cross inscribed: "Javier Fernandez G. 1944-1989" the only word legible on the larger monument is the name Javier, so I assume this is the site of one death w/ two memorials to the same person.	68	54S	e
ZT187	.5x.5x1m blue concrete Nicho, w/ blue cross atop & yellow flowers	73	54S	w
ZT188	White metal cross on concrete pedestal; surrounded by auto parts. "Abel Salazar Oviedo; 3-4-62, 15-7-95".	75	54S	w
ZT189	3 silver metal crosses: "Luis Espinosa" "Jesus Pallido" "G.A.M."	76	54S	w
ZT190	White concrete cross w/2 urns & draped cloth design. "Nino Rapheal Quevas 1995 a la edad de 12 anos".	76	54S	w
ZT191	White cross & gray centered inscription plate, both of metal; less than .25m tall	81	54S	e
ZT192	2 black metal crosses	84	54S	e
ZT193	2m+ monument, Sacred Heart of Christ statue on a pillar,	89	54S	w

	inscribed: "Sra. Maria A. Cruz Odine, Nina Claudia Madragal Cruz; 31 Oct 80; A su recuerdo eterno" next to it are 2 white concrete crosses w/ the same names on them; & next to those is a white metal cross that's [? Bad tape].			
ZT194	White concrete crucifix on a pedestal	93	54S	e
ZT195	Pink concrete cross on pedestal	96	54S	e
ZT196	Green metal outline-type cross	97	54S	w
ZT197	Blue nicho about 1.52 & 2m tall, w/ a statue of the Sacred Heart Jesus inside about a 1m tall, a small crucifix at its foot, there is a votive box on the outside & its chained & locked.	97	54S	e
ZT198	White metal cross on a pedestal	99	54S	e
ZT199	White metal cross on a pedestal, red flowers on the cross	99	54S	e
ZT200	Blue metal cross w/ white flowers	101	54S	w
ZT201	Black metal cross & 1 lavender concrete cross on pedestal	102	54S	e
ZT202	White brick, gable-roofed nicho w/blue cross centered in the rear	103	54S	e
ZT203	White metal cross w/white & lavender wreath	105	54S	w
ZT204	Light blue pipe-type cross on concrete pedestal	105	54S	e
ZT205	White metal cross w/center scroll on concrete pedestal	109	54S	e
ZT206	White metal cross w/ center inscription plate	112	54S	e
ZT207	White metal cross w/ center inscription plate	112	54S	w
ZT208	White [?] metal cross w/ wreath	114	54S	e
ZT209	White metal cross	114	54S	e
ZT210	Black pipe-type cross on concrete pedestal	115	54S	w
ZT211	Aluminum cross (maybe siding material), set in concrete	116	54S	e
ZT212	White concrete cross: "Sra. Yolanda Avila Carlos, dec 20, 1986"	117	54S	e
ZT213	2 white metal crosses on a concrete pedestal w/ name plates	118	54S	w
ZT214	Blue tile, dome-roofed nicho, fallen over	124	54S	e
wZT08	Tropic of cancer monument	124	54S	
ZT215	2 gray metal crosses	125	54S	e
ZT216	White metal cross w/ square center scroll	127	54S	w
ZT217	Concrete bee-hive nicho w/ white metal cross centered in the middle	129	54S	e
ZT218	Small, natural wood cross atop a pile of rocks	131	54S	w
ZT219	Small nicho, 2m tall, w/white concrete granito crucifix over it	132	54S	e
ZT220	Black metal cross w/red wreath	138	54S	e
ZT221	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	138	54S	e
ZT222	Monument, 2m tall statue of Sacred Heart of Christ w/ death inscription beneath	141	54S	w
ZT223	Black pipe-type cross on a brown concrete pedestal	143	54S	e
ZT224	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	143	54S	e
ZT225	White concrete cross on pedestal 1m tall	143	54S	e
ZT226	2, identical, white concrete crosses, 5m apart, 25m off road	145	54S	e
ZT227	Granito, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho. 3m below & 10 off the road	148	54S	w
ZT228	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	150	54S	w
ZT229	Small granito, tan nicho w/2 urns. "Joven Martin del Rio	151	54S	w

	Perez, 27-12-92, Dedicar sus padres y hermanos." next to it is a white metal cross: "Hector Manuel Bocanegra Caballero 28-12-92" next to that, same date "Hugo Bocanegra Caballero".			
ZT230	Brick nicho w/ white metal cross behind & a lavender tablet in front (about 5m away) w/ a crucifix on it	151	54S	e
ZT231	3 crosses: first is a green cross over a nicho "Estaban Guerrero; edad 28; 21junio [?]vian Torres; y su cann[?] tormento mi vida fue aqui vencipia la paz aqui por fin descansa"; second green cross is "Sr. Jesus Cortes Parra; 28 junio; recuerdo du sus padres"; third green cross is "Sr. Juan M. L.; recuerdo de sus familia" all have same date.	153	54S	e
ZT232	White concrete cross	156	54S	e
ZT233	Turquoise outline cross	156	54S	w
ZT234	Gray metal outline-type cross, covered w/ red flowers	158	54S	e
ZT235	Nicho & cross; the cross has an inscription but I can't get to it because of the wreath that is firmly attached	160	54S	w
ZT236	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	161	54S	e
ZT237	Small white granito nicho; NSGuad painted on inside	161	54S	
ZT238	White outline cross, painted w/ red & green like the flag	163	54S	w
ZT239	White metal cross	165	54S	w
ZT240	White granito nicho w/ 2 spires & centered cross	165	54S	
ZT241	White metal outline cross	166	54S	e
ZT242	Monument, 1 wedge-type monument	167	54S	e
ZT243	White metal outline cross	169	54S	w
ZT244	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	169	54S	e
wZT10	W3 splits at jct 54S & 49S	174	54S	
wZT14	Jct 45S/54W at Zacatecas; begin W3a	0	54W	
ZT283	Turquoise concrete 3-tiered, nicho, w/cross & flowers	1	54W	s
ZT284	White metal outline cross on white concrete pedestal w/ flowers	1	54W	n
ZT285	White concrete cross on black tile pedestal	2	54W	n
ZT286	White metal cross w/ filigree	2	54W	s
ZT287	2 black metal crosses w/ scroll & flowers, identical	2	54W	n
ZT288	White granito cross on concrete pedestal	3	54W	s
ZT289	Black metal cross w/slanted pointed tips, scroll, flowers, in black WI fence		54W	n
ZT290	White concrete, gabled roof nicho w/metal & glass door	4	54W	s
ZT291	2 black metal & 2 white metal crosses on concrete pedestal	4	54W	s
ZT292	White concrete cross	4	54W	s
ZT293	White concrete, arched roof nicho on a 2-tiered concrete pedestal; "Jesus Rezindez Soticio, el joven"	6	54W	n
ZT294	4 white granito crosses, w/ visitation pebbles;"Jesus Carranza" "Valentine Carranza" "Padre Valentine Carranza, 24-aug-1996" "Francisco Carranza" one cross is slightly larger so this was probably a father & his 3 sons. Photo w/ sunrise.	7	54W	s
ZT295	7 crosses; 2 conc: "Joven Eduardo Nava Salizar, jan-9-78/aug-24-96" & has visitation pebbles; "Joven Jose Antonio Quevas Flores, jun-2-78/aug-24-96" & has rosary beads,	7	54W	n

	flowers & visitation pebbles. 1st metal is for Eduardo; 2nd is for, "Lovis Barancento?" the 3rd is for Jose Antonio, the 4th is for "Miguel Angel ?, joven" has rosary beads hanging from it, & the 5th is for "Joven Poririo Orientos"			
ZT296	Granito nicho on 1m cube white concrete pedestal; cross inlaid	7	54W	n
ZT297	Tan granito nicho w/ metal cross atop rear, on large concrete pedestal	8	54W	n
ZT298	White metal cross w/red wreath	10	54W	n
ZT299	White metal cross	10	54W	s
ZT300	White concrete cross	10	54W	n
ZT301	Black metal cross on 2-tierd concrete pedestal w/wreath	11	54W	n
ZT302	Rusted pipe cross on concrete pedestal	11	54W	s
ZT303	White, 2.5m tall, pipe cross, 2-tiered pedestal, red flowers	12	54W	s
ZT304	White pipe cross w/flowers & 1 black metal outline	13	54W	s
ZT305	White metal cross w/ scroll	14	54W	s
ZT306	White metal cross w/filigree	14	54W	s
ZT307	Concrete, gable-roof nicho w/visitation pebbles w/ white metal cross atop rear, on 1m cube concrete pedestal	15	54W	s
ZT308	White metal nicho w/filigree, scroll on 2-tiered pedestal	17	54W	n
ZT309	Large cross, covered in wreath & inside chain-link cage, 2m tall & 1m sq	19	54W	n
ZT310	Triple white granito nicho, on tall pedestal	21	54W	s
ZT311	Nicho	21	54W	s
ZT312	Nicho	21	54W	s
ZT313	Large black metal cross on concrete pedestal w/flowers, 1.5m tall	24	54W	n
ZT314	Large cross on 2-tiered pedestal 1.5m sq, on a hill, lots of wreath, X 2.5m tall	26	54W	s
ZT315	Brick & stucco nicho, 1m sq x 2m tall	26	54W	n
ZT316	Unusual cross, looks like there was 2 urns, there is a tree planted next to it. The inscription under the cross that is inlaid in a large curved trapezoidal pedestal reads; "Los cerros podran querer de moverse las lomas mas yo no retirare me amor ni se rompera a me alianza de paz contigo, dice El Senor; Dios quizo recargar al Ingenero Enrique Mercardo Estrada, aquel que fuera una existosa persona, un excelente companero, un gr& amigo y sobre todo un buen hijo por tus ansias de triunfo, siempre te recoramos hermano. Departamento de Invasado"	27	54W	n
ZT317	Arch-roof nicho w/cross atop rear	28	54W	n
ZT318	White granitoNicho, 1 w/ 2 steeples on concrete pedestal	28	54W	n
ZT319	White arched-roof nicho; "Juan Hernandez" in red on face of arch; on concrete pedestal	29	54W	n
ZT320	White metal cross	30	54W	n
ZT321	3 white metal crosses, turquoise concrete pedestal; wreaths	31	54W	s
ZT322	White granito, arched-roof nicho w/cross missing	31	54W	n
ZT323	White concrete cross on granito pedestal, 2.5m tall	33	54W	s
ZT324	White metal cross w/filigree, broken	36	54W	s

ZT325	White concrete cross	36	54W	s
ZT326	3 white concrete crucifixes on a granito pedestal	37	54W	n
ZT327	Large wood cross made of doubled 2x6s, 4m tall on a 3-tiered concrete pedestal 1.5m tall, village cross of ? de Cristo; flowers on it	39	54W	
ZT328	White granito nicho w/ white concrete cross inside, gable-roofed, open-faced	39	54W	s
ZT329	White concrete crucifix; Francisco Javier?"	41	54W	n
ZT330	Unpainted, concrete, arched-roof nicho	42	54W	s
ZT331	White granito, gable-roofed nicho w/black WI door	42	54W	n
ZT332	Brown metal cross w/scroll & flor d lis tips	45	54W	s
ZT333	White & gray granito cross w/ 2 urns	49	54W	n
ZT334	Monument, white granito w/ cross & 2 urns	49	54W	n
ZT335	White granito crucifix on granito pedestal, atop concrete pedestal	51	54W	s
ZT336	White metal cross w/ filigrees & gray metal cross on concrete pedestal, lots of flowers	56	54W	s
ZT337	3 shrines (all are 4m deep x 3m wide x 4m tall, w/ crosses centered on arched roofs, excepting the middle one has a X-fix) that have a metal arch spanning them & it reads; "Virgin de Guadalupe bendice nuestro camino" From the right or east, 1st shrine, door is locked; central figure is a large (5 ft tall) real marble statue of StJoseph & Christ child, 2 marble urns & 6 unlit votives. 2nd shrines central figure is a 5 ft tall marble statue of NSGuad w/ JD kneeling to the right, between them are silk flowers and there are more in 2 urns on a lower step, 12 unlit votives. The 3rd shrine's central figure is St. Anthony of Padua (statue depicts him holding a lily in one hand and the Christ child, seated on a book, in the other), again it is a 5ft tall marble statue, there artificial flowers and 12 unlit votives. This is quite a large rest area and the shrines appear to be fairly old and to have gone through a series of renovations, including the addition of the metal arch. There is no indication anywhere about who built and maintains this. Several old campfire rings indicate that this place is used a lot. The footings for the arch have "29-nov-91" scratched into them and the word "Noriega"	58	54W	n
ZT338	White concrete cross	58	54W	s
ZT339	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop rear, 2-tiered, 1m sq base	58	54W	s
ZT340	White metal cross, 1 w/scroll; 'Francisco'	60	54W	s
ZT341	2 large white granito crosses, 2m tall, maybe nichos in base, in WI fence	61	54W	n
ZT342	Concrete, gabled-roof, open-faced nicho w/ cross inside	64	54W	n
ZT343	Black metal cross w/filigree, scroll, & 2-tiered pedestal	65	54W	s
ZT344	White concrete cross on 2-tiered pedestal, lots of visitation pebbles	68	54W	n
ZT345	White concrete nicho w/granito cross atop	71	54W	s
ZT346	An old wooden cross laying in front of the angel that seems to	72	54W	n

	be fairly new, a bunch of visitation pebbles, & a wood cross above it is handmade of 2x4s, inscribed, stained & varnished at one time, it reads: "Lupe Hernandez, nacio 1966 fallacio enero 23 de 1985" An angel for a 19 year-old, hmmm, evidently she was unmarried & considered to be a virgin. This nicho appears to be much older than the other & older than the death date; implying that it is being re-used.			
ZT347	This nicho has special little niche built into the brick-work in the base for visitation pebbles. The granito cross, that used to be a crucifix, reads: "Aqui fallecieron Ramon Y Lidia, Vera, Olga Esperanza Cervantes y Maria Guadalupe Hernandez; enero-23-1985, recuerdo de sus familiares, DEP" There are fresh cement bags laying around indicating that someone was here this year freshening things up.	72	54W	n
ZT348	White concrete nicho & cross	72	54W	n
ZT349	Monument, white arched-roof granito w/crucifix inside & 2 urns, 1m tall	76	54W	s
ZT350	Concrete arched-roof nicho w/gray-blue metal cross atop rear, 1.5ft tall	78	54W	s
ZT351	White granito crucifix on granito pedestal, atop concrete pedestal	79	54W	s
ZT352	Blue concrete, box-type nicho, 2-tiered w/granito cross atop; "Jorge Martinez"	81	54W	n
ZT353	2m tall, blue concrete, arched-roof, open-faced nicho w/ 1m cross w/ white metal, sun-rays	82	54W	n
ZT354	Large shrine to NSGuad, gate locked	83	54W	
ZT355	White concrete crucifix on wedge pedestal	85	54W	n
ZT356	White concrete cross on pedestal	86	54W	n
ZT357	Arched-roof nicho w/ white metal cross inside w/ filigree	86	54W	s
ZT358	Shrine: Central figure is a resurrected Christ holding a female doll w/ a white dress (Virgin of Jalpa?) & a ribbon on the doll w/ 12 metal milagros on it. The bounded area is 6m square, the shrine is 2m tall.	86	54W	n
ZT359	White concrete, gabled-roof nicho w/cross inside. Next to it is a cross	89	54W	n
ZT360	White concrete crucifix	89	54W	n
ZT361	Shrine, 5 ft tall statue of Christ the king atop a road-cut	90	54W	n
ZT362	White concrete clover cross	91	54W	n
ZT363	Metal cross	91	54W	s
ZT364	White metal cross w/filigree	91	54W	n
ZT365	White metal cross	91	54W	s
ZT366	White concrete cross on concrete pedestal w/dozens of visitation pebbles	97	54W	n
ZT367	Black metal cross w/filigree & scroll	101	54W	n
ZT368	Black metal cross	101	54W	n
ZT369	White concrete cross & 1 white & black metal	103	54W	n
ZT370	White marble nicho; "Anthony Espinosa Anaya, 7-sept-76/ 25-jun-94" on turquoise concrete pedestal; blue sheet metal roof & rebar posts	107	54W	n

ZT371	2 white concrete crosses w/ flowers	108	54W	
ZT372	White concrete cross	109	54W	n
ZT373	White concrete cross	113	54W	s
ZT374	White metal cross w/filigree on 2-tiered pedestal	114	54W	n
ZT375	Large nicho w/NSGuad	117	54W	s
ZT376	White metal cross	117	54W	n
ZT377	White metal cross	120	54W	s
ZT378	White metal cross w/filigree & scroll	120	54W	s
ZT379	Concrete, arched-roof, open-faced nicho, w/concrete cross inside	122	54W	s
ZT380	A really special photo [that did not survive the developing process!]; a family was in the process of building the brick base of the cross for a man who died on x-mas day. The father was laying the brick and the brother, 2 sisters (or a sister and wife) and mother were watching. A car with DF plates was just pulling away when I stopped and a man with a camera had just gotten in, so it was a very delicate situation! The response was the typical "we do this because it is our tradition"; i.e. they do it because they do it. It was interesting to talk with them and see they were engaging in an action that gave them a way to grieve. It was obvious that the women were quite shook-up and the men were no less hurt but were fully absorbed in doing the work necessary to make the brick pedestal. The brother said that they live in the next village down the road; confirming the idea that, at least some of these recuerdos, are close to where the families live. They're local folks. He was hesitant to speak his brother's name (and didn't!). I think his dates were 1981-1999, but I'm not sure. I also asked if they had permission from the municipio and the brother said: "No, anyone who is Mexican can do this in Mexico." It is an understood thing like the left turn signal to pass or other 'rules of the road,' part of the unwritten 'common knowledge.' The skid marks were still very prominent on the road! Moyahua is likely where that family is from. (1/9/00): I'm just remembering something from the day before yesterday when I was talking to that guy. The brother of the deceased man specifically said that as soon as they put a cross there the place became sacred because that symbolizes Jesus Christ. I thought that was an interesting note that, I'm sure, applies to crosses in general for Christians.	125	54W	n
ZT381	White concrete cross	128	54W	s
ZT382	White granito cross on concrete pedestal; "mario 1979"	130	54W	n
ZT383	White concrete cross; "Pedro sisneros"	131	54W	n
ZT384	Concrete arched-roof nicho	146	54W	n
wB50	Boundary ZT/JL	148	54W	
wZT11	22.45.01/102.29.61 Guadalupe, ZT; begin transect W3b	0	45S	
ZT245	Dark blue, arch roof nicho	1	45S	w
ZT246	Light blue concrete box-nicho w/ white metal cross centered in the rear. 1m square w/ a real small opening.	1	45S	w
ZT247	White pipe-type cross	5	45S	e

ZT248	Large (more than 1m tall) white concrete Roman cross on a pedestal. "Jesus Sanchez"	5	45S	w
ZT249	2 white metal crosses (both the same)	6	45S	w
ZT250	White metal roof-type cross	7	45S	e
ZT251	3 black/2 white metal crosses	9	45S	w
ZT252	White concrete, church steeple-type nicho	9	45S	w
ZT253	White concrete cross on pedestal; 1m tall	9	45S	w
ZT254	Blue pipe-type cross	13	45S	e
ZT255	2 white concrete Roman crosses; "Angela" on one of them	14	45S	e
ZT256	White metal cross	15	45S	e
ZT257	1m tall white metal cross; black metal; white metal. latter 2 were 2ft. tall, a bit smaller than the first	16	45S	w
ZT258	Homemade concrete nicho w/ a black metal cross centered in the rear. "Nikolas Rosales Lopez 6-12-64, 14-08-98"	16	45S	E
ZT259	White metal cross w/wreath	17	45S	w
ZT260	White homemade nicho w/ white metal cross centered in the rear	17	45S	w
ZT261	White metal outline-type cross	18	45S	e
ZT262	Concrete nicho, w/ black metal cross centered in the rear	18	45S	e
ZT263	Bronze-colored metal cross on concrete pedestal	19	45S	w
ZT264	4 white concrete crown crosses inside a black WI fence	19	45S	w
ZT265	White concrete Roman cross	20	45S	e
ZT266	White metal cross	21	45S	w
ZT267	White metal outline-type cross; on the outskirts of Ojo Caliente, ZT	21	45S	w
ZT268	Nicho w/2 urns/ cross atop; 0.5 mile south of Ojo Calientes	24	45S	e
ZT269	White granito pillar cross, looks like it had a cross on it but is broken off now leaving only a 1m tall pedestal	25	45S	w
ZT270	Green box-nicho, 5m deep & 1m sq. w/blue metal cross centered in rear. "Roberto Garcia Maldonado fallecio el 27 de junio de 19??" the rest of the date is obliterated by the top of the nicho, indicating that it was a later addition. Many pebbles.	25	45S	W
ZT271	Homemade adobe nicho w/black cross centered in the rear	26	45S	w
ZT272	White concrete nicho w/ blue metal cross centered in the rear	26	45S	w
ZT273	Brick nicho	27	45S	e
ZT274	Light blue metal cross w/ center scroll on a 3-tiered concrete pedestal	27	45S	w
ZT275	Pink granito nicho in front of a blue metal cross	27	45S	
ZT276	Double sky-blue nicho w/ 2 blue metal crosses centered in the rear, lots of visitation pebbles; pretty dicey location to get out of the car.	28	45S	e
ZT277	Black metal cross w/ visitation stones on horizontal arm.	30	45S	w
ZT278	Blue nicho w/ blue pipe cross atop. "el nino Raul Valdez volo al cielo el 10-8-65" about 25m from the entrance to a grade school.	32	45S	E
ZT279	White concrete crown-type cross	32	45S	e
ZT280	3-tiered box nicho w/black metal cross atop	32	45S	e
ZT281	White outline-type cross on a brick pedestal	33	45S	e

ZT282	White concrete Roman cross on a 3-tiered pedestal; white structure about 2m tall	33	45S	w
wB25	Boundary Zacatecas & Aguascalientes	35	45S	

Table A4.9: Coahuila

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB64	Boundary CL/NL; transect B3	0	2S	
CL202	White granito cross w/ blue & white wreath, .5m tall	24	2S	e
CL201	White granito cross on 3-tiered pedestal w/ red wreath	50	2S	e
CL200	This is an incredible work of art. The 2 front corners are cam shafts, there are gears and valves, welded, crosses made of bearings and of valves, there is a double arch of gears, somebody spent a lot of time making this! There is no death inscription but the man's photo is attached to the inside of one of the glass doors, which are locked. That white paint is not just any paint, I wouldn't be surprised if it was powder-coat. No doubt in my mind that this guy was a mechanic, or at least a motor head. The lock on it was pretty new-looking.	67	2S	e
CL199	2 white granito crown-crosses w/ wreaths enclosed within a sky-blue WI fence	68	2S	e
CL198	White, gable-roofed, concrete shrine, 5m sq x 4m tall. Inside; 2-step altar w/ 40 votives & 2 bouquets of fresh flowers and juniper. On the top step is 18" tall StJude statue, black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; "RML, fl 11-df-1978 a la edad de 31 anos" next to that is a 24x36 framed print of Jesus sacred heart that reads; "Jesus, yo confio enti" next to that is a 36 x 48" print of San Martin Caballero, 6 votive candles (3 lit), a bouquet of imitation flowers, an 8x12" print of StJude, a 4' tall statue of StJude, & a 2x3' print of StChristopher. The shrine is well kept and it obviously experiences daily visitation. In this case it is hard to classify this structure; evidently this was originally a recuerdo but since the death date (1978) is so long ago it has quite likely become a shrine of piety.	72	2S	w
CL197	Wood, broken & faded cross in a pile of rocks w/ wreath	86	2S	w
CL196	White granito cross on pedestal w/ red flowers	86	2S	e
CL195	White granito crown-type cross on a tomb-like pedestal	87	2S	e
CL194	3 black pipe-crosses w/scrolls & filigrees	88	2S	w
CL193	2 white metal crosses and 2 small crosses on horizontal member and a homemade concrete cross; "Felix Jimenez, Amor eterno" all w/ flowers.	88	2S	e
CL192	Faded wood cross w/flowers	90	2S	e
CL191	White metal cross w/flowers	91	2S	e
CL190	White pipe-type cross w/scroll & flowers	94	2S	w
CL189	White metal cross w/flowers	95	2S	e
CL188	Pipe-type cross w/flowers	95	2S	w
CL187	White metal cross w/scroll, filigrees, pointed tips & flowers	97	2S	e
CL186	Yellow pipe-type cross w/scroll	97	2S	e
CL185	Blue metal cross with 4 smaller crosses on horizontal member & 2 wreaths	103	2S	e
CL184	Handmade wood clover-cross, 1x4, "norberto FC 69-91" fresh wreath	125	2S	w
CL183	White granito cross w/silver-colored Christ attached, flowers	125	2S	w

CL182	White metal cross w/scroll & flowers	133	2S	e
CL181	2 white concrete nichos, 1m sq x 2m tall; 1 w/ arched roof, other w/flat roof w/ front facade; both w/crosses centered in front.	134	2S	e
wCL17	Cd. Acuna; end transect B3	142	2S	
wCL23	Piedras Negras; 28.38.68/100.33.46; begin transect W2	0	57W	
CL59	Small shrine to St. Jude	1	57W	n
CL60	Large pink nicho w/ cross atop front w/ NSGuad tile image on rear wall, 1.5m sq x 2m tall	6	57W	s
CL61	White granito, arch-roofed nicho w/tiled Jesus sacred heart & 2 urns w/ flowers	7	57W	s
CL62	Tall gray metal cross; 2.5m, w/ filigrees & scroll and 1 cross covered w/flowers in front; 1.5 foot tall	19	57W	s
CL63	White metal cross w/ spear-point tips & wreath, 1m tall	20	57W	s
CL64	White granito nicho, arched roof, 1.5m tall, on pedestal w/ painted statue of NSGuad, 2 urns & in front a black metal cross.	21	57W	n
CL65	Flat-roofed, white concrete nicho, 1m cubed, inside painted turquoise, w/ white metal cross atop rear	24	57W	s
CL66	White metal cross w/ spear-point tips & red & yellow wreath	28	57W	n
CL67	2 white metal outline-crosses	44	57W	s
CL68	White metal cross w/ lots of flowers & white WI fence	46	57W	s
CL69	White metal cross within white WI fence	50	57W	n
CL70	Blue pipe-type cross w/wreath	57	57W	n
CL71	Metal, gabled nicho w/wire mesh walls, cross & flowers inside	59	57W	s
CL72	White metal cross w/flowers	60	57W	n
CL73	Gable roofed nicho w/ glass & WI door atop a box-type, (2 niche openings or a 'double-decker'); 1m sq x 2m tall	65	57W	n
CL74	2 black metal crosses on a wedge pedestal	66	57W	n
CL75	White concrete cross w/wreath	71	57W	n
CL76	2m sq x 3m tall shrine within WI fence	71	57W	s
CL77	2 white metal outline-type crosses w/ wreaths	71	57W	n
CL78	White cross w/wreath	72	57W	s
CL79	Small black metal cross w/red wreath	76	57W	s
CL80	White concrete cross w/ wreath at RR tracks/road jct	77	57W	s
CL81	White concrete cross on pedestal	79	57W	n
CL82	White pipe-type cross w/ filigrees & scroll	83	57W	n
CL83	2 white, 1 pink, 1 blue metal crosses; end ones were white, maybe 2 adults & a boy and a girl	85	57W	n
CL84	White concrete cross w/ wreath	92	57W	n
CL85	Concrete, arch-roofed nicho, .25m sq x 2m tall, w/statue of Jesus sacred heart behind it is a cross	92	57W	n
CL86	White cross attached to a fence	93	57W	s
CL87	Red metal cross	97	57W	s
CL88	Large, 1m cubed, pedestal w/ 2 urns & a fallen over cross	97	57W	s
CL89	White concrete cross, 1m tall, on pedestal w/red flowers		57W	s
CL90	Red metal cross w/ scroll and 1 white concrete w/ 2 urns	100	57W	n

CL91	Large shrine just inside private property of rancho de santa cruz, but the barbed wire fence such that one can easily access the shrine. It is 3m deep x 2m wide & high, made of concrete with a silver-colored cross centered in the front of the flat roof. Inside the central image is a Nino de Atocha 24x36 framed print; just to its left is a slightly smaller print of same; to the right is a print of Jesus Sacred Heart (the side ones are about 18x30"); these are on the top-most step of a 3-tiered altar, and there are also 6 votive candles, 1 lit. On the next step down is a VdeSJ, on the bottom tier is a bouquet of flowers. It has an unlocked padlock on the door.	102	57W	n
CL92	White concrete cross, 1m tall	107	57W	s
CL93	White metal w/ pointed tips & white granito Maltese-cross	108	57W	n
CL94	Metal nicho w/ open sides & gabled roof, the sides have filigrees; there is a white metal cross centered in the rear, flowers inside; 25m off road, just behind the pp fence. .5m deep x .25m wide x .5m tall	121	57W	n
CL95	2 white metal crosses, one w/flowers	122	57W	n
CL96	White concrete cross, 1.5m tall w/members 5" wide; wreath	125	57W	n
CL97	Small white metal cross w/scroll & balls on the tips, 8" tall	130	57W	s
CL98	3 white metal crosses w/filigrees & scrolls	142	57W	n
CL99	White metal cross w/ scroll	142	57W	m
CL100	2 white metal crosses	149	30W	n
CL101	White tile cross	149	30W	s
CL102	White granito arch-roofed nicho w/ cross in rear	149	30W	n
CL103	White concrete cross on pedestal	150	30W	n
CL104	White concrete cross	150	30W	n
CL105	Cross covered w/ flowers	150	30W	s
CL106	St Jude shrine	153	30W	n
CL107	White concrete cross	158	30W	s
CL108	2 white pipe-type crosses	158	30W	n
CL109	3 white metal crosses	158	30W	s
CL110	5 black metal crosses w/flowers	159	30W	n
CL111	White concrete cross w/flowers	161	30W	n
CL112	2 white metal crosses & 3 identical outline-crosses; all w/wreaths	162	30W	s
CL113	Rusted pipe-type cross	163	30W	n
CL114	White concrete cross on pedestal	167	30W	n
CL115	2 black metal crosses w/wreaths	167	30W	n
CL116	Rock painting shrine to Vde SJ	167	30W	s
CL117	Shrine w/lots of candles lit	168	30W	s
CL118	Cross covered by wreath	170	30W	s
CL119	Black metal cross w/filigrees, scroll & flowers	174	30W	n
CL120	White metal cross w/wreath, inside a white WI fence	175	30W	s
CL121	Black metal cross w/ scroll	175	30W	n
CL122	2 crosses covered with wreaths; one was on a brick pedestal	177	30W	s
CL123	White wood (2 or 4x4 lumber) cross; 1.5m tall; atop a rock 7m above road level, next to a rest area & hard curve	178	30W	s
CL124	Granito barbed cross on concrete pedestal	179	30W	n

CL125	White concrete cross; next to RR tracks; "Cesar Falcon"	182	30W	
CL126	Double granito crucifix on a pedestal; "Pedro Adelberto San Miguel, 1973-1995" "Cristobel ? San Miguel, 1974-1995": both have fresh flowers	182	30W	
CL127	Concrete cross w/ flared ends	182	30W	
CL128	White arch-roofed nicho on 2-tiered triangular pedestal (w/ apex in back) inside statue of StJude & 2 white pipe crosses w/ filigrees; "Cesar Pena 1974-1994" "Gerardo Guerrero, 1972-1994".	187	30W	s
CL129	White metal cross w/wreath	188	30W	n
CL130	White metal cross w/wreath	188	30W	s
CL131	White concrete cross w/wreath; "Israel"	190	30W	n
CL132	White concrete cross w/flowers inside WI fence; "Jose"	190	30W	s
CL133	Gray metal cross w/filigrees & wreath	194	30W	
CL134	Metal cross w/wreath	195	30W	n
CL135	2-tiered granito pedestal w/ cross broken off & inscription on the kick plate of 2nd tier	196	30W	
CL136	White pipe-type cross on concrete pedestal	197	30W	s
CL137	White concrete cross w/red flowers	200	30W	s
CL138	White metal cross w/ wreath	201	30W	s
CL139	Blue concrete block shrine w/shed roof & 3-tiered front facade w/white metal cross w/filigrees centered in front. inside;NSGuad hand-painted on canvas, 20 votives, most lit. A NSGuad print, a VdeSJ print in a gilt oval frame, a Nino de Atocha print in a rectangular gilt frame. 3 pairs of baby booties, a plaque w/ the Lord's prayer in English, a picture frame with 4 photos, 3 bouquets of flowers.	202	30W	s
CL140	1m tall cross painted on a rock; due to the location, this a death memorial although I didn't see an inscription.	202	30W	n
CL141	2 white metal crosses w/ flowers	206	30W	s
CL142	White pipe-type cross w/ pointed tips	206	30W	n
CL143	White metal cross w/filigrees	206	30W	s
CL144	White concrete cross w/ urn in front	206	30W	s
CL145	White concrete cross w/barbed ends, 4" thick arms "Marcos"	209	30W	n
CL146	Monument, tablet-type marker, 20m off road	214	30W	n
CL147	Turquoise concrete nicho, 2m sq, flat-roofed w/ front facade & white metal centered in front; in of a little rest stop called 'Tanque Nuevo.' central figure NSGuad.	222	30W	s
CL148	Metal cross	225	30W	n
CL149	2 white metal crosses w/scrolls & wreaths; identical	226	30W	n
CL150	Silver-colored metal cross w/ pointed tips, filigrees & yellow wreath; concrete pedestal; "Pena"	228	30W	n
CL151	Green metal cross w/a small 'x' at the crux, on concrete pedestal, 1m tall	229	30W	s
CL152	White concrete crucifix w/ 2 urns, flowers;"Alfredo Arce Lindoro, 15-nov-1986" and there are quite a few visitation pebbles; at the base;"Un recuerdo de sus amigos".	236	30W	n
CL153	Concrete nicho w/ granito cross in rear	257	30W	s
CL154	Cross, 1, no description on tape	259	30W	s

CL155	Cross, 1, no description on tape	259	30W	n
CL156	Yellow wood cross set in rocks	259	30W	s
CL157	White concrete cross	260	30W	s
CL158	White concrete cross, 1ft tall	266	30W	n
CL159	Blue metal cross w/ pointed tips & wreath, 1m tall	275	30W	n
CL160	Blue metal cross w/filigrees & wreath & fresh bouquet;"Sr Gregorio Vela Romeras, fallacio 10-sept-99 a la edad de 41, recuerdo de su esposa, hijos y familiares" and 1 gray metal, smaller w/ wreath & fresh bouquet.	277	30W	n
CL161	2 white pipe-type crosses w/scrolls "Jorge" and "Lalo"	296	30W	n
CL162	White concrete cross "Carmen Paz Echartea, mar 2, 1991"	296	30W	n
CL163	White pipe-type cross w/filigrees	300	30W	n
CL164	White pipe-type cross w/blue tips	303	30W	n
CL165	Faded wood cross	303	30W	n
CL166	Blue metal cross w/ gold fleur-d-lis points	304	30W	s
CL167	Blue wood cross, 1m tall on concrete pedestal	305	30W	s
CL168	Brick nicho, 1.5m sq x 1.5m tall, w/gabled concrete white-painted roof & St Jude statue inside & 1 bouquet of artificial flowers, 2 votives, 1 lit.	305	30W	s
CL169	Small shrine to Nino de Atocha	319	30W	s
CL170	Cross in a pile of rocks, completely cover w/wreath	324	30W	s
CL171	Rusted metal cross	327	30W	s
CL172	White metal cross	328	30W	n
CL173	White concrete cross	329	30W	n
CL174	2 lime green crosses	330	30W	m
CL175	Blue metal cross, 3ft tall	330	30W	n
CL176	White metal cross w/ filigrees	331	30W	m
CL177	Blue metal cross w/white flowers	334	30W	s
CL178	Gray metal cross w/scroll & flowers	336	30W	m
CL179	White metal cross w/flowers and 1 faded wood	336	30W	n
CL180	White concrete cross, 1m tall; "Juan Alberto Padilla Garza, nov-23-1966, originario de Gomez Palacio; Juana Soledad Islas Padilla, sept-29-1970, originara de Nuevo Laredo, x 18 1978" next to it is a small gray crown cross w/ angel heads in the crux.	339	30W	n
wB49	Boundary CL/DG; end W2, Coahuila	345	40W	
wB23	NL/CL; transect W3	0	40W	
CL01	Tan gable-roofed nicho w/ white cross centered in rear	1	40W	
CL02	Yellow pipe-type cross	1	40W	m
CL03	Large white concrete cross w/red, white & green flowers: about 50m off the road	2	40W	m
CL04	White metal cross	2	40W	m
CL05	White concrete cross X-fix w/2 urns	2	40W	s
CL06	Small concrete, gable-roofed nicho	5	40W	s
CL07	White concrete cross	5	40W	n
CL08	Bright yellow brick nicho w/ 'beehive' roof & yellow metal X centered in rear	40	54S	e
CL09	Gray pipe cross	41	54S	

CL10	White concrete cross	41	54S	
CL11	White metal cross	43	54S	e
CL12	White concrete cross & a small white gable-roofed nicho	43	54S	w
CL13	Large shrine, actually a death memorial, locked; 3m3, open-sided with white wrought iron grills and plexiglass sides. Inside: 1m tall statue of Sacred Heart of Jesus below a small crucifix, in front of the statue is a white concrete cross "Sr. Jeronimo Garcia Garcia 8-1-89" flanked by 2 urns with fresh and imitation flowers.	44	54S	w
CL14	White concrete cross on a pedestal	44	54S	w
CL15	White metal cross	44	54S	w
CL16	Reddish-brown concrete, flat roofed nicho w/ facade & white cross atop	45	54S	
CL17	White & brown brick nicho built into the road-cut; has 12 crosses on top. It is a whole family. "Marzo 26 1972 familia Valdez M."	45	54S	e
CL18	White metal cross on concrete pedestal (fucking dangerous place, why am I stopping here?)	45	54S	w
CL19	White concrete cross w/ flowers on it	46	54S	w
CL20	2 silver metal crosses	48	54S	e
CL21	Light green concrete cross on a concrete pedestal	48	54S	w
CL22	2 black metal crosses	50	54S	w
CL23	White concrete cross	50	54S	w
CL24	2 black metal crosses	51	54S	e
CL25	Pedestal and some flowers that used to have a cross	56	54S	e
CL26	Small white concrete clover-cross w/ X-fix on a pedestal	58	54S	w
CL27	Green wood cross w/ flowers	59	54S	e
CL28	Black metal cross w/ pointed tips on a marble pedestal	59	54S	w
CL29	White metal cross on brick pedestal with center sun-burst	59	54S	
CL30	2 silver metal, cross, rear one has 2 smaller crosses on the side arms and the initials "JMC" & "?MC" "11 enero 1987"	59	54S	
CL31	Yellow brick nicho, trapezoidal-shaped, 1.5m tall, with light green, triangular wrought iron door and cross of same color and material centered in front. Small plaque of Virgin of Guadalupe inside, flowers; no death information. 50m south of CL30.	59	54S	
CL32	White concrete cross	61	54S	w
CL33	Black wood cross in a pile of rocks	61	54S	w
CL34	Black metal w/ pointed tips & a white metal Roman-cross	61	54S	e
CL35	5m off the road on a dangerous curve, down off the road about 10 feet below road level. A white concrete crucifix with silk flowers; "Srta. Sandra Mera Silva Rodriguez enero 10 de 1966- julio 1o de 1983 recuerdo de tus padres y hermanos"	65	54S	w
CL36	White pipe-cross w/ center name plate on concrete pedestal	61	54S	w
CL37	2 black metal crosses	67	54S	e
CL38	2 white metal crosses on a bank above a road-cut	69	54S	w
CL39	White concrete crown cross on a pedestal	71	54S	e
CL40	White concrete X-fix on a brick pedestal	71	54S	e
CL41	Cross, no data		54S	

CL42	White concrete nicho built into road-cut w/ arched facade	71	54S	e
CL43	White metal cross	73	54S	e
CL44	2 turquoise Cross, on a brick pedestal	77	54S	
CL45	Turquoise & white shrine, 5m cubed, w/ gabled roof, white cross centered in front. Inside; white arched altar/niche w/ a square altar-box beneath. Top altar/niche is padlocked & has white metal & glass door inscribed "Espiritu Santo" has real pretty, hand carved wood cross 1m tall with a bird & a halo in the center of the cross & a passport-type photo of a young male is tacked onto it just above the bird. To the left of the cross is a 1' tall statue of NSGuad; to the right of the cross is 1' tall Jesus Sacred Heart statue, w/ small print of the VdeSJ in a gold-leaf frame to the left. On either side of the above collection are two large arrays of artificial flowers in pots. In front are 9 votive candles, 2 are electric & on to give the appearance of burning candles. There is a small, round framed print of the Virgin of Guadalupe w/ the Mexican flag. The little altar in front has a little stained glass cross, 7 votive candles, 2 are burning, and 2 styrofoam cups with fresh juniper branches in them.	78	54S	
CL46	White concrete cross, 1m tall, surrounded by a fence that has been damaged "Arturo Sanchez A. 3 marzo 1982, Recuerdo de su tio, Alberto Sanchez".	79	54S	e
CL47	Green metal cross "Estanislada Alvarez Fuentes 20 Oct 1987"	79	54S	w
CL48	Gray metal cross " Ing. Ruben Gonzalez"	79	54S	w
CL49	Tan concrete cross "J. Sanchez ?", 1m tall, 3m below road level	79	54S	w
CL50	White metal cross on a pedestal	80	54S	w
CL51	Turquoise metal cross on a turquoise concrete pedestal	82	54S	e
CL52	Large silver metal cross on a concrete pedestal w/ red flowers on it; over 1m tall	83	54S	e
CL53	White concrete cross on pedestal "sra. Hortencia V. Rdz. De Acosta 5-5-20, 7-7-83" good photo w/Joshua Trees!	86	54S	
CL54	White metal cross "Antonio Granados Ortega 12 feb 1979"	87	54S	w
CL55	Gray wood cross on a pile of rocks, hand carved inscription reads: "El señor Mariano Fermin V. fallacio el día 20 de diciembre de 1991, a la edad de 78 años"	87	54S	e
CL56	See Notes	87	54S	w
CL57	White concrete roman-style cross	88	54S	e
CL58	White metal cross "Concepcion Lumbreras T. 12-8-37, 2-10-91" on concrete tomb-like pedestal	88	54S	w
CL59	Box-type nicho w/ brown metal cross behind	89	54S	e
wB24	CL / ZT boundary; end W3, Coahuila	89	54S	

Table A4.10: Nuevo León

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB63	Boundary NL/TM; transect B3	0	2S	
NL58	White granito clover-cross	1	2S	w
NL57	3x4x5m yellow concrete shrine w/ ornate tiles around the entry & "Capilla San Judas Tadeo" painted on the outside, has a white concrete cross atop w/x-mas star on it. Inside; floor & altar are tiled, 2 benches, one full with votive candles, 12 of 35 are lit. In tile on the right, at eye height, is image of NSGuad, opposite it is a similar tile image of Virgin of SJ. The central altar has a framed image, 2x3ft, of Jesus at Gethsemane, and a 2 vases of flowers in front; next to Jesus are 2 busts; one of Christ scourged and Jesus sacred heart. Above them is a 3ft tall statue of StJude w/ a 2x3ft print of Jesus sacred heart w/ caption in the corner "Quinta conmigo" next to SJ. There are 5x7s around these of SJ and guardian angel, captioned; "angel de mi guarda mi dulce compana, no me desampares ni de noche ni de dia." There are 2 more 'holy card-sized prints of SJ, 2 lit votives, an 18" tall ceramic bust of an angel, an 18" tall statue of St. Francis Assisi, a 24" tall statue of NSGuad, 4 votive candles burning in front of that, 2 more 8" tall SJ statues, a statue of Mary queen of heaven. Hanging from the wall is a tiny sombrero, a 3" across. There is another 3 ft tall SJ statue on a separate altar. There is a ceramic of a girl praying. There is a x-mas tree in the corner. There is an offering lock-box and a basket on the floor with about 20 US pennies in it.	5	2S	w
wB64	Boundary CL/NL; end B3, Nuevo León	8	2S	
wB22	TM/NL boundary; transect W3	0	85S	
NL01	Silver metal cross	3	85S	m
NL02	2 silver-colored metal crosses on a concrete pedestal	3	85S	w
NL03	2 white metal crosses w/pointed ends & center scrolls	9	85S	w
NL04	Brown wood cross	9	85S	m
NL05	White metal cross w/ pointed end & center scroll	10	85S	m
NL06	Blue metal cross	13	85S	m
NL07	White concrete cross w/ an urn in front	14	85S	e
NL08	1 black metal outline-cross, 1 large white concrete crucifix, 1 white concrete cross	20	85S	w
NL09	White concrete cross w/ urn and red flowers on a pedestal	21	85S	w
NL10	White concrete clover cross w/ red outline painted	23	85S	w
NL11	White concrete cross	23	85S	e
NL12	2 silver metal crosses w/ red flowers affixed	24	85S	w
NL13	White concrete cross w/ an urn	29	85S	e
NL14	White metal pipe-cross w/ filigrees	30	85S	w
NL15	Shrine about 5m cubed with a mission facade & a Roman cross centered atop. The concrete of the shrine and the cross have artistic etchings. Gray wrought-iron grate is locked with plastic flowers attached. Interior: the central object is a statue of the Virgin of SJ in a glass and aluminum cabinet. To the	36	85S	w

	right are prints of Jesus Sacred Heart, and V de Guad. In the corner is a 12" statue of NS Guad in a home-made wooden case, next to that is another statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. On the other side of the central object is another NS Guad print, and an unidentified statue. On the floor is print of the V de SJ, a dozen votive candles- none lit, and a couple baskets of wilted flowers.			
NL16	Shrine to NS Guad, 4x3x3m, concrete w/ split rock facade. Interior: 2 red kneelers. Painted on the wall "Aqui a acmes? No estoy yo quisoy tu madre" Behind a white wrought-iron altar is a brick and tile niche w/ yellow aluminum & glass door and a hand-made framed image 2x3 feet (real beautiful wood frame), 9 floral bouquets, 4 votive candles.	37	85S	e
NL17	White concrete cross	41	85S	w
NL18	2 white concrete crosses, 1m tall, a few meters apart	41	85S	w
NL19	White concrete cross in front of a raised top pedestal w/ an open book inscription in the rear	43	85S	w
NL20	White concrete cross on a small pedestal inscribed "Humberto Gallego E. 22 Abril 1951- 11 Agosto 1974"	45	85S	w
NL21	Cross		85S	
NL22	1x .5x 1m nicho, w/ green, white and red caution tape on 2 front pillars that support a gabled roof with wings. Behind it is a wooden cross which has pretty much the same information as the front slab which is inscribed: "Augustin Badillo C. 15 feb 53- 8 oct 98, Recuerdo de tus companeros de TCM gov ATI" and at the bottom "El Gitano" Inside: a silver colored crucifix, a whole bunch of plastic and silk flowers, and a St. Jude votive candle. In front of the whole thing are built-in urns; this is kind of a combination of home-made and pre-fab. The urns and the slab are granito, but the roof is put together from granito slabs and the pillars are actually 3" diameter PVC pipe.	47	85S	w
NL23	4 white crosses with the names on the front and the death date, which 23-8-91. "Santos Fresas Reseno" "Eliaser Garza Camacho" "Patricia Campos Alvarado" "Bertha Eschavarra Godinez" all of the crosses have flowers on them, and are on a concrete pedestal that has a cross laying down. Eliaser's cross small statue of the Virgin de Guad and Juan Diego; and all of them have a fairly large pile of visitation pebbles.	49	85S	e
NL24	White concrete cross w/ red flowers	49	85S	e
NL25	Small nicho w/ white cross	49	85S	e
NL26	White metal cross w/ white metal fence surrounding	50	85S	e
NL27	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns was a X-fix that is broken	50	85S	w
NL28	White concrete cross w/ white WI grill behind & red & white plastic flowers	50	85S	w
NL29	Broken concrete cross @ Sabinas Hidalgo	51	85S	e
NL30	Just outside of the town of Sabinas. A small open nicho for "Sr. Miguel Loza Silva 3-9-1963, 5-1-1990" a white concrete pre-fab nicho with 2 urns inside and another small nicho on top of it. It is just in front of a bridge, which probably had	57	85S	e

	something to do with the accident that resulted in his death.			
NL31	Cross		85S	
NL32	3 crosses and an angel. The first cross is inscribed: Angel Eduardo Arango Ramirez a la edad de diez y siete anos" with the styrofoam remains of a wreath tied onto the front; the second: "Alonzo Serna Garza, 25-10-38, 15-10-1992" and has an urn in front with pink flowers in it; the third is an angel and the base is inscribed "Nino Anabel Morales Cerna 11-12-88, 15-10-92 and has a similar urn and flowers as the previous; the fourth artifact is a cross inscribed: "Astra Alberta Garza de Rodriguez 6-10-32, 15-10-92" and has the Styrofoam remains of a wreath tied to it. All are granito white concrete crosses.	59	85S	
NL33	2m tall concrete cross and the horizontal member is inscribed "Blanca Estrella Lozano de G. 7-6-56, 4-6-94" It is on a pedestal that has a wedge at the bottom of the cross that is inscribed "Y en memoria a todos las personas fallacidos D.E.P." and there is a large blue and white wreath above the wedge. Next to it is a small white metal cross inscribed "Oscar Escobar 27 anos, nacio 4 de oct 67, fallacia 4 de junio 94 D.E.P." A few meters away from that is a black metal cross inscribed " 4 VI 94, S.P.P. , Q.E.P.D." 3 deaths and 3 crosses	60	85S	e
NL34	2 gray metal cross w/ pink & white wreath	63	85S	w
NL35	Shrine, to VdeGuad @ PEMEX station	64	85S	w
NL36	Tan concrete cross built into a road cut	66	85S	
NL37	3 crosses, 1m tall	68	85S	e
NL38	Small tablet monument built into a road cut on a vertical cliff	71	85S	w
NL39	White arch-roofed nicho w/ glass door & 2 white metal crosses on either side of the nicho	72	85S	w
NL40	White concrete X-fix w/ 2 urns on either side & wooden X w/ angled ends, reflectors and the word "Monro" behind the cross and side urns are granito, the inscription is "Roberto Cavazos Silva, sep 7, 1994; recuerdo de su esposa y hijos Q.E.P.D." It is a rather large construction of blocks and concrete and has a third urn at the bottom.	74	85S	e
NL41	Sacred Heart of Jesus statue with 2 side urns and an open book inscription: "C.P. Alfonso Alvarado P. 10 may 1960, 18 ene 1991; Recuerdo de su esposa e hijo" on left half, the right half reads "Ponchin. Te fuiste de nuestro lado. Pero nunca de nuestra corazon y viviras en nuestro recuerdo" also; "S.C. y F." with a logo of a running person and the name "Alfonso" are inscribed in a vertical panel next to the open niche that contains a 2/3 empty Corona beer bottle.	76	85S	e
NL42	6 concrete crucifixes w/urns & gray metal fence between. "Norberto Angel ? 6/71-7/90" "Miguel Angel ? 6/54-7/90" next to a bridge, from left to right: Sr Jose Aguilar Moncayo" "Sr Francisco J. Mendoza Torres" "Sr Ramiro Pena Garcia" "Sr Ramrio Pena Trevino" Sr Juan A. Contraras Fernandez" "Sr Heriberto Ramos Sanchez" and the date is inscribed in	78	85S	e

	large letters on the wedge pedestal below "Junio 6 de 1985" and to the right it reads: "SUTERM en Laredo" (maybe a company name) on the left it reads; "Creo Senor que por se hombre tuviste muchos amigos el don de la amistad con que no has favoracido quere plasmado eternamente con quienes aqui si encontraron contigo para ellos nuestro reconociamiento y gratitud por sus afines y desvelos y para ti nuestro agradaciemento por consedernos su amistad"			
NL43	White concrete cross	79	85S	w
NL44	Shrine attached to a commercial complex. 3x3x3m, white concrete with red tiled gable roof and a 5-stepped facade that culminates in an arch with a cross atop and a bell hung from the apex. Inside: the central figure is a large crucifix, to the left is a St. Francis Assisi statue, and to the right is a Sta. Clara de Asis statue. And the door is padlocked, so you couldn't make a donation here is you wanted to!	85	85S	e
NL45	Small concrete nicho w/white cross atop	90	85S	e
NL46	White concrete cross on the bank by a bridge	94	85S	w
wNL01	Intersection of 85S & 40W	100	85S	
NL47	Granito concrete nicho; 2 crosses & 2 small niches. "Marcelo Jaime Garcia Diaz 10/17/97" "Guadalupe Aguirre Rodriguez 10/17/97".	122	40W	n
NL48	Blue & white tile pedestal nicho w/ statue of Jesus Sacred Heart. 1 black metal & 1 white metal cross beside the statue.	123	40W	s
NL49	White concrete nicho "Chele"	125	40W	s
NL50	White concrete cross	127	40W	n
NL51	White & red nicho, below road level about 20m from road	128	40W	n
NL52	White concrete cross	129	40W	m
NL53	White metal cross	131	40W	m
NL54	2 white concrete nicho & 1 white metal cross	132	40W	m
NL55	White metal cross	132	40W	m
NL56	Large yellow nicho built into road-cut; arch-roofed & black metal door; 1x 0.5x1.5m	134	40W	n
wB23	NL/CL; end W3, Nuevo León	136	40W	

Table A4.11: Tamaulipas

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wTM21	Matamoros (25.51.14/97.30.31); begin transect B3	0	2W	
TM256	Black metal cross w/heart-shaped center nameplate	1	2W	m
TM257	2 white concrete, 2 metal crosses	6	2W	N
TM258	Yellow pipe-cross w/center nameplate	6	2W	N
TM259	Pipe-cross	8	2W	N
TM260	White concrete crown-type cross w/wreath	11	2W	S
TM261	2 white metal crosses, fresh, on same pedestal, center nameplates, no writing & wreaths	14	2W	S
TM262	Nicho, 2 urns & cross covered by wreath and several wreaths	30	2W	m
TM263	Brown cross w/ wreath	30	2W	m
TM264	White metal cross, w/center nameplate, @ Reynosa city limits	54	2W	m
TM265	Cross covered by wreath	55	2W	m
TM266	White concrete nicho w/2 urns and cross, wreath	60	2W	N
TM267	White granito crucifix w/2 urns in front, wreath; Reynosa	60	2W	N
TM268	White granito crucifix, on pedestal w/2 urns	61	2W	S
TM269	Shed roofed, white concrete nicho	64	2W	S
TM270	Granito nicho and a cross next to it	64	2W	S
TM271	White concrete crucifix	65	2W	N
TM272	White concrete crucifix, w/ yellow WI fence	65	2W	N
TM273	2 crosses	67	2W	N
TM274	Nicho	70	2W	S
TM275	Nicho	76	2W	N
TM276	Cross w/ wreath	80	2W	N
TM277	Nicho with 2 crosses	82	2W	S
TM278	Nicho, 2 Jesus Sacred Heart statues, 4 urns & a bridge across a gully to access it	82	2W	S
TM279	White concrete cross w/ WI fence around	83	2W	S
TM280	Cross	86	2W	N
TM281	Cross	86	2W	S
TM282	Blue, concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, w/cross centered in rear	87	2W	N
TM283	Cross	91	2W	N
TM284	Cross w/ wreath	91	2W	S
TM285	White concrete cross	94	2W	N
TM286	Cross w/ wreath	94	2W	N
TM287	White concrete cross, wreath	99	2W	N
TM288	Cross	100	2W	N
TM289	Cross	100	2W	N
TM290	Cross	104	2W	S
TM291	Cross	105	2W	N
TM292	Cross	105	2W	S
TM293	Cross w/ wreath	107	2W	N
TM294	White concrete arch-roofed nicho	108	2W	N
TM295	White cross w/ wreath & WI fence,	110	2W	N
TM296	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns	114	2W	S

TM297	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns	116	2W	N
TM298	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns	116	2W	S
TM299	2 white concrete crosses, each w/ 2 urns &	116	2W	S
TM300	3 white concrete cross on same pedestal	118	2W	N
TM301	Cross	119	2W	S
TM302	Cross	120	2W	S
TM303	Cross w/ wreath	121	2W	N
TM304	Cross w/ urns & wreath	123	2W	S
TM305	Nicho	124	2W	S
TM306	Cross	124	2W	N
TM307	Cross w/ wreath	125	2W	N
TM308	Cross	129	2W	N
TM309	2 crosses on same pedestal	138	2W	N
TM310	Cross w/ wreath	138	2W	S
TM311	Nicho	143	2W	S
TM312	White concrete, arch-roofed shrine; 2m cube, faced west	173	2W	S
TM313	Metal cross	175	2W	S
TM314	White concrete cross	182	2W	N
TM315	White concrete cross	195	2W	N
TM255	Blue arch-roofed nicho w/black metal cross atop rear, .5m sq x 2m tall	197	2S	w
TM254	2 white granito crucifixes, 10m apart, identical & on tomb-like platforms	198	2S	e
TM253	White metal outline-type cross w/pointed tips w/ wreath & a vase of flowers in front	201	2S	
TM252	Cross, data lost		2S	e
TM251	Cross, data lost		2S	e
TM250	Cross, data lost		2S	
TM249	6 crosses; 2 Srs., 2 Sras. and 2ninas. All died aug 10- 99	204	2S	
TM248	3 white metal cross w/ pointed tips; identical & on a concrete pedestal	204	2S	w
TM247	White metal cross w/filigrees, scroll & wreath	205	2S	w
TM246	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns in front an angel inside	205	2S	e
wB63	Boundary NL/TM	207	2S	
wB39	US/Mex border @ Matamoros; begin transect L1	0	180N	
TM84	Cross	9	180N	e
TM83	Black metal cross w/ large lavender wreath	9	180N	w
TM82	White wood cross w/ pointed tips	9	180N	w
TM81	White granito cross on pedestal & wreath	9	180N	e
TM80	White granito crown-type cross on concrete pedestal, 1m tall; in front of an older white metal cross	10	180N	e
TM79	White granito cross w/ round tips; on a pedestal	12	180N	w
TM78	White granito crown-type cross	14	180N	e
TM77	White concrete cross, covered by wreath	28	180N	e
TM76	Tan metal cross w/ pointed tips w/ wreath around it; on concrete pedestal	35	180N	e
TM75	White granito nicho w/ crown-cross atop	40	180N	e
TM74	Granito clover-cross	50	180N	w

TM73	Weathered nicho and Roman cross	50	180N	e
TM72	White granito clover-cross	53	180N	e
TM71	Granito nicho w/ roman cross atop inside white WI fence	57	180N	w
TM70	Granito crown-type cross	58	180N	e
TM69	White granito crown-type cross	60	180N	e
TM68	White arch-roofed, granito nicho w/ roman cross atop	61	180N	e
TM67	Turquoise metal cross on concrete pedestal; w/ red & white bouquet	62	180N	w
TM66	White metal cross w/ red tips & blue bouquet; in white WI fence	64	180N	e
TM65	White granito cross w/ blue bouquet	67	180N	e
TM64	2 white granito crosses w/ red bouquets	69	180N	e
TM63	White granito roman-style cross	70	180N	w
TM62	White granito clover-type cross	70	180N	e
TM61	Red metal cross w/ white tips on concrete pedestal; had red bouquet on it	91	180N	e
TM60	White granito cross on pedestal	95	180N	w
TM59	4 white granito clover-type crosses	98	180N	e
TM58	White granito clover-type cross	100	180N	w
TM57	White granito nicho w/ roman cross atop, enclosed by a fence & faced parallel to road	100	180N	w
TM56	Concrete cross, 2' tall inside a red WI fence	103	180N	w
TM55	Shrine, central figure is 1m tall statue of St Jude, on either side are 24x36 prints of NSGuad; also 2 crucifixes, StJoseph statue, BVM statue, another crucifix, VdSJdLL print, StJude print, artificial & fresh flowers, many votives & money box and several milagros	106	180N	e
TM54	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 3 wreaths	108	180N	e
TM53	2 white concrete, 2 black metal crosses	108	180N	e
TM52	Large wood cross on concrete pedestal; 1.5m tall	109	180N	e
TM51	White roman cross w/ 2 urns	113	180N	e
TM50	White metal cross w/ 2 urns & brightly colored flowers, enclosed in white WI fence	115	180N	
TM49	White granito clover-type cross on pedestal w/ 2 urns	115	180N	e
TM48	White granito crown-type cross on pedestal; 1m tall	122	180N	e
TM47	White granito cross on concrete platform w/ 2 urns	128	180N	w
TM46	Wood cross w/ scroll in concrete	146	180N	e
TM45	White concrete cross w/ red floral bouquet	150	180N	w
TM44	5 granito clover-type crosses w/ a fence; 3 men & 2 women	152	180N	e
TM43	Shrine, to Virgin de Consolacion	154	180N	w
TM42	2 white concrete crosses	156	180N	w
TM41	White concrete nicho w/ white metal cross atop enclosed w/ white WI fence;"Sr. Juan ??"	163	180N	e
TM40	Concrete slab w/ a cross design inscribed in it, fenced in w/ chain-link; granito	166	180N	e
TM39	Tan metal cross within chain-link & metal post cage	167	180N	w
TM38	Wedge-shaped monument w/ 1 urn w/ timber posts supporting a corrugated metal roof over the monument.	170	180N	e

TM37	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns, large clover cross atop; "Jose"	171	180N	e
TM36	White granito nicho on a raised-tomb-type slab, trapezoidal-shaped w/ roman cross atop & 2 urns	179	180N	w
TM35	White concrete cross w/ red & green paper flowers; inside silver-colored WI fence	183	180N	w
TM34	3 white concrete crosses	185	180N	w
TM33	Weathered concrete box- nicho type w/ roman cross atop	192	180N	e
TM32	1m cubed, white concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ glass door	196	180N	e
TM31	White concrete cross	213	180N	e
TM30	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, 1m cubed, w/ 2 white crosses atop front	213	180N	w
TM29	White granito crown-cross on concrete pedestal, 1m tall	219	180N	e
TM28	White granito crown-cross w/ scroll; on concrete pedestal	233	180N	w
TM27	White metal cross w/spiked tips & scroll	242	180N	e
TM26	Light blue metal cross w/ filigrees & wreath	245	180N	w
TM25	Concrete block box-nicho w/ white metal cross atop; cross has filigrees & scroll; nicho is 1m tall & cross is 1m tall. Its on a hard curve.	249	180N	w
TM24	Black metal cross w/ spear-point tips & scroll	253	180N	e
TM23	Blue wood cross w/ red wreath	257	180N	w
TM22	White metal cross w/ scroll	258	180N	w
TM21	White granito nicho on a pedestal w/ 2 urns & roman cross centered on rear	258	180N	w
TM20	White granito crown-cross on a small nicho; this is typical of the local style; a 6" tall nicho w/ a 1m tall cross atop.	260	180N	e
TM19	Cross, covered w/ artificial flowers	261	180N	e
TM18	Box-type nicho, 6" tall, w/white metal cross atop; faced parallel to road & cross has reflection tape on it	263	180N	e
TM17	6 white metal pipe-crosses w/ center scrolls & filigrees; all identical & on separate concrete pedestals	264	180N	e
TM16	White metal cross	267	180N	e
TM15	2 red metal crosses	267	180N	e
TM14	2 white metal, 1 white granito cross	267	180N	e
TM13	Light blue metal cross, 1m tall, 10m off road against fence	268	180N	e
TM12	Metal cross on concrete pedestal; pedestal & cross up to the horizontal arms are painted dark blue & upper part of cross is white; total of 1m tall.	269	180N	w
TM11	2 white metal crosses w/ black scrolls inscribed in white	272	180N	w
TM10	White wood cross /w bouquet; mounted in concrete	272	180N	w
TM09	White wood cross w/ pointed tips & bouquet in center	273	180N	e
TM08	2 white wood crosses	273	180N	e
TM08	Black metal cross w/ blue ribbon tied to it; on a concrete pedestal; total 1m tall	278	180N	m
TM07	White granito, 6" tall, nicho w/ white crown-type cross atop; cross 1m tall	279	180N	e
TM06	Red wood cross, nailed to utility pole	280	180N	e
TM05	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white concrete cross centered on rear	284	180N	e
TM04	White concrete cross	284	180N	w

TM03	Rusted metal cross	291	180N	e
TM02	White granito clover-type cross	291	180N	w
TM01	White wood cross	291	180N	e
wTM01	Altamira/Tampico; end L1, Tamaulipas	296	180N	
wB65a	Nuevo Laredo (27.29.79/99.30.16); begin transect W3	0	85S	
TM85	White metal cross	4	85S	m
TM86	White concrete cross on concrete pedestal. "Rueben Pena Pampa 20 dec 57- 21 nov 98" red silk roses tied to cross		85S	
TM87	White metal outline-type cross	11	85S	e
TM88	White concrete cross on a pedestal	13	85S	w
TM89	Rusted white metal cross	22	85S	m
TM90	Rusted metal cross	22	85S	m
TM91	White concrete crucifix	22	85S	w
TM92	White concrete cross	23	85S	w
TM93	Large St. Jude shrine w/ Tejano landscape scene painted on the front, 8x5x3m with a church-type facade and a yellow spear-point cross centered atop. Below that is the name "Omar Rubio Junior, La mission Colombiana" also the artist signed the exterior artwork "Juan Maria Moran + his phone number" Interior: 3 small white prayer benches and 2 larger single kneelers. On the left is a statue of SJ without the head, a print of NS de SJ in a gilded frame, there is a bit of graffiti on the walls, a hand-beaded print of SJ 2x3', in front of a wood hand-carved crucifix, a 1m tall SJ statue with the head off in the first of 4 front cubicles that have metal barriers around them, the second has another SJ statue the same as the first except intact, the third has a brass SJ statue that is slightly smaller, the fourth has the same statue as the first two plus a Jesus Sacred Heart statue that is broken. In front of these are votive racks with a lot of candles burning, and a basket of fresh flowers. There is a side niche with another SJ statue and a Jesus statue. On the south wall there is hand-painted SJ scene, a poster that gives fiesta dates for SJ, an offering box, a holy water font and a Lamb of God. There is a picture of a guy and his truck, picture of a little boy, picture of a little girl, a Pablo Ortega baseball card, 3 more little boy pictures, 3 business cards, notes, a wedding photo, scattered photos around a second side niche but without the wrought-iron barrier. Across the freeway, on the other side is another shrine- looks similar to this one.	23	85S	e
TM94	Broken pillar monument on pedestal w/ open book in front, inscribed "Juan Diego Garcia Valdez 1936-1989; Las semillas que sembraste abase de amor honradez y trabajo estan rendiendo su fruto maravilloso estoy orgullosa de mis hijos gracias a Dios a ti, te recordaremos siempre con carino, tu esposa y hijos"	26	85S	w
TM95	Sacred Heart of Jesus statue flanked by 2 urns and a coat of arms-type pedestal which is inscribed: "Transportes del Norte" below that, at the base of the pedestal "Sr. Lazaro Rivera Zuniga dec 31, 1989, Que nos fuiste para siempre	26	85S	

	dejandonos onda arrida pero para nuestros corazones viviras todo la vida un carinoso recuerdo de tus companeros"			
TM96	Unusual cross, about a meter tall with the face of Jesus in the center, there is no inscription. The concrete pad it is on is inscribed "oct 5, 1972" there is a visitation pebble on one of the horizontal members.		85S	
wB22	TM/NL boundary(27.07.63/99.41.49); end W3, Tamaulipas	29	85S	
wTM19	jct. 101N/180N; begin transect W4	0	101N	
TM97	Cross, covered w/ wreaths	1	101N	e
TM98	4 white granito crown-crosses on one pedestal; w/ wreaths	3	101N	w
TM99	White concrete crucifix	10	101N	e
TM100	White metal cross w/ red tips in a white WI fence+N166	11	101N	w
TM101	2 white granito crown- crosses w/ scrolls & blue metal on blue concrete pedestal	15	101N	w
TM102	White concrete cross	17	101N	w
TM103	White granito crown-type cross w/ 2 urns in front	18	101N	w
TM104	Lime green, hipped roof concrete nicho, 1m cubed	18	101N	w
TM105	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns in front & arch-shaped (pointed on top) tablet behind	22	101N	e
TM106	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ cross centered on rear, 2m cubed	26	101N	w
TM107	White granito clover-type cross within white WI fence	28	101N	e
TM108	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ red metal door, 2 crosses inside & wreath	28	101N	w
TM109	Cross, covered w/wreaths within WI fence	33	101N	e
TM110	White granito cross	34	101N	w
TM111	White concrete cross w/ wreath	35	101N	e
TM112	White granito cross	35	101N	e
TM113	Wood spindle cross w/ wood scroll on concrete pedestal, very faded but had wreath	36	101N	w
TM114	White concrete cross within WI fence	36	101N	w
TM115	White granito clover-type cross	37	101N	e
TM116	2 white granito crown-crosses	39	101N	w
TM117	Brick, gable-roofed nicho w/ white granito crown-type cross inside & loads of wreaths, 3x2x2ft	42	101N	w
TM118	White concrete, 6ft cubed, gable-roofed shrine, white WI door. Inside is a marble tablet inscribed;"CP Mateas F. Molina Munoz 2-mar-48/16-apr-88; que corta vida para enseñar la virtuo que como amigo y companero nos marcoste pero que dificile de sigir, Comte Educativo Sindacato Boro Consa Regionale Noresta, esposa y hijos. There is also a plaque inside a marble box w/a crucifix over it. In front of that is a wreath on a wooden spindle cross that used to be on a post. The plaque was like an award, on maple-looking wood with a brass plate on it.	43	101N	w
TM119	2 white metal & 1 white concrete cross; one metal & the concrete are in a WI fence	44	101N	e
TM120	2 white wood crosses	44	101N	w
TM121	White granito clover-type cross	45	101N	w

TM122	White granito clover-type cross	45	101N	e
TM123	2 white granito clover-crosses on a pedestal, in WI fence	47	101N	w
TM124	Concrete cross	47	101N	e
TM125	White concrete crucifix	47	101N	w
TM126	2 white wood cross	50	101N	e
TM127	Black metal cross, covered by wreath	52	101N	w
TM128	Gray wood cross, 2x2, 1ft tall	58	101N	e
TM129	Cross	59	101N	w
TM130	Yellow metal cross w/ 3 crosses on the horizontal arm and the upper vertical arm is crossed; granito clover- cross behind; all enclosed in a WI fence.	59	101N	e
TM131	White metal cross w/ wreath	60	101N	e
TM132	White concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 2 white granito clover-type crosses inside, roof is turquoise, there is an image of NSGuad and DODF, 2m tall & 1m square.	61	101N	w
TM133	This shrine is really good because it shows very explicitly the color symbolism. The tri-color above w/ an image of NSGuad, below that it is blue-white-blue and in that niche is VdSJdLL. Beautiful! 5ft square & 12 ft tall. There are votive candles, but none are burning.	64	101N	e
TM134	Wood spindle-type cross w/ wreath	64	101N	e
TM135	White granito clover-type cross	65	101N	w
TM136	1 white granito clover-type cross on wedge pedestal and 1 white metal; both w/ wreath	66	101N	w
TM137	White granito cross within WI fence	66	101N	e
TM138	White granito cross w/ 2 urns & wreath	68	101N	w
TM139	White granito cross	72	101N	e
TM140	3 brown metal crosses w/ wreath	72	101N	w
TM141	White granito cross w/ 2 urns & open-book wedge pedestal	72	101N	e
TM142	Black metal cross within WI fence	73	101N	e
TM143	White granito nicho	73	101N	e
TM144	Black metal cross on wedge pedestal & white concrete cross	73	101N	e
TM145	White granito clover-type cross	73	101N	w
TM146	White granito clover-type cross	75	101N	w
TM147	Shrine to NSGuad, tricolor wall 10'x15' w/ a niche in it	75	101N	e
TM148	White concrete cross	80	101N	m
TM149	Concrete cross w/ wreath	80	101N	m
TM150	4 white pipe-crosses w/ scrolls	80	101N	m
TM151	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho, white on sides & turquoise in front, 4' square & 5' tall, w/ yellow gate	80	101N	m
TM152	2 white granito clover-crosses; one w/ wreath	80	101N	e
TM153	3 white concrete crosses; the middle one is smaller and is inscribed; "Nina??"	82	85N	m
TM154	White granito clover-type cross w/ wreath on pedestal	86	85N	e
TM155	Cross covered by wreath	86	85N	w
TM156	Brown pipe-type cross	86	85N	e
TM157	White concrete cross, 3' tall	89	85N	w
TM158	White granito clover-type cross	90	85N	e

TM159	Tan concrete, flat-roofed, 2m square, concrete shrine to St Jude, with a 3-step facade & cross, plastic flowers everywhere. 3ft tall statue of St Jude.	93	85N	e
TM160	2 black metal crosses w/ white scroll & sun-burst; another covered w/ wreath		85N	w
TM161	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns & white metal outline-type cross atop, fresh wreath; on a pedestal	96	85N	w
TM162	2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls	98	85N	e
TM163	2 concrete crosses	98	85N	e
TM164	2 white metal crosses	98	85N	e
TM165	Box-type nicho w/ 2 crosses & wreaths	98	85N	w
TM166	1 white granito clover-type & 1 roman-style cross	99	85N	w
TM167	White concrete cross	99	85N	e
TM168	Turquoise shrine to StJude, 2m deep, 3m wide & tall, gabled roof with clover cross atop. Inscribed "Capilla el conductor" and has a St. Jude statue inside.	99	85N	w
TM169	Black metal cross w/ scroll	99	85N	e
TM170	White granito clover-type cross	100	85N	e
TM171	White granito clover-cross & wreath in 1m sq WI fence	101	85N	w
TM172	White concrete cross w/ wreath and another cross behind	101	85N	e
TM173	White metal cross w/wreath	101	85N	w
TM174	White concrete cross	102	85N	e
TM175	3 granito crown- crosses on a pedestal, the middle one was smaller. In front are 2 urns w/ fresh flowers	103	85N	e
TM176	3 granito clover-crosses & 1 granito roman-style	105	85N	e
TM177	White granito clover-type cross on turquoise concrete pedestal, edges of cross were painted turquoise, wreath		85N	w
TM178	2 white granito crosses, both w/ rosary beads hanging from upright arm, wreath, and had pointed tips	108	85N	e
TM179	White granito clover-cross on a beige concrete nicho/pedestal w/ wreath	109	85N	w
TM180	Tan & reddish brown concrete, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white concrete cross centered atop; central image is VdSJ	109	85N	w
TM181	White concrete cross, 4' tall	109	85N	e
TM182	White concrete cross w/ wreath	110	85N	e
TM183	White & purple concrete shrine to NSGuad. A sign in front says; "virgincita de guadalupe en este dia te damos las gracias por permitirnos llegar hasta este lugar para gozar de tu santa presencia y dediste[?] nos acompanias en nuestro viaje con tu bendicion" and at the bottom it says "tus hijos" the shrine is about 3m deep, 5m wide & 4m tall, and the central figure is NSGuad. 40 votive candles [20 burning], several vases of formerly fresh flowers, some potted plants.		85N	e
TM184	White granito, broken pillar monument, 3m tall; seems old	113	85N	e
TM185	Concrete, gable-roofed, open faced nicho, 2' cubed. Behind it is a blue metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; 3' tall	114	85N	e
TM186	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & red wreath; just before a narrow bridge	115	85N	e

TM187	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, no cross, has rusted metal door; 2' square x 3' tall	118	85N	w
TM188	White granito crown-type cross	119	85N	e
TM189	White granito nicho w/ 2urns & cross atop	125	85N	w
TM190	3 crosses and an open nicho, gabled roof w/ 4 posts; 3' tall x 2' square. 2 of the crosses were granito clover-types	125	85N	w
TM191	Forest green concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ wreath atop & NSGuad inside; 15m off road	127	85N	e
TM192	Light blue wood cross	129	85N	w
TM193	White metal outline-type cross w/ wreath	129	85N	e
TM194	Faded blue wood cross; 1m tall	131	85N	e
TM195	Blue metal cross w/ wreath & 1 white pipe-type w/ wreath	133	85N	e
TM196	4 white concrete crosses; 2' tall	134	85N	w
TM197	Blue pipe-type cross w/ wreath	135	85N	e
TM198	White granito clover-type cross; in disrepair	135	85N	e
TM199	White granito cross	136	85N	e
TM200	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll and 1 white wood w/ pointed tips (mitered from both edges)	136	85N	e
TM201	Light blue metal cross w/ filigrees & wreath	137	85N	w
TM202	Black metal cross	137	85N	e
TM203	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho; 2' tall. Behind it a concrete cross; 1m tall	139	85N	e
TM204	White concrete cross	140	85N	e
TM205	White granito clover-type cross w/ wreath	140	85N	e
TM206	White concrete cross; 2' tall	141	85N	w
TM207	Dark blue concrete cross; 2' tall	142	85N	e
TM208	White granito crown-type cross	143	85N	e
TM209	White pipe-type cross w/ scroll; fallen over	145	85N	w
TM210	White metal cross w/ wreath	145	85N	w
TM211	White granito cross w/ urn in front, wreath & wreath	147	85N	e
TM212	White granito clover-type cross on concrete pedestal	147	85N	e
TM213	White granito clover-type cross w/ wreath	148	85N	w
TM214	2 concrete crosses w/ face of Jesus in the crux	148	85N	w
TM215	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns & crucifix, 1m tall; and another cross in front of it	149	85N	w
TM216	White metal cross w/ wreath	149	85N	e
TM217	Pink tile, gable-roofed nicho w/ wings	150	85N	w
TM218	White granito cross	153	85N	e
TM219	3 crosses on a tree w/ fresh wreaths	153	85N	e
TM220	Blue metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	153	85N	w
TM221	White granito cross	153	85N	w
TM222	Granito clover-type cross w/ 2 urns wreath	156	85N	
TM223	2 concrete crosses on same pedestal & w/wreath	156	85N	w
TM224	Cross, covered by wreath	157	85N	w
TM225	2 white granito crown-crosses	157	85N	w
TM226	White metal cross, wreath	157	85N	w
TM227	White granito clover-type cross w/ wreath	157	85N	e
TM228	Black metal cross w/scroll & wreath	157	85N	w

TM229	Black metal cross w/ diamond-shaped filigrees & scroll	159	85N	w
TM230	2 black metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls; mounted one-above the other	160	85N	w
TM231	Red metal cross on red concrete pedestal	160	85N	e
TM232	White pipe-type cross w/ scroll	160	85N	w
TM233	White metal cross w/ scroll	160	85N	e
TM234	White granito clover-cross & 1 white metal outline-cross	160	85N	e
TM235	White granito nicho, built into base of large cross	162	85N	e
TM236	Concrete box-type nicho w/homemade concrete cross atop, 10m off road facing parallel	164	85N	e
TM237	Brick, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross atop, 1m tall	165	85N	w
TM238	White granito nicho w/ cross atop; fresh wreath	165	85N	w
TM239	Concrete cross, fallen over	166	85N	e
TM240	3 white granito nichos w/ little box nichos in front; all on one pedestal	167	85N	w
TM241	White granito clover-type cross w/ fresh wreath	177	85N	e
TM242	Blue wood cross (3x3 lumber) wreath	179	85N	w
TM243	Wood cross behind a granito nicho and 1 urn	181	85N	e
TM244	Tan, gable-roofed nicho/shrine, open in front & back, 2x3x6ft, cross inside; “Francisco J. Luna Tomares, 25 jan 66—8 april 93, there is a double inscription plate below: “Paco, vive en nuestro corozon, tus padres y hermanos y familiares” below that; “Tu recuerdo nos acompanada por siempre, camino verdad de vida el que mi siga no morira, tu hermana Lorena Lopez C. y familia” on the south wall is a V of SJDLL 12 tile image. Next to that is a concrete cross with DODO; “Carlos Fermin Galvan, 8-4-93”	182	85N	w
TM245	Concrete, homemade cross; 1m tall	182	85N	w
wB62	TM/SL boundary; end W4, Tamaulipas	188	85N	

Table A4.12: San Luis Potosi

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB5	ZT/SLP boundary; begin L2	0	49S	
SL01	White concrete or white stucco nicho	0	49S	e
SL02	Small black metal nicho with tree limb cross	2	49S	e
SL03	Brown wood cross on rock & concrete pedestal	6	49S	w
SL04	White metal cross	6	49S	w
SL05	Blue metal cross	6	49S	w
SL06	3 marble crosses on pedestal w/ black WI fence, 6 wreaths	8	49S	e
SL07	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	9	49S	w
SL08	White concrete cross on 3 tiered pedestal	9	49S	w
SL09	Black pipe cross, & white concrete cross w/ 3-tiered pedestal & pebbles left on ledges	9	49S	w
SL10	White metal cross on 2 tiered pedestal; lots of pebbles	11	49S	e
SL11	Blue, .25x1x.25m, double nicho w/ centered black metal cross inscribed "FGM" and white metal cross to one side inscribed "EGP". A dozen or so pebbles lying on the nicho.	13	49S	w
SL12	Black metal cross w/ marble heart; lots of pebbles	13	49S	w
SL13	White metal cross on 2 tiered pedestal	13	49S	w
SL14	See text.	13	49S	w
SL15	2 black metal crosses w/ "A" logo between them	16	49S	w
SL16	Black metal cross on stone & mortar pedestal	16	49S	w
SL17	See text.	16	49S	w
SL18	2 black wood crosses; on dangerous curve	18	49S	w
SL19	White metal cross	18	49S	w
SL20	White metal cross w/ a branch attached to it	19	49S	w
SL21	2 black metal crosses on concrete pedestal	19	49S	e
SL22	White metal cross on 2 tiered pedestal	20	49S	w
SL23	Black metal nicho w/ 3 white crosses	20	49S	w
SL24	White wood cross	20	49S	w
SL25	White metal cross	20	49S	w
SL26	Black metal cross	20	49S	w
SL27	Black metal cross	22	49S	w
SL28	Blue pyramid nicho w/ cross	23	49S	e
wB6	1st border ZT/SLP; break L2	24		
wB7	2nd border ZT/SLP; resume L2	0	49S	
SL29	White metal cross on beige stucco niche	1	49S	w
SL30	3 black metal crosses	2	49S	e
SL31	Black metal cross	2	49S	e
SL32	2x1x0.5m open book w/ cross	2	49S	w
SL33	1 black metal, 1 brown concrete, 1 white concrete cross	3	49S	w
SL34	Black metal cross on pedestal of rocks & mortar	4	49S	w
SL35	Black metal cross on 2 tiered brick pedestal	6	49S	e
SL36	Nicho, 0.25x0.25x0.5m on dangerous curve	8	49S	e
SL37	White metal cross	11	49S	e
SL38	Brown metal cross	11	49S	e
SL39	Small open white nicho w/ blue cross	14	49S	w
SL40	White metal cross	14	49S	w

SL41	White concrete cross w/ cross broken off pedestal	15	49S	e
SL42	Blue wood cross	19	49S	w
SL43	Blue, 5 white metal crosses	20	49S	e
SL44	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross	24	49S	w
SL45	White concrete cross	24	49S	e
SL46	White concrete cross	24	49S	w
SL47	White concrete cross w/ open niche NSGuad image inside	25	49S	w
SL48	1 x 1 x 1.5m stone nicho with arch roof, empty.	25	49S	w
SL49	1 blue metal and 1 white concrete cross, and 1 x 1 x 2 triple cross on concrete nicho and pedestal; nicho is empty.	26	49S	e
SL50	White metal cross	27	49S	w
SL51	White metal cross	27	49S	e
SL52	White concrete cross	28	49S	e
SL53	Gray metal cross	29	49S	e
SL54	White concrete cross w/ Mobil oil can attached	29	49S	w
SL55	Small concrete tablet w/ crucifix in San Luis Potosi	30	49S	e
SL56	White metal cross	48	57S	w
SL57	White metal cross	48	57S	w
SL58	Gray metal cross	48	57S	e
SL59	White metal cross	48	57S	w
SL60	Black metal cross	50	57S	w
SL61	White concrete cross on 1m pedestal	50	57S	w
SL62	White metal cross	54	57S	m
SL63	White pipe & 1 white concrete cross	55	57S	m
SL64	Blue pipe cross	56	57S	m
SL65	3 white metal crosses	56	57S	w
SL66	White pipe cross	57	57S	m
SL67	2 black crosses with wrought iron fence	57	57S	m
SL68	2 white concrete crosses with small open niche	59	57S	w
SL69	White metal cross	60	57S	e
SL70	3 white pipe crosses	60	57S	m
SL71	Red metal cross	61	57S	m
SL72	White metal cross	61	57S	m
SL73	Black metal cross	61	57S	m
SL74	White concrete cross with urn on 1m x 2m pedestal	63	57S	w
SL75	White concrete open nicho with 4 pillars and a cross	64	57S	e
SL76	4 brown metal crosses	64	57S	m
SL77	White metal cross	64	57S	m
SL78	White metal cross on nicho box with a white WI fence	64	57S	e
SL79	2 white concrete crosses on a concrete pedestal	64	57S	e
SL80	White wood cross	65	57S	m
SL81	White metal, 1 blue metal cross	66	57S	w
SL82	White concrete cross	66	57S	w
SL83	White concrete cross on a pedestal with a 1/4 length gable	67	57S	w
SL84	White concrete cross over open book tablet, & 1 blue metal on open empty nicho	68	57S	w
SL85	White metal outline cross	68	57S	w
SL86	Turquoise concrete open niche with a death cross inside	69	57S	w

SL87	Blue 2m tall cross on 2 x 2 x2m on white concrete base with small built-in nicho	72	57S	w
SL88	3 black metal crosses	72	57S	m
SL89	White metal cross in blue scallop-shaped niche	73	57S	w
SL90	Small wooden cross	73	57S	m
SL91	White metal cross	74	57S	w
SL92	White metal cross	75	57S	m
SL93	Black metal cross	75	57S	w
SL94	1 black metal, 1 black wood cross	77	57S	w
SL95	White cross	78	57S	w
SL96	White cross	78	57S	e
SL97	2 white concrete crosses on open niche w/ 4 domed pillars	79	57S	m
SL98	White metal cross	79	57S	m
SL99	2 white metal, 2 black metal crosses	79	57S	m
SL100	White concrete cross on a pedestal	80	57S	w
SL101	1m sq. pedestal with a truck on top and 4 urns on the base	81	57S	m
SL102	White metal cross	81	57S	m
SL103	2m tall crucifix on a 2m square pedestal with 2 side urns	81	57S	m
SL104	Partially destroyed open nicho with 2 concrete crosses	81	57S	w
SL105	White concrete cross on open nicho pedestal 1m tall	82	57S	w
SL106	Broken concrete cross in partially destroyed nicho	83	57S	w
SL107	White metal cross	83	57S	m
SL108	White metal cross	83	57S	w
SL109	Black metal cross	83	57S	w
SL110	3 black metal crosses	83	57S	m
SL111	1 black metal, 1 black wood cross	84	57S	m
SL112	2 silver crosses on 1m square concrete pedestal with an urn	84	57S	w
SL113	1m concrete cross with a plastic Jesus affixed	87	57S	w
SL114	Red metal cross on brick pedestal	88	57S	w
SL115	White metal cross	89	57S	m
wB8	SL/GT: end L2	92	57S	
wB62	SL/TM; begin W4	0	85N	
SL167	White concrete cross w/ large concrete cross	22	85N	e
SL166	White pipe-type cross w/ scroll	23	85N	w
SL165	White granito clover-type cross on pedestal, 2' tall	24	85N	w
SL164	White concrete, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho, 12" tall, w/ homemade white concrete cross, 2' tall, centered behind	29	85N	w
SL163	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced shrine, 3m tall, central figure StJude. Has a patio of a flat tin roof supported by fence posts.	29	85N	e
SL162	Brown metal cross w/ scroll	30	85N	e
wSL15	Jct. 85N/70E at CdValles	31	85N	
wSL14	Cd. Valles; intersection of 85 and 70	0	85N	
SL161	Concrete open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ blue cross atop	1	85N	w
SL160	Concrete open-faced, gable-roofed, 3x2x2ft nicho	1	85N	e
SL159	1 nicho and 1 cross	2	85N	e
SL158	Nicho	2	85N	w
SL157	White granito cross in a metal gable-roofed shelter	2	85N	w

SL156	White granito nicho w/ large clover cross atop rear, 2 urns & fresh flowers	3	85N	w
SL155	White concrete clover-cross w/ 2 urns & fresh flowers	5	85N	e
SL154	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop, 2 urns & fresh flowers	6	85N	e
SL153	White granito crown-type cross w/ 2 urns, fresh flowers	7	85N	e
SL152	Large (2.5m tall) granito nicho	8	85N	w
SL151	White metal cross; "Salvador Saldana Garcia, 27-01-72, 27-07-97"	8	85N	e
SL150	2 concrete crosses w/ fresh wreath	8	85N	e
SL149	White concrete nicho, 6x18x18", w/ white concrete cross atop flat roof & fresh flowers	14	85N	e
SL148	Black wood lumber clover cross w/ wreath & white painted inscription	15	85N	e
SL147	Concrete cross w/ pointed tips on concrete pedestal	15	85N	e
SL146	Under shelter; handmade turquoise wood cross, and a concrete cross inscribed; "Fallacio el 22-10-91 Nicanor Andreas Hndez." and there is a votive candle & fresh DODO: both under a tin roof. The wood cross has the same info plus the age of 10 years.	19	85N	n
SL145	Concrete nicho w/ cross atop rear of arched roof; 1m tall	20	85N	w
SL144	White granito fletched-type cross w/ flowers	22	85N	e
SL143	White granito clover cross	27	85N	e
SL141	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop rear	28	85N	e
SL142	Unpainted wood lumber cross	28	85N	e
SL140	2 white granito crosses w/rounded arrows tips & wreath	29	85N	e
SL139	White granito cross w/ rounded arrow tips	29	85N	e
SL138	White granito fletched-type cross w/ wreath	31	85N	w
SL137	White concrete cross w/ arrow-tips (fletched?)	33	85N	w
SL136	White concrete roman-style cross	33	85N	w
SL135	White granito clover-type cross on concrete pedestal; about 5ft tall	33	85N	w
SL134	White granito clover-type cross w/ fresh flowers	34	85N	e
SL133	White granito clover-type cross	34	85N	w
SL131	Large (1.5m cubed) concrete gabled NICHOS	37	85N	w
SL132	Concrete, 3x2x2m shrine, open on 3 sides w/ posts in front	37	85N	w
SL130	Small (6" tall) gable-roofed nicho w/ large (3' tall) clover cross centered in rear	38	85N	w
SL129	Stone shrine to NSGuad w/ green & red streamers outside, frsh flowers; 2m deep x 1m wide x 3m tall. "Antorcha Guadalupana" in metal work above the door. Lots of both fresh and planted flowers inside & 2 white cast-iron double park-type benches outside.	38	85N	w
SL128	2 identical granito, gable-roofed, open-faced nichos w/ clover crosses behind; nichos are 6-8 inches tall, crosses are about 4 ft tall.	41	85N	w
SL127	Small granito nicho w/ a crown cross Inscribed; "Guillermo Gonzales V. 15 agosto 1988, sus hijos y familia"; mounted on a bridge abutment.	43	120E	s
SL126	Concrete, open-faced nicho w/ cross atop gabled roof, fresh	43	120E	n

	flowers inside			
SL125	Concrete flat roofed nicho w/ concrete cross inside; built into a road-cut	44	120E	n
SL124	White concrete, 1m cubed, nicho w/ slightly arched roof w/ wings	44	120E	s
SL123	White concrete, open-faced nicho, 3ft square x 4ft tall, with gable roof	46	120E	s
SL122	<p>3 nichos and 3 crosses. The furthest west nicho is yellow concrete nicho w/ broken NSGuad statue, 2 plain roman crosses leaning up against the front, one with the initials; "R.M.M. 11 sept 1986" the other "A.V.V. 11 sept 1986."</p> <p>Inside is a heart-shaped wreath and has an 8x10 image of a sleeping baby and a cross & crown of thorns on the vertical arm, implying that one of these persons was a child.</p> <p>Between the 2 crosses lies another wreath and a print of St. Francis of Assisi helping Christ down from the cross with 2 angels in the background.</p> <p>To the side is a granito crown cross inscribed; "Sr. Rufino Morales, 11 sept 1986"</p> <p>Next to that is a concrete double nicho containing 3 spindle-type crosses, one in each niche and one in the middle. They are all hand-carved with names & dates, but are no longer legible. In the middle is a blue concrete cross with a small crucifix at the junction; "Ave Maria Purissima"</p> <p>The third nicho is a metal box-type w/ a wooden spindle-cross inside & a wreath and wilted marigolds, a very nice stylized center scroll which is no longer legible. Behind this nicho is a blue wooden cross that is also illegible.</p>	48	120E	s
SL121	Black metal cross w/ wreath; there are cement bags laying about the area, quite possibly a very recent recuerdo	53	120E	s
SL120	"Cristobal E. Vasquez Gutierrez, 4 oct 1969, 20enero 1993" on a large granito clover cross inside of a white concrete, gable-roofed open nicho with corner pillars supporting the roof; 1.5m tall.	58	120E	s
SL119	Outside of the police station in Ahuacatlan; an open shrine to NSGuad. It is white & blue concrete w/ cross atop flat roof, has flowers on the 4 pillars which support the roof and covers a 5' tall statue of NSGuad. There is a plaque which reads: "Recuerdo de ano jubilar mariano monumento construido con per. ecles. Y sed. exmo. Sr. Obispo Juvancio Gonzales parroccio de esta lugar federigo shmit y legion de maria, Ahuacatlan de J., SLP, 31-7-88" There are 6 wilted bouquets beneath the plaque.	60	120E	s
SL118	Concrete box-type nicho w/ cross centered on rear	60	120E	n
SL117	Turquoise concrete cross on large concrete pedestal (1m square x 0.5m tall)	61	120E	n
SL116	Concrete 2-tiered box-type nicho w/ cross w/ wreath atop	64	120E	n
wB54	QT/SL; end W4	66	120E	

APPENDIX B
CENTRAL MEXICO DATA TABLES

Table B7.1: Jalisco

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB29	NT/JL boundary; transect L3	0	200S	
JL31	White concrete cross attached to a fence	3	200S	w
JL32	2 white concrete nichos	10	200S	e
JL33	White metal outline-type cross w/ filigrees on a brick pedestal built into a brick wall at roadside overlook	11	200S	w
JL34	Pink concrete, box- nicho facing the sea at 45 degree angle to road	11	200S	
JL35	2 white concrete crosses	13	200S	w
JL36	Natural concrete nicho, 18" cubed, gable-roofed w/ ridge flattened w/ black metal cross w/ red flowers on it centered in the rear.	17	200S	e
JL37	White concrete Maltese style cross on pedestal	20	200S	w
JL38	White concrete, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	22	200S	w
JL39	3 white concrete crosses w/ 2 urns on the outside of them; all on a single pedestal	29	200S	e
JL40	White concrete cross	32	200S	w
JL41	Complex of three nichos and four crosses. Cross: "Jesus Salas Rodriguez, murio aug 1, 1982; recuerdo de sus familiares, companeros" Next cross: name unclear but the date is the same. Third cross: "?? Gonzales". Fourth cross: "Hector del ? Valdez, aug 1, 1982"	34	200S	e
JL42	White concrete cross "J. Alfredo Davilas" on a brick pedestal that is moldy	34	200S	e
JL43	Small white concrete cross "Ezequiel Lopez"	34	200S	w
JL44	White concrete clover-cross; next to a bridge on the outskirts of El Tuito	35	200S	e
JL45	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns, many visitation pebbles "Manuel"; had black WI fence around it	36	200S	e
JL46	3 concrete crown-type crosses on a pedestal	38	200S	w
JL47	4 white concrete crosses	42	200S	e
JL48	2 white concrete crown-type crosses	45	200S	e
JL49	Rusted metal cross	49	200S	w
JL50	White concrete cross	49	200S	w
JL51	Black metal outline-type cross, inter-arm filigrees, center name plate, on pedestal	51	200S	w
JL52	Large sea shell shaped nicho w/ black WI gate "Juan ?" 1m sq at base & 2m tall	59	200S	e
JL53	White concrete cross	60	200S	w
JL54	White A-frame nicho, 1' tall, w/ white concrete cross behind that is 3' tall	60	200S	w
JL55	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns on blue tile base	61	200S	w
JL56	Rusted metal cross with oval-shaped arms	61	200S	e
JL57	White concrete cross "Jose"	63	200S	w
JL58	White concrete cross "Jesus Hernandez"	67	200S	w
JL59	Red metal cross "Jose ?"	67	200S	e
JL60	3 white concrete crosses	68	200S	e

JL61	White concrete cross, partially buried in an earth slump	75	200S	e
JL62	White concrete nicho w/cross	81	200S	w
JL63	White concrete nicho w/cross	81	200S	w
JL64	Wood cross	83	200S	e
JL65	Natural concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ wood cross behind it. No dimension larger than 1m	85	200S	e
JL66	Blue wood cross	85	200S	w
JL67	White concrete, home-made cross	89	200S	w
JL68	2 white concrete, home-made crosses	92	200S	e
JL69	White metal outline-type cross on white concrete pedestal	92	200S	
JL70	Small concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 1m metal cross behind it & directly in front of it another small wood cross.	94	200S	w
JL71	Concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ white cross atop & visitation pebbles atop the nicho & on cross arms	106	200S	w
JL72	White granito cross	108	200S	e
JL73	White concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white cross centered in rear	117	200S	e
JL74	White concrete cross	118	200S	e
JL75	Cross covered by disintegrated wreath	118	200S	w
JL76	Natural wood cross, 1m tall	122	200S	w
JL77	Concrete flat-roofed nicho w/ 1m tall black wooden cross behind & red & white wreath on the cross	128	200S	w
JL78	Black metal outline-type cross on pedestal	130	200S	w
JL79	Natural wood cross, 1m tall	131	200S	e
JL80	Yellow tile cross, 1m tall, on concrete pedestal	132	200S	w
JL81	White wood cross, set in concrete	135	200S	w
JL82	White concrete cross	135	200S	w
JL83	Small brick, flat-roofed & concrete nicho w/ concrete & blue tile cross centered in rear	135	200S	w
JL84	2 concrete box-type nichos w/ crosses centered in rear	138	200S	e
JL85	2 concrete nichos w/crosses	138	200S	w
JL86	White granito nicho w/ roman style cross centered in rear	139	200S	w
JL87	White concrete cross on pedestal, 1m+	140	200S	w
JL88	Nicho w/cross; 1.5m tall	140	200S	e
JL89	Natural wood cross, 0.5m tall on concrete base	141	200S	w
JL90	White metal cross on large pedestal, cross hard to see because of floral wreath	142	200S	e
JL91	White concrete roman style cross on a pedestal	142	200S	w
JL92	Concrete nicho w/ cross in rear & covered with flowers	145	200S	e
JL93	White wood cross on pedestal	145	200S	e
JL94	White wood cross on pedestal	145		w
JL95	3m tall white metal outline-type cross on concrete pedestal	145	200S	
JL96	Concrete cross (natural) on pedestal	145	200S	e
wB30	Boundary Jalisco/Colima; end L3, Jalisco	147	200S	
wB50	Boundary ZT/JL; transect W3a	0	54W	
JL97	Pink shrine with white columns on each corner, has a blue tiled facade with a concrete crucifix atop; and is just inside a	0	54W	s

	black volcanic rock fence which marks the private property line. The central figure is a 4 foot tall statue of Virgin of Guadalupe. It is very clean, totally tiled on the inside; there is a Mexican flag in one corner, are identical vases and flowers on either side of the statue and a bouquet of yellow roses (artificial) in a homemade holder of rough-cut wood with the bark on it, and 2 votive candles, unlit. There are places to pull over on both sides of the road, and whoever owns the property has arranged the fence in such a way that at the end of the well-worn trail there is a way to step over it.			
JL98	4 white concrete crosses on a 2-step pedestal	2	54W	s
JL99	White concrete cross	3	54W	s
JL100	White metal cross	5	54W	s
JL101	White metal outline type cross	5	54W	n
JL102	Tan concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/concrete cross center in rear, 1m sq x 2m tall	11	54W	s
JL103	Stone & concrete, box-type nicho w/ white metal cross centered in rear	14	54W	s
JL104	White granito cross on 3-tiered concrete pedestal	15	54W	n
JL105	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	15	54W	s
JL106	Blue & white tile nicho, 1m cubed, w/ blue tiled pedestal & a white tiled beehive nicho w/ white concrete cross, centered in the rear.	16	54W	s
JL107	Arch-roof, concrete nicho w/white metal cross centered on rear faced away from road	17	54W	
JL108	White metal cross w/scroll & white granito nicho & wedge pedestal & crucifix;"Sr Rosaldo Lopez Mayoral, aug 29, 37/oct 23, 83, DEP, en este lugar quedo tu cuerpo dios guarda tu alma y nosotros tu recuerdo, tus hijos y hermanos" on the sides are 2 urns, visitation pebbles & all are inside a WI fence.	19	54W	s
JL109	White metal nicho w/cross on concrete arch-roof	19	54W	s
JL110	White metal cross; "Freddy"	20	54W	s
JL111	White concrete cross on concrete pedestal	21	54W	s
JL112	Gabled-roof nicho w/2m tall cross	22	54W	n
JL113	White wood cross	25	54W	s
JL114	White metal cross on brick pillar	27	54W	s
JL115	White metal cross on concrete pillar with filigree and scroll	27	54W	s
JL116	Black metal cross w/ wreath	27	54W	n
JL117	Brick nicho w/black cross & visitation pebbles; "ISF"	28	54W	n
JL118	White metal cross w/ wreath; on a bridge	29	54W	n
JL119	White metal cross w/ wreath; on a bridge	29	54W	s
JL120	White metal outline type cross w/ "F" in crux, filigree, wreath	31	54W	n
JL121	White metal cross	36	54W	n
JL122	White metal cross w/black tips	37	54W	s
JL123	2 white metal crosses w/scrolls	38	54W	s
JL124	2 white metal crosses w/ wreaths	38	54W	n
JL125	Marble (?) nicho "Aqui fallacio..."	39	54W	n

JL126	White concrete cross	39	54W	s
JL127	White concrete cross on concrete pedestal	39	54W	n
JL128	Black metal cross w/filigree & scroll	39	54W	s
JL129	White concrete cross	40	54W	s
JL130	1 silver cross and 1 white concrete cross	40	54W	n
JL131	White metal cross w/scroll	41	54W	n
JL132	Blue nicho	41	54W	s
JL133	White metal cross	41	54W	n
JL134	White metal cross w/scroll	42	54W	s
JL135	Black metal cross w/ wreath	42	54W	s
JL136	Unpainted metal cross w/scroll	43	54W	n
JL26	Black metal outline type cross	46	15N	e
JL27	White concrete roman-type cross	46	15N	e
JL28	Blue tile, gable-roofed nicho	50	15N	e
JL29	2.5x2x2.5m white concrete shrine, gabled tile roof & black metal locked door. On the outside of the window there is an 'oracion al nino de los palomitos', inside is a wood & glass cabinet containing a St. Jude statue, above it is an oval wood framed image of NS Guadalupe, to its right is another Virgin with a crown & crowned Christ child and images of people burning & angels lifting them out of the flames. On the other wall is an 8x10 Jesus Sacred Heart print with wood frame. 6 vases full of imitation flowers, large floral wreath, 7 votive candles (2 are lit).	51	15N	E
JL30	Dome-shaped, red-white & green brick nicho w/red WI gate & hand-made image of NSGuad & 6 cans of artificial flowers. It is next to a bar/restaurant, at jct. of the free road & toll road to Tepic.	51	15N	E
wB27	Boundary Jalisco/Nayarit; end W3a, Jalisco	101	15N	
wB26	Boundary Aguascalientes /Jalisco; transect W3b	0	45S	
JL01	Small white concrete, open-faced nicho w/ white cross inside. On the free road just south of the toll road and free road split	0	45S	e
JL02	White concrete cross	1	45S	w
JL03	White concrete cross on brick pedestal	1	45S	w
JL04	3 white concrete clover-type crosses	1	45S	e
JL05	White concrete clover-cross & white concrete roman-cross	1	45S	e
JL06	2 white concrete crosses on a pedestal	2	45S	w
JL07	White metal outline-type cross	2	45S	e
JL08	White concrete roman-type cross	2	45S	w
JL09	3 crosses all white concrete	3	45S	e
JL10	2 white concrete crosses	3	45S	w
JL11	3 white metal crosses	3	45S	e
JL12	Large brick and concrete shrine to NS Guadalupe. 2m tall statue of same with tri-color backdrop, florescent lighting, silk flower arrangements, 4 milagros. Padlocked & has small niche outside for votive candles	6	45S	W
JL13	White metal cross w/large diamond-shaped name plate. "Maria Magdalena Gallardo nacio 1973 murio 1984"	6	45S	w

JL14	White metal outline-type cross on concrete pedestal	7	45S	w
JL15	White concrete roman-type crucifix on pedestal	7	45S	e
wJL02	Intersection 45S & 80W to San Juan de los Lagos	8	80W	
JL16	Black metal cross w/ center plate "William" ?	9	80W	n
JL17	White metal outline-cross on concrete pedestal	10	80W	s
JL18	2m tall bronze-colored cross w/prefabricated arch behind	11	80W	s
JL19	White metal cross on concrete pedestal. "Issac"	16	80W	n
JL20	White concrete nicho w/ white cross atop. "Jamie Guzman M. 6-7-69, 25-6-95, recuerdo de la familia Guzman Marquez" lots of visitation pebbles	16	80W	n
JL21	White metal outline-cross, painted green, white & red, mounted on the top of a fence on the outskirts of San Juan	25	80W	s
JL22	2 white concrete crosses on pedestals	25	80W	s
JL23	Green metal cross w/center name plate	34	80S	w
JL24	White concrete, open-faced, arch-roofed nicho w/crucifix inside with a stylized Christ figure	43	80S	w
JL25	White concrete, open-faced, arch-roofed nicho and 2 white concrete crosses. At the end of the autopista (80) & at the beginning of Rte.90 @ Zapotlanejo	96	80S	w
wJL15a	Guadalajara	96	54W	
JL137	Concrete cross	111	54S	w
JL138	Black metal cross w/large wreath	111	54S	m
JL139	2 white metal crosses w/filigrees & scrolls	111	54S	m
JL140	White metal cross w/scroll	113	54S	m
JL141	Double white granito nicho	113	54S	w
JL142	White granito nicho w/cross	114	54S	w
JL143	Large white granito cross on pedestal w/brass plate	114	54S	m
JL144	White concrete cross on pedestal	115	54S	e
JL145	Brick nicho w/ 2 white metal crosses	116	54S	w
JL146	Cross w/ wreath	116	54S	w
JL147	5 crosses w/ wreaths	116	54S	e
JL148	2 white pipe crosses w/ wreaths	117	54S	w
JL149	White concrete nicho w/ NSGuad plaque	117	54S	e
JL150	White metal cross	118	54S	m
JL151	White concrete cross on brick pedestal	120	54S	e
JL152	Green and white cross w/wreath	121	54S	e
JL153	Shrine	123	54S	w
JL154	White concrete cross on pedestal	123	54S	w
JL155	White concrete cross	125	54S	w
JL156	Blue nicho w/white cross	127	54S	e
JL157	White granito cross	127	54S	w
JL158	White concrete cross	129	54S	m
JL159	White concrete cross on wedge pedestal w/photo of a young male	130	54S	m
JL160	2 white concrete crosses	132	54S	m
JL161	White metal outline-cross	133	54S	m
JL162	White granito nicho w/cross atop	137	54S	w
JL163	White granito cross	137	54S	m

JL164	1 white concrete cross and 1 white metal cross	137	54S	m
JL165	2 white concrete crosses on concrete pedestal	137	54S	e
JL166	White concrete cross and 1 white metal cross	138	54S	m
JL167	White granito nicho w/cross atop	138	54S	w
JL168	White concrete cross w/white WI fence	141	54S	m
JL169	White granito nicho w/cross atop	141	54S	m
JL170	White concrete cross	141	54S	m
JL171	White granito nicho w/cross & 2 urns	141	54S	m
JL172	White granito cross and a nicho	142	54S	m
JL173	White concrete cross	149	54S	w
JL174	2 white metal crosses	149	54S	m
JL175	White concrete cross: "Jose" mounted in a pile of red volcanic rocks (the rocks don't match anything around here, had to have been brought in from elsewhere)	150	54S	m
JL176	Cross, data lost		54S	
JL177	Cross, data lost		54S	
JL178	White concrete cross	153	54S	m
JL179	White concrete cross	153	54S	m
JL180	White granito, crown-type cross	154	54S	m
JL181	Brown metal cross w/scroll	157	54S	m
JL182	White granito cross on pedestal w/wreath	157	54S	m
JL183	1 white metal outline cross, 1 white granito cross	162	54S	e
JL184	White concrete cross	162	54S	m
JL185	White granito cross	162	54S	m
JL186	3m tall gray metal cross on stone & concrete pedestal	164	54S	w
JL187	5 white metal crosses, one smaller, otherwise all identical	165	54S	e
JL188	White concrete cross in white WI fence	167	54S	w
JL189	3 white concrete crosses	167	54S	e
JL190	2 white granito crosses & 2 urns & wreath	170	54S	w
JL191	White concrete cross	172	54S	e
JL192	White granito nicho w/large cross atop	176	54S	w
JL193	White pipe cross w/scroll	177	54S	e
JL194	White concrete cross w/white WI fence	178	54S	w
JL195	White concrete cross	178	54S	e
JL196	3 white metal crosses	179	54S	e
JL197	White concrete gabled-roof nicho and 2 white metal crosses w/scrolls on either side	179	54S	e
JL198	White concrete cross on pedestal	185	54S	w
JL199	Cross covered by wreath	188	54S	w
JL200	White granito cross	189	54S	e
JL201	White concrete cross on pedestal w/corporate logo	190	54S	e
JL202	Gray metal nicho with cross in front	196	54S	w
wB51	Border JL/CO; end W3b, Jalisco	202	54S	

Table B7.2: Michoacán

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB31	Boundary CO/MC; transect L3	0	200S	
MC01	White metal cross w/ wreath @ jct of road to Coahuayana	0	200S	w
MC02	White concrete cross w/ wreath	1	200S	w
MC03	Blue tile nicho, looks like it used to have a cross atop	2	200S	w
MC04	Black metal cross w/ wreath	3	200S	e
MC05	White concrete nicho & cross, 1m tall	5	200S	w
MC06	Brick shrine about 3x2x3m w/ white cross centered in front & plate under: "Virgin Santissima del Rosario de Talpa, Jalisco acompaname en me camino con tu bendicion haste me tapa con los enios defendinos te lo suplico por tu hijo Amado Ruega por nuestros, Amen te increemos" Inside is a brass and glass framed print of the Virgin of Talpa about 18x24"; there are 9 votive candles and some silk flowers.	6	200S	e
MC07	White concrete cross w/ light blue wreath	7	200S	e
MC08	Tan metal cross on 1m tall concrete pedestal	9	200S	w
MC09	Light blue homemade concrete cross	9	200S	w
MC10	Blue metal cross	9	200S	e
MC11	5.m tall cross on a 1.5m tall pedestal	9	200S	w
MC12	White, homemade concrete cross	9	200S	w
MC13	Pink, concrete A-frame nicho, 1ft. tall w/ pink cross behind	10	200S	w
MC14	White concrete cross w/ purple & white wreath "Emilio"	11	200S	w
MC15	A shrine up on a bluff over the Pacific Ocean. White with dark blue & a red gabled roof with a white cross centered in the middle. To the Virgin of Guadalupe, one print is new with a beautiful wood frame. There's a Jesus Sacred Heart with the head missing, and a small print of the virgin and child, about a dozen votive candles and one is burning. Looks like there's a pile of pesos there as well, some dried up flowers. Beautiful spot.	13	200S	
MC16	Turquoise nicho, 2ft tall, white cross in rear, about 2m tall	17	200S	e
MC17	White concrete cross	18	200S	w
MC18	Blue nicho w/ 4 blue metal crosses atop, 2m tall & 1m sq.	19	200S	
MC19	3 blue wood crosses, 1m+ tall	28	200S	w
MC20	Natural wood cross; 1m+ tall	29	200S	e
MC21	Silver-colored metal cross on pedestal w/ old white wreath	29	200S	e
MC22	White wood cross on a pedestal w/ multi-colored wreath	61	200S	w
MC23	Small metal & glass nicho box w/ NSGuad image & lots of flowers. Under it is an oven liner that is now a votive box and has several candles burning.	62	200S	w
MC24	Natural wood cross on concrete pedestal	63	200S	w
MC25	2 sky blue wood crosses on concrete pedestals	72	200S	w
MC26	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	81	200S	e
MC27	Next to a restaurant (great seafood!) is a small shrine on a bluff overlooking the ocean. Inside is a print of the Virgin Mary & Christ child, and 2 saints that I do not recognize. Great ocean view!	83	200S	w
MC28	Natural wood cross made of stakes	88	200S	w

MC29	Built into a road cut on a hard curve; concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white concrete cross, centered in rear.	89	200S	e
MC30	Wood cross on concrete pedestal; 1m tall	92	200S	w
MC31	1x1x1 shed-roofed shrine to NSGuad	96	200S	e
MC32	Turquoise wood cross	101	200S	e
MC33	White concrete cross; "Moises"	103	200S	w
MC34	Natural wood cross	106	200S	w
MC35	White metal cross; "Joven Eugenio"	107	200S	w
MC36	White concrete cross	107	200S	e
MC37	White concrete cross	107	200S	e
MC38	Natural wood cross	108	200S	w
MC39	Gray metal nicho up on a bank	108	200S	w
MC40	White concrete cross, attached to a bridge	109	200S	
MC41	Blue metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ red flowers	112	200S	w
MC42	2 black wood crosses	116	200S	e
MC43	White concrete, Maltese-style cross	121	200S	w
MC44	Blue pipe-type cross w/ wreath	122	200S	e
MC45	Natural homemade concrete cross	123	200S	e
MC46	White concrete cross	124	200S	e
MC47	White concrete cross w/ wreath	124	200S	w
MC48	Turquoise metal cross square tubular type metal	124	200S	w
MC49	3 white concrete crosses	126	200S	w
MC50	White concrete 1m+ tall cross that is fallen over	126	200S	e
MC51	White concrete cross	127	200S	e
MC52	White concrete cross; "Lorenzo"	129	200S	e
MC53	White wooden 2x4 type cross	130	200S	w
MC54	1 brown & 1 white wooden cross	131	200S	w
MC55	White concrete cross, urns on sides; cross has fallen over	131	200S	w
MC56	White concrete, Maltese-style cross	136	200S	w
MC57	Concrete, 2.5m tall, roman-style cross on a pedestal	136	200S	e
MC58	White concrete, roman-style cross	137	200S	e
MC59	2m tall Roman cross laying down, w/urns on either side, enclosed in silver-colored WI fence w/ tin shed roof on posts	138	200S	w
MC60	White concrete cross	140	200S	w
MC61	Blue concrete cross under a shed roof w/ WI fence	140	200S	e
MC62	Black metal cross	141	200S	e
MC63	Light blue metal cross w/ center name plate	141	200S	e
MC64	Black metal cross w/ center name scroll	141	200S	e
MC65	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees	141	200S	w
MC66	White metal cross w/ center name scroll on concrete pad	142	200S	w
MC67	2 white concrete crosses w/ red WI fence around them	143	200S	w
MC68	Small white metal cross w/ WI fence around it	144	200S	w
MC69	1 white concrete & 1 white pipe-type cross	144	200S	w
wMC05	Lazaro Cardenas	149	200S	
MC70	Large (1m+) white granito Roman cross, curved; stylized w/ relief	174	200S	w
MC71	Black metal cross w/ center name plate	175	200S	w
MC72	White metal cross w/ pointed tips & square name plate	176	200S	e

wB32	MC/GR; end transect L3, Michoacán	178	200S	
wB52	Boundary GT/MC; transect W4	0	120E	
MC301	White granito cross w/ solid sun-ray around the crux	3	120E	n
MC300	White metal cross w/ center scroll	4	120E	s
MC299	Black metal cross w/ blue wreath	6	120E	s
MC298	Black metal cross on a pedestal	6	120E	s
MC297	Black metal cross w/ roofed center scroll	7	120E	s
MC296	White metal cross w/ blue & white wreath	8	51N	e
MC295	White metal cross w/ blue & white wreath	9	51N	e
MC294	Black metal cross w/ wreath	9	51N	e
MC293	White metal cross w/ roof & wreath	10	126E	s
MC292	White granito clover-type cross w/ wreath	12	126E	s
MC291	2 crosses one atop the other, both w/ wreath	12	126E	n
MC289	White metal cross	12	126E	n
MC290	Cross, w/ wreath	12	126E	s
MC288	Cross, w/ wreath	12	126E	n
MC287	White metal cross w/ wreath & prickly pear plantings	13	126E	s
MC286	Large unpainted concrete nicho w/ 3 crosses atop, wreaths hanging from each one, 1m square & 2m tall	14	126E	s
MC285	Black metal cross w/ wreath	16	126E	s
MC284	Light blue metal cross w/ white wreath	16	126E	s
MC283	White concrete cross w/ white wreath	17	126E	s
MC282	2 white metal crosses w/ wreaths	18	126E	n
MC281	White metal cross & large granito wedge monument	18	126E	n
MC280	Light blue metal cross w/ diamond-shaped center scroll	18	126E	n
MC279	4 black metal crosses covered by wreaths, 2nd pair were 10m east of the 1st pair	19	126E	n
MC278	Cross, covered by large wreath	19	126E	n
MC277	White metal cross w/ red wreath	19	126E	s
MC276	Large white concrete village cross w/ flowers on it	20	126E	
MC275	Black metal cross w/ roofed diamond-shaped center scroll	21	126E	s
MC274	3 black metal crosses, 1 covered with red wreath	21	126E	s
MC273	Cross, covered by blue & white wreath	22	126E	s
MC272	8 crosses, each w/ wreaths, 7 black and 1 white	23	126E	s
MC271	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	24	126E	n
MC270	Blue & white metal pole nicho, gable-roofed, 1ft cubed	25	126E	s
MC269	White metal cross w/ black center scroll inscribed in white	28	126E	n
MC268	White metal outline-type cross; covered w/ wreaths	32	126E	s
MC267	White wood gable-roofed nicho	33	126E	n
MC266	White pipe-type cross w/center scroll	34	126E	n
MC265	White metal cross w/wreath; in Morelia urban area	35	126E	m
MC264	Gray pipe-type cross w/ center scroll	43	14E	s
MC263	Black metal cross w/ center scroll; "R.I.P."	45	14E	s
MC262	White metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	45	14E	m
MC261	3 black metal crosses, 2 identical & 3rd slightly	46	14E	s
MC260	White concrete cross w/ blue Christ figure on it, 2m tall w/yellow WI fence	47	14E	n
MC259	2 black metal cross	49	14E	s

MC258	Black metal cross	49	14E	s
MC257	Red pipe-type cross w/ center scroll w/ fresh wreath	50	14E	s
MC256	White metal cross w/ roofed center scroll	51	14E	m
MC255	White concrete cross	52	14E	s
MC254	Black metal cross w/ blue wreath	52	14E	m
MC253	2 white concrete crosses (?) both covered with wreaths	53	14E	s
MC252	White granito crown-type cross w/ wreath	57	14E	m
MC251	Black metal cross w/ wreath	58	14E	s
MC250	3 identical black metal crosses w/ center scrolls & filigrees	58	14E	m
MC249	Black pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & wreath	60	14E	m
MC248	White metal cross; center scroll & filigrees	60	14E	s
MC247	2 white metal crosses, stacked, w/scrolls, filigrees	61	14E	s
MC246	Cross, w/ wreath	62	14E	
MC245	White metal cross w/ pointed tips	63	14E	m
MC244	Cross, covered by wreath	63	14E	m
MC243	White concrete cross, fallen over	65	14E	s
MC242	Black metal cross	65	14E	s
MC241	White concrete cross	65	14E	s
MC240	White metal cross	66	14E	s
MC239	White metal outline-type cross	66	14E	m
MC238	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & wreath	66	14E	m
MC237	Cross covered by blue & white wreath	68	14E	s
MC236	White metal cross	68	14E	s
MC235	White concrete cross w/ pointed tips	69	14E	s
MC234	Gray metal cross w/ center scroll	69	14E	m
MC232	Cross	70	14E	n
MC233	White concrete cross	70	14E	m
MC231	Black metal cross	70	14E	m
MC230	White metal cross w/ center scroll, the tops & ends of the horizontal arms have doves on them	71	14E	m
MC229	White metal cross w/ center scroll & wreath	72	14E	s
MC228	Shrine, built into a stone wall, a small niche w/ a print of the Virgin de Salud (of Patzcuaro)	73	14E	
MC227	2 white metal crosses about 5m apart, one w/ center scroll	74	14E	n
MC226	White metal cross w/ center scroll & wreath	74	14E	n
MC225	White metal, 2 wood, & 1 white concrete cross	75	14E	s
MC224	Black metal cross w/ center scroll, filigrees & fresh wreath	76	14E	n
MC223	White concrete cross	77	14E	n
MC222	2 white metal crosses w/ center scrolls	78	14E	n
MC221	Cross covered by large wreath	81	14E	s
MC220	White metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	82	14E	n
MC219	Large blue A-frame shrine to NSGuad; 5m x 3m x 4m tall.	84	14E	
MC218	2 white metal crosses & 2 black metal crosses. The white crosses are to 2 ninas; a 10 year-old & one almost a year old. The black crosses are for 2 adult males, 50 years old and unknown. All died Aug 2, 1998.	84	14E	n
MC217	White metal cross w/ center scroll	86	14E	n
MC216	Shrine in a village where 14 goes off to Huiramangaro.	86	14E	n

	Inside is a Virgin of Guadalupe, glass & metal cabinet about 4 feet tall; to the left of that is a Christ crucified which reads, "Senor, perdonalos porque no saben lo que hacen." In front of the Virgin of Guadalupe image is an 8x10 print of same, in front of that is glass encased black Christ crucified; next to that is another Virgin, "Virgin del ?tahal"; and next to that is a rock-art thing featuring the Virgin of Guadalupe. Then there's an altar table and a man's picture and it reads, "Senor Antonio Servin H. nacio 10 junio 1926, murio 8 de enero 1996, aunque tu tefuiste de este mundo siempre tu recuerdo viviera en nuestros corozons, esposo y padre recuerda de tu esposa, hijas, familiars y 'amigos.'" Above the door is a hand-carved wooden portal header. This is 21km from Patzcuaro.			
MC215	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross in rear	86	14E	s
MC213	White granito cross	87	14E	s
MC214	White granito cross & 2 black metal crosses	87	14E	n
MC212	White metal cross w/ center scroll	87	14E	n
MC211	Gray metal cross w/ scroll & white granito cross w/ vase	88	14E	s
MC210	Gray metal cross w/ filigrees, center scroll	89	14E	n
MC209	2 black metal crosses w/ diamond-shaped, roofed scrolls; identical & both w/ wreaths	91	14E	n
MC208	Black metal cross w/ scroll, roof over the upright arm & wreath	93	14E	s
MC206	White metal cross w/ wreath	93	14E	s
MC207	White concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop, metal & glass door and inside of a WI fence	93	14E	s
MC205	3 identical white metal crosses, 1 gold-painted cross, and another white metal (unlike the other 3). All 5 have fresh wreaths.	95	14E	s
MC204	Turquoise 1x2 finished wood cross	96	14E	s
MC203	2m tall concrete cross on a 3-tiered pedestal. The pedestal is 1m cubed. Inside of a wood post & thatched roof shelter.	96	14E	s
MC202	White metal cross w/ center scroll	97	14E	n
MC201	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & wreath	97	14E	s
MC200	Metal & glass, 1m cubed shrine to NSGuad	97	14E	n
MC199	Stylized granito cross w/ nicho box in the base, the cross part had twisted & bent arm; wreath	99	14E	n
MC198	White granito nicho w/ cross atop; and a black metal cross w/ center scroll	100	14E	n
MC197	6" tall, arch-roofed concrete nicho w/ black metal cross behind it & large wreath	101	14E	s
MC196	White metal cross w/ center scroll & large wreath	102	14E	s
MC195	Open-faced shrine to NSGuad, facing opposite direction	103	14E	s
MC194	Large concrete cross w/ flared tips & 4" thick arms & 1 small blue metal cross; both covered by wreaths	103	14E	s
MC193	Metal nicho w/ green cross atop front with reflectors on it, arched roof & has a very large wreath	104	14E	n
MC192	White metal cross w/ blue wreath	104	14E	s

MC191	4 white metal crosses on a pedestal w/ scrolls & filigrees	105	14E	s
MC190	Nicho roughly made of concrete and a piece of corrugated metal bent into an arched roof over a blue metal cross.	105	14E	s
MC189	Open-faced, unpainted concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear, 1m cubed; wreath	106	14E	n
MC188	Black metal cross; "Juan"	106	14E	n
MC187	2 white metal crosses	106	14E	n
MC186	White granito nicho w/ pillars in front, gabled roof	106	14E	n
MC185	Cross, covered by 2 wreaths	108	14E	s
MC184	White metal cross w/ blue & white wreath	109	14E	s
MC183	White metal cross w/ wreath	109	14E	s
MC182	Black metal cross w/ wreath	109	14E	n
MC181	2 white metal crosses w/ center scrolls, identical w/ black hand-painted inscriptions; one read, "Joven something"	111	37E	n
MC180	White metal cross w/ center scroll & wreath	112	37E	n
MC179	Green metal cross w/ center scroll & wreath	112	37E	n
MC178	White granito nicho, 2ft tall, on pedestal w/ black metal & glass door; inside is a statue of an angel. (child death?)	114	37E	n
MC177	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & wreath	115	37E	s
MC176	Black metal cross w/ scroll & wreath hung on the top arm	115	37E	s
MC175	Metal nicho nailed to a tree	115	37E	n
MC174	Blue metal cross w/ red wreath	116	37E	s
MC173	Homemade concrete cross w/ arms 4" thick, mounted in concrete base & built into a road cut on a hard curve, 2m tall.	116	37E	s
MC172	Shrine, 10m deep, 5m wide & 12m tall w/ a copula atop a flat roof & a large metal cross atop the copula. "1984[?]-1984 ano santo de la redencion". Inside is a framed tile image of Christ crucified, NSGuad, Satan, an angel and a child. This site is alongside of the road, near a house.	117	37E	s
MC171	White granito cross	117	37E	s
MC170	Black metal cross w/ red & white DODO	118	37E	n
MC169	Concrete, flat-roofed nicho w/ concrete cross center atop front; inside is a San Judas image	119	37E	n
MC168	Metal nicho, 1ft square & 1ft tall w/ gabled roof, sides have crosses of reflective tape; inside is NSGuad print	119	37E	n
MC167	Black pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & pointed tips	120	37E	n
MC166	Blue metal cross w/ scroll in WI fence w/ WI top covering.	122	37E	s
MC165	3 nichos: a pole nicho featuring San Ramon along w/ a votive candle. There's a 2-part shrine; the top part is a nicho that reads: "Sanchez" across the arch of the nicho & on the base it reads; "Recuerdo de familia Solis"; there is a very white Virgin Mary, w/ blonde hair, standing on a globe with rays coming out of her hand. On the bottom is a second nicho. In it is a dark Virgin w/ a crown & halo and a baby Christ superimposed on her white veil, she wears a red dress. To the right of that is a 5x7 of NSGuad. The other is an 8x10 & they both have brass frames & there are 4 votive candles lit. Next to the whole complex is a spring.	123	37E	s
MC164	2 black metal & 1 white granito cross	123	37E	n

MC163	White pipe- cross, 20m off road mounted atop a large rock	124	37E	n
MC162	White granito cross	124	37E	n
MC161	Box nicho w/ wreath	124	37E	n
MC159	Cross, covered w/ wreaths	125	37E	s
MC160	Cross, covered w/ wreaths	125	37E	s
MC158	Yellow finished 2x2 wood cross, fresh wreath	126	37E	s
MC157	Black metal cross; "Jesus Zamorra Allobar, 24 sept 1990"; fresh wreath	126	37E	s
MC156	Open shrine built around tree, Mexican tri-color background, probably to NSGuad	127	37E	s
MC155	2 black metal crosses; both w/ wreaths	127	37E	n
MC154	2 black metal crosses, one smaller than the other, larger had a roof over the vertical arm	127	37E	n
MC153	Cross, covered w/ wreath	129	37E	n
MC152	3 granito crosses; identical & on same concrete footing	131	37E	s
MC151	Black metal cross	131	37E	n
MC150	Nicho	131	37E	s
MC149	White granito cross, partially deteriorated w/ rebar showing	131	37E	s
MC148	White brick nicho w/open front & top w/white granito clover-cross inside, wreath	135	37E	n
MC147	2 white metal crosses w/ wreaths	136	37E	n
MC146	Large white pipe- cross, 2" diameter & 1m tall, scroll	137	37E	n
MC145	Gray metal cross w/ center scroll	138	37E	s
MC144	Black metal cross w/center scroll & wreath	138	37E	s
MC143	White granito cross	139	37E	s
MC142	Black metal cross w/center scroll & wreath	140	37E	s
MC141	White metal cross w/ center scroll	140	37E	s
MC140	Blue & white shrine to NSGuad	140	37E	n
MC139	Black metal cross w/red & white wreath	141	37E	n
MC138	Brick nicho w/ black metal outline-cross centered atop rear of flat roof, 1.5ft cubed	142	37E	s
MC137	White metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	145	37E	s
MC136	White granito nicho w/crosses on either side, 2 urns in front & enclosed in WI fence	145	37E	s
MC134	2 black metal crosses covered by wreaths	150	37E	n
MC135	White metal cross w/ center scroll, pointed tips, filigrees	150	37E	s
MC133	Blue metal cross covered by wreath	150	37E	s
MC131	White metal outline-type cross w/ wreath	151	37E	n
MC132	White granito cross w/ wreaths	151	37E	s
MC130	Cross, covered w/ wreath	151	37E	n
MC129	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ cross, centered atop rear w/ fresh flowers & wreaths; unpainted.	151	37E	n
MC127	Cross; "Joven Oswaldo Garcia Vasquez, recuerdo de su padres" enclosed in WI fence 1m tall & square.	151	37E	s
MC128	4 black metal crosses, all w/ fresh wreaths	151	37E	s
MC126	Black metal cross w/filigrees, center scroll	155	37E	s
MC125	White granito cross	156	37E	s
MC124	Cross, covered w/ wreaths & another made of sticks	157	37E	s

MC123	Black metal cross w/ blue center scroll & filigrees	157	37E	s
MC122	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	157	37E	s
MC121	Cross, covered by wreath	158	37E	n
MC120	Gray metal cross w/ center scroll, angled ends & wreath	158	37E	s
MC119	White metal cross w/ center scroll & fresh wreath	158	37E	n
MC118	White metal cross w/ center scroll	159	37E	s
MC117	Cross covered w/ wreaths; about 1m away a 1' cubed, blue flat roofed brick nicho	163	37E	n
MC116	White pipe-type cross w/center scroll	163	37E	s
MC115	Gray metal & rusted metal crosses, both w/center scrolls	167	37E	s
MC114	Black metal cross w/rays, center scroll & 3-step pedestal	176	37E	s
MC113	White granito nicho w/ 5 crosses atop, fresh wreath, enclosed in 1m tall white WI fence	179	37E	s
MC112	White metal cross w/ scroll & red reflector tape on the arms	179	37E	n
MC111	Blue metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	179	37E	n
MC110	White metal outline-type cross w/filigrees	180	37E	s
MC109	White metal cross w/ center scroll	183	37E	s
MC108	White metal cross w/ center scroll	186	37E	s
MC107	White granito nicho w/ arched roof, cross centered atop front, large wreath on a wire stand leaning against it	189	37E	s
MC106	Black wood cross w/ arrowhead tips painted blue, 4' tall; made of tree limb-type wood	189	37E	s
MC105	Cross, 8" tall looked like re-bar	190	37E	s
MC104	1 tree limb cross and 1 white granito cross, both w/ wreaths	192	37E	s
MC103	Black metal outline-type cross w/ center scroll	193	37E	s
MC102	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; a male name	195	37E	s
MC101	Faded wood, lumber, cross	201	37E	s
MC100	2 white metal (identical) crosses w/ filigrees around diamond-shaped center plate; "Sub-delagada de Prosipias Ing. Laura A. Bolgar Garcia, 6-8-98" and "Inspector de Procipia Ing. Luis Manuel Rubio Lepe, 6-8-98".	206	37E	s
MC99	White metal cross w/ center scroll	206	37E	n
MC98	Black metal outline- cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	207	37E	s
MC97	White granito nicho w/ gabled roof & 2 crosses atop the roof at the same slope as the roof	208	37E	s
MC96	Brown metal cross w/ fresh wreath, enclosed in light blue WI fence	210	37E	s
MC95	White granito cross	210	37E	s
MC94	Light blue pipe-type cross w/ center scroll	212	37E	s
MC92	Nicho inscribed: "Capilla Trailros Mafuco". Inside are 3 crosses one of them says "Viga, Alnulfo Ramirez M. 12-7-97" there is another blue wooden cross and a white wooden cross. There is crucifix, made of 2x4s, the Christ figure is of welded metal. In the left-hand corner is a San Judas and it says in the welding work; "Memoria Arnulfo Ramirez"	212	37E	s
MC93	Wood cross with the same person's name as MC92	212	37E	s
MC91	Small shrine hollowed out of a tree root. There is a San Judas and 2 Christ crucified prints, and 3 votive candles burning. This is unique and looks as though it has been here for a long	215	37E	n

	time. There is candle wax built up in the soil beneath the little shrine, indicating some longevity. This is the first artifact that involved no construction.			
MC90	Black pipe-type cross w/ scroll & fresh wreath	215	37E	n
MC89	Rusted metal cross w/ center scroll	218	37E	s
MC88	4 crosses; white (rusted) metal w/ scroll: "Sr. Victor Manuel Sanchez Z., nacio 23 dic. 1958 muere 11 de abril 1988"; granito crucifix on pedestal: "Victor Manuel Sanchez" same date "Recuerdo de sus companeros y amigos de ATG grupo Busel"; black metal w/ scroll & roof: "Manuel Aguillon Salazar, 19-8-90", white metal w/ scroll, roof, logo of Comission Nacional de Emergencia: "Jose Marin Salazar, 12-8-90"	224	37E	n
MC87	White metal cross w/ fresh wreath	230	37E	n
MC86	White granito cross; "Sra. Consuela Rangel a la edad de 53 anos" w/ 2 urns, wreath, & enclosed in 1m tall WI fence.	231	37E	n
MC85	White metal cross w/ center scroll & pointed tips	237	37E	s
MC84	Nicho 1; about 1m deep, $\frac{3}{4}$ m wide, 1.5m tall with gabled roof and a metal cross, centered in the front. It has 3 step-racks with votive candleholders, a 8x10 print of NSGuad is centered on the rear inside wall, I'm not sure of who the other image is, looks a bit like the Virgin of Juquila. She's a standing virgin with a gold crown, holding a Christ child with a gold flat hat, she has red robe and golden aura around her head. In between the two is what used to be a nicho; it has candle wax running down from it and burnt marks on the rock. So this was probably the original sacred site, built into the rock; I'm guessing that the one on the left, or the western-most nicho [described above] is a replacement for the central one. Nicho 2; An open prefabricated nicho with 3 crosses built into it and three urns; it is inscribed: "Isadoro Padilla Diaz, Luis Abarca Villaneuva, Juan Carlos Arced Naranjos; junio 7, 1989, recuerdo de sus familiars y companeros de Autotransportes Galiana" The central cross is a crucifix and there is a decal on it that reads: "El Senor de los Milagros sedenera in San Juan Nuevo, Michoacan" and the 2 other crosses have little stickers on them that show the Angel de la Guardia, and then on the left one that shows the pope and a crucifix and some sort of a church, it reads: "Santuario del Senor Crucifactado, Mexico.	239	37E	n
MC83	Black pipe-type cross w/ scroll	239	37E	n
MC82	Black metal cross w/ WI fence around it, fresh wreath & flowers, both fresh & paper; death date 1997	243	37E	s
MC81	In the village of El Paguazal is a purple shrine to the Virgin of Guadalupe. This is in a pullover, there is a restaurant next to it. The arch is of pieces of bent wood and there are concrete steps up to it; the shrine itself is about 4m deep, 2m across, made of concrete with a gabled roof about 1.5m tall. Inside it is glass & wood cabinet with a 4.5 tall, very nice,	249	37E	s

	statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe; it has Xmas lights around it, a small crucifix at the bottom, another in a corner, an 8x10 print of NSGuad and a votive candle with a Xmas light in it. Outside of the cabinet, there is Xmas tinsel and lights and bouquets of roses on either side.			
MC80	Granito nicho inscribed; "Sr. Jose Maria Castillo Pestajos[?] Padrisco" has center steeple, 3-tiered w/ cross atop, 2 urns atop flat roof. Visitation pebbles on every level including the cross arms. Died sept 19, 1997. Inside is a small bust of Jesus Sacred Heart, door is locked. A banner that reads: "El Senor mi Dios juzgara el mundo con justicia y a los pueblos con rectitude" Beside the nicho there are 2 wooden crosses and a wreath; no inscription on either.	250	37E	s
MC79	1 white granito cross & 1 black metal cross	250	37E	s
MC78	White granito cross	251	37E	n
MC77	White granito cross, 2m tall, w/ blue stripes across the arms & blue/white wreath	256	37E	s
MC76	White granito cross w/4" thick arms, 18" tall on pedestal; hand inscribed in red & blue: "Charo M1" there is a symbol that looks like the postal logo; "Pablo Penalosa Basurto, fallacio el 28 de marzo 1999,alcones de la costa" has fresh wreaths.	263	37E	s
MC75	Light blue concrete shrine; in wrought iron over the façade of the flat roofed patio portion; "Bendice me Virgincita" The main portion is darker blue w/ steeple, red gable roof w/ metal cross centered in the front. There are about 50 candles burning. Inside the locked wrought iron grating is an unpainted, white plaster wall plaque of the Virgin of Guadalupe, 3 ft tall, and silk and paper floral bouquets. Painted on the side in red is "respeta el lugar" There are 2 wooden benches and a large parking area.	266	37E	s
MC74	White granito cross W/ red wreath on top like a crown	268	37E	s
MC73	Cross, covered w/ wreath; attached to a bridge	269	37E	s
wMC07	End W4 at jct. 37E/200S, La Mira	270	37E	

Table B7.3: Aguascalientes

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
WB25	AG/ZT boundary	0	45S	
AG01	White granito cross with black WI fence around it	1	45S	e
AG02	White metal cross, 1.5m tall; "Recuerdo de tus padres, hermanos y familiares." White concrete cross w/ pebbles "Geraldo Antonio Valesquez Gonzales julio 16, 1969-julio 14, 1991" same name on both crosses	1	45S	
AG03	Large granito crucifix on wedge pedestal: "Rogilio Galvan Torres 27-10-40, 25-11-96 recuerdo de su esposa y hijos. El senor lo gui con la luz por el camino de la verda para que se fue a su divina presienca y que con el comparta el reino de los cielos por toda la eternidad" familia Galvan M. in front are 2 faded turquoise urns. In a 1.5m high WI fence.	2	45S	w
AG04	A large concrete block with the remains of a white wooden cross on it. Concrete is inscribed: "? J. Feliz dec.3 JFLZ"	2	45S	
AG05	Large cross; 1m+ on pedestal enclosed in a white WI fence	4	45S	w
AG06	White concrete cross on homemade concrete pedestal	5	45S	w
AG07	Small box-nicho on a pedestal w/ white concrete cross atop	5	45S	w
AG08	1m cubed white concrete nicho w/aluminum shed roof, w/ white pipe cross atop, auto parts strewn to the side rear	5	45S	w
AG09	White concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho, w/white cross inside at an intersection	6	45S	e
AG10	White metal outline-type cross	7	45S	e
AG11	Black metal cross	7	45S	e
AG12	Black metal cross w/circular name plate, on a pedestal	7	45S	e
AG13	White concrete cross	8	45S	e
AG14	White metal cross w/ white WI fence around it	8	45S	e
AG15	3-tiered pedestal that used to have a cross atop, w/WI fence	9	45S	w
AG16	Black metal cross	9	45S	w
AG17	White concrete cross w/white WI fence around it & 1 small nicho box sitting up on the back of the fence	9	45S	e
AG18	Large white concrete cross	17	45S	e
AG19	2 white concrete crosses w/white WI fence around them	19	45S	e
AG20	2m tall rusted metal cross	19	45S	w
AG21	2 white metal crosses w/ white WI fence around them	19	45S	w
AG22	3m tall brass-colored cross (1m cross, 2m pedestal)	21	45S	w
AG23	White concrete cross w/urns on either side	22	45S	e
AG24	Off to the side in a cloverleaf overpass, a green, white and red shrine mounted up on the side of the overpass, probably to Virgin of Guadalupe	24	45S	e
AG25	White concrete nicho, faced the other direction so I couldn't see anything else about it	25	45S	e
AG26	Black metal cross w/ scroll, just outside Cd. Aguascalientes	30	45S	w
AG27	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & red artificial flowers	31	45S	w
AG28	White concrete cross on pedestal	31	45S	w
AG29	Cross, couldn't see anything but the wreath that covered it	31	45S	w
AG30	Blue nicho w/white metal cross; black metal cross& concrete crucifix behind	32	45S	e

AG31	Large black metal cross w/ blue wreath	32	45S	w
AG32	Silver-colored metal cross w/wreath	32	45S	w
AG33	White metal cross w/diamond-shaped name plate	32	45S	w
AG34	White concrete cross, road has a median now	33	45S	e
AG35	Black pipe-type cross	34	45S	w
AG36	White metal cross	35	45S	m
AG37	Black metal cross	35	45S	m
AG38	Blue metal cross	35	45S	m
AG39	White concrete cross on pedestal, just outside Aguascalientes	45	45S	w
AG40	Black pipe-type cross w/center scroll	46	45S	w
AG41	White concrete cross on pedestal	46	45S	w
AG42	White concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ white concrete cross, centered in the rear. Inside; 18" tall statue of Jesus Sacred Heart. Surrounded by white WI fence.	47	45S	e
AG43	White pipe-type cross	47	45S	w
AG44	Cross, covered with flowers	47	45S	m
AG45	3m tall white wood cross on concrete pedestal. "Jose Luis Lopez"	49	45S	w
AG46	2 black metal crosses w/ center scrolls	50	45S	e
AG47	Silver-colored metal outline-type cross, 1.5m tall	51	45S	e
AG48	White metal outline-type cross	51	45S	e
AG49	White concrete cross on pedestal. "Fco."	52	45S	w
AG40	Black pipe-type cross w/ center scroll	56	45S	w
AG51	White metal cross w/ center scroll	56	45S	w
WB26	AG/JL boundary	58	45S	

Table B7.4: Guanajuato

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB8	Boundary SL/GT; transect L2	0	57S	
GT01	White concrete cross on open brick nicho	2	57S	w
GT02	White pipe cross	5	57S	m
GT03	White pipe cross	18	57S	m
GT04	Black metal cross with black wrought iron fence	20	57S	e
GT05	Black metal cross	20	57S	w
GT06	2 white concrete crosses on open niches with a wrought iron fence around them	20	57S	w
GT07	White concrete cross	21	57S	m
GT08	2 white concrete open niches; good example of built-in, pre-fabricated nicho/cross. Left one has Sacred Heart Jesus bust and votive; right one has a votive and a cigarette.	21	57S	w
GT09	White wood cross	21	57S	m
GT10	White concrete cross on 2-tiered pedestal	25	57S	w
GT11	White concrete clover cross on pedestal	26	57S	w
GT12	Cathedral-like nicho of concrete 1 x 2 x 3m with black wrought iron and glass door. Interior; NS Guadalupe, 2 votives, 2 floral bouquets, and an electric light.	27	57S	w
GT13	Concrete, 1x2x2.5m, pedestal w/ open book and broken centered crucifix	27	57S	w
GT14	White concrete clover cross	29	57S	m
GT15	White concrete cross with white wrought iron fence	31	57S	w
GT16	Black metal cross	31	57S	m
GT17	Brown wood cross	32	57S	m
GT18	2 white concrete crosses with small open niche/pedestal	34	57S	e
GT19	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal with white concrete niche behind	34	57S	w
GT20	White metal cross, black metal cross, small brick nicho	35	57S	w
GT21	2 black metal 'roofed' crosses	43	57S	m
GT22	2 white metal crosses	44	57S	m
GT23	Black metal cross on 2-tiered pedestal	45	57S	m
GT24	White concrete cross in the middle of a pile of rocks	45	57S	w
GT25	Black metal roof-type cross	48	57S	w
GT26	White concrete cross with inscribed concrete wedge and wrought iron fence	48	57S	m
GT27	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	49	57S	m
GT28	Black pipe cross	56	57S	w
GT29	Brown concrete cross	56	57S	w
GT30	White concrete cross over nicho	56	57S	w
GT31	Blue NS Guadalupe shrine next to a restaurant	59	57S	w
GT32	2 black metal crosses w/ hearts in front of a concrete wedge with a black metal cross in back	60	57S	w
GT33	Black metal cross	61	57S	m
GT34	Black metal cross	61	57S	m
GT35	Black metal roof-type cross	62	57S	m
GT36	White metal cross with wreath	64	57S	m

GT37	Black metal cross	64	57S	m
wB9	Boundary GT/QT, end L2, Guanajuato	67	57S	
wB53	Boundary GT/QT, transect W4	0	120E	
GT101	Concrete cross on 3-tiered pedestal w/ wreath & white metal cross w/ center scroll	3	120E	n
GT100	White granito clover-type cross	8	120E	s
GT98	Column w/nicho at base & a Sacred Heart statue at the top	9	120E	s
GT99	2 black metal crosses w/wreaths & 1 white pipe-type w/ center scroll	9	120E	n
GT97	2 concrete crosses	12	120E	n
GT96	Large nicho w/ cherub atop & 2 urns	14	120E	s
GT95	2 white metal crosses, one w/ wreaths	25	120E	n
GT94	Blue concrete cross on pedestal w/ 2 urns in front & wreath	29	120E	s
GT92	See text.	29	120E	s
GT93	See text.	29	120E	s
GT91	Light blue concrete cross on brick pedestal; all homemade	30	120E	s
GT90	Small arch-roofed concrete nicho w/ white metal cross & wreath	32	120E	n
GT89	White metal cross w/ wreaths	33	120E	s
GT88	Small wood cross stuck into some rocks w/ large wreath	33	120E	s
GT87	Black metal cross w/ 2 wreaths	37	120E	n
GT86	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees; "descanso en paz, Margarito Soto, recuerdo de sus nietos" wreath	37	120E	s
GT85	Concrete, 1m cubed pedestal w/ granito nicho, urns, flat-roofed w/ statue of St. Francis of Assisi inside; "Humberto Moreno Arreola, 14 dic 87".	40	120E	s
GT84	White pipe-cross, 6" tall	42	120E	n
GT83	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns, cross atop & Jesus Sacred Heart statue inside the nicho; 2m tall	44	120E	s
GT82	White metal cross, blue concrete pedestal, scroll & filigrees	45	120E	s
GT81	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	46	120E	s
wGT12	Acambaro	47	120E	
GT79	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	52	SR?S	w
GT80	3 concrete, home-made, crosses; partially deteriorated	52	SR?S	e
GT78	White metal cross	53	SR?S	e
GT77	Black metal cross w/ wreath	57	SR?S	e
GT76	Purple shrine to Christ crucified, on both sides is painted "Bendiceme camino padre = Jesus": Inside is a 1 ft tall print carrying the crucifix & fallen to his knees, the gate is locked & several vases a full of fresh flowers.	57	SR?S	w
GT75	White concrete cross w/ wreath, on concrete pedestal; lots of visitation pebbles	58	SR?S	e
GT74	2 white concrete crosses w/ wreaths	60	SR?S	w
GT73	Pink, 1x1x 2m tall shrine, to NSGuad; gabled roof & door	60	SR?S	w
GT72	Small shrine, to NSGuad attached to a fence	62	SR?S	
GT71	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns & fence	63	SR?S	
GT70	3 white metal crosses w/ center scrolls & filigrees within a 3m square, 1m tall white WI fence w/ wreaths	63	SR?S	w

GT69	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	66	SR?S	w
GT68	Cross w/ wreath on 1m cubed concrete pedestal	66	SR?S	e
GT67	White granito cross w/ 2 urns	67	SR?S	w
GT66	White concrete cross w/ 2 urns; on concrete pedestal	67	SR?S	w
GT65	Small niche shrine built into a stone wall, to NSGuad	68	SR?S	w
GT64	White concrete cross	70	SR?E	n
GT63	White granito clover-type cross	70	SR?E	s
GT62	White metal cross nailed onto a tree; wreath	71	SR?E	s
GT61	White granito cross w/ 2 urns, on a 2m tall brick pedestal	73	SR?E	n
GT60	White granito cross on concrete pedestal that has been knocked off its base	75	51N	w
GT59	This is the site where the bus & tanker truck collided. A terrible mass of rubble, but only two black crosses. One is "Benjamin Cardenas, nacio 26 dic 1977- fallacio 13 dic 1999; recuerdo de Cristal Ponce" and the other reads; "R.I.P. Leopoldo Morin Acevedo, 26-8-56, 13-12-99" the numbers aren't even completely painted in yet and there are wilting fresh flowers on both crosses. Kind of an interesting non-grandiose site considering that 31 people died in that wreck. I guess this gives some kind of indication that what one sees on the highway, in terms of recuerdos, isn't always a direct reflection of what actually occurred.	75	51N	w
GT58	White granito cross w/ 2 urns & wreath	75	51N	e
GT57	Black metal cross	78	51N	e
GT56	White granito crown-type cross	81	51N	e
GT55	White concrete cross	83	51N	w
GT54	Cross w/ wreath	86	51N	e
GT52	Dome-roofed, 2m square shrine, to Virgin of Guadalupe	88	51N	w
GT53	5 crosses; 1 black metal w/ diamond-shaped scroll & pointed tips w/ blue hand-painted inscription-"Sra. Concepcion", 1 white metal w/ pointed tips & roofed square scroll-"Srta. Carolinia", 1 black metal outline-type w/ roofed diamond-shaped scroll & star-shaped fancy work-"Sra.", 1 black pipe-type w/ filigrees & scroll, 1 white concrete w/ pointed tips-"Rosa".	88	51N	e
GT51	Large granito cross w/small nicho box in the base & 2 urns, 1.5m tall; fresh wreaths	89	51N	e
GT50	3 large concrete crosses w/ wreaths	91	51N	
GT49	White granito cross on 3-tiered pedestal; a crown-type w/ a square at the crux. There was a circular attachment in the center that would have been the death info/inscription.	93	51N	w
GT48	Concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear, front pedestal 0.5m tall, 1m long; nicho approx. 1/4 as large.	95	51N	e
GT47	White granito crown-type cross; 1m tall	95	51N	e
GT45	2 white metal crosses	107	120E	s
GT46	White granito cross	107	120E	s
GT44	White metal cross	108	120E	s
GT43	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	108	120E	s
GT42	2 white metal crosses w/ center scroll & filigrees on pedestal	109	120E	s

GT41	White concrete cross	109	120E	s
GT40	White metal cross	110	120E	s
GT39	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ 2 wreaths	112	120E	n
GT38	White metal cross w/ red wreath	114	120E	s
wB52	Boundary GT/MC; end W4, Guanajuato	114	120E	

Table B7.5: Querétaro

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB9	Boundary GT/QT; transect L2	0	57S	
QT01	2 black metal roof-type cross and white metal roof-type cross	2	57S	w
QT02	2 white metal roof -type crosses	4	57S	w
QT03	White metal cross with wood roof	5	57S	w
QT04	White metal cross	27	57S	m
QT05	White concrete clover-type cross	33	57S	m
QT06	Black wood cross	34	57S	m
QT07	Small shrine next to a store	36	57S	w
QT08	White 1 x 1 x 1m concrete nicho	37	57S	m
QT09	Black metal cross	37	57S	m
QT10	White metal cross	39	57S	w
QT11	Cross, covered with flowers	39	57S	m
QT12	Green metal cross on 2m tall concrete pedestal; 75m off road on private property	40	57S	w
QT13	White metal cross on white nicho in interchange median	42	57S	w
QT14	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ 4 posts & domed roof	43	57S	m
QT15	White concrete cross with urn	43	57S	m
QT16	White metal cross	44	57S	m
QT17	Concrete open arch nicho with a square back, two steps, concrete cross, metal cross, floral wreath and two votives.	46	SR?	w
QT18	.5x.5x.5 square nicho w/a cross on a dome roof. Inside; 7x 14 NSGuad print, 5x7 prints of NS de San Juan & St. Jude.	46	SR?	e
QT19	Black metal cross	47	SR?	e
QT20	At village entrance, 1m tall cross	48	SR?	e
QT21	Black metal cross	49	SR?	w
QT22	2 white marble crosses inside 1 x 1 x 2m nicho with flat roof and black metal gate; concrete	51	SR?	e
QT23	White metal cross	53	SR?	e
QT24	Crucifix on an arch on concrete pedestal	54	SR?	e
QT25	1x1x1m white concrete arch nicho w/ square back, two steps. Interior; marble cross inscribed for one death, 12 x 22cm Sacred Heart Jesus print, three cans of plastic flowers. "Ruben Bamba Osornio, fall. 2-nov.- 1996. rdo de sus papas, hnos, pnos"	55	SR?	w
QT26	Black metal cross with a pile of rocks	55	SR?	e
QT27	White concrete cross on 3 x 2 x 2m concrete pedestal	60	SR?	w
QT28	Black metal cross on 2-tiered gray pedestal	62	SR?	e
QT29	Black metal cross	62	SR?	w
QT30	Black metal, 1 white metal cross	65	SR?	n
QT31	White pipe cross	66	SR?	n
QT32	White pipe cross	66	SR?	s
QT33	2 white rock paintings of crosses	67	SR?	n
QT34	3m tall cross on pedestal at a town entrance	69	SR?	n
QT35	4x9x6m shrine to NSGuad between Amealco & San Idelfonso Tultepec, Queretero w/ 60x120cm print of NSGuad, Juan Diego statue & crucifix, 2 cans of fresh flowers, altar and two	73	SR?	n

	votive boxes.			
QT36	White metal cross	84	SR?	e
QT37	1 black metal, 1 white metal cross	86	SR?	e
QT38	1.5x1x2m white concrete and blue & white tile flat-roofed nicho w/ centered cross, NSGuad 45cm tall statue & 20x25cm print, 40x60cm 3D framed image of Juan Diego scenes, 3 flower baskets, 1 votive, & Christmas garland. On a dangerous curve between Amealco and El Lindero	88	SR?	w
QT39	White stucco, gable-roofed nicho, 1.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m	89	SR?	w
QT40	Black metal cross with flowers	92	SR?	w
QT41	White pipe cross 100m into town	94	SR?	e
QT42	Concrete, 3m tall cross, off highway	124	57S	w
QT43	White concrete open niche with NSGuad statue	125	57S	m
QT44	2 x 2 x 4m open arched brick niche	130	57S	m
wB10	QT/MX boundary: end L2, Querétaro	133	57S	
wB54	SL/QT boundary; transect W4	0	120E	
QT165	Concrete nicho w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll atop rear of dome-roof	2	120E	s
QT164	Concrete, open-faced nicho w/ white granito cross atop rear of gabled roof; 1ft tall	4	120E	n
QT163	Typical of eastern Sierra Gorda; green wooden cross on a post, fresh wreath, hand-carved into vertical arm: "Madeleno Perez, 20 enero 1980".	6	120E	n
QT162	Nicho under construction, inside is a granito crown cross: "Rene Perez Blas, nacio 19 oct 1974, fallacio 22 julio 1999" fresh wreath & 3 vases of paper flowers, an older wreath, votive candle. Being built into the rock face that is the roadside.	8	120E	s
QT161	White concrete crucifix on a pedestal	10	120E	n
QT160	White cross painted on the rocks on the side of the road	12	120E	s
QT159	Brick nicho (back & face) w/ WI & glass opening; flat-roofed w/ 2 fresh bouquets	12	120E	n
QT158	Wood cross w/ wreath mounted on a post	13	120E	s
QT157	2 crosses of finished lumber, one atop the other; covered by wreaths	14	120E	s
QT156	Un-painted brick & concrete nicho w/ green painted gable roof; on a pedestal. Flowers & crucifix inside; 1m square, 1.5m tall.	18	120E	s
QT155	White granito nicho w/cross atop front, black WI gate; 2m tall	18	120E	n
QT154	Blue flat-ridged gable roofed, concrete open-faced nicho w/ cross atop rear & fresh wreath	21	120E	n
QT153	Green wood cross w/ wreath mounted on a post; 1m tall	21	120E	s
QT152	2-tiered concrete, gabled roof, 1m wide x 2m tall nicho; the lower opening is open-faced & 6" square, the upper is set back 6", have a rusted black WI & glass door and flowers inside.	22	120E	n
QT151	Yellow gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ green cross atop rear & on rear interior wall a print of NSGuad & a photo of a child in a double frame w/ 2 ovals showing the 2 images.	23	120E	s

QT150	Blue wood cross mounted a post that is also painted blue	23	120E	s
QT149	Brick & stucco shrine to NSGuad; hip roof, 3ft tall statue of the Virgin, red, white & green bunting and flags. 2m tall, 1m square.	23	120E	n
QT148	Three 4x4 wood crosses. Middle one is about 8 feet tall; others are 6 feet tall. There are small paint pails full of wilted flowers, but no inscriptions.	24	120E	s
QT147	1m square, 3m tall shrine. Blue domed roof on a pink concrete structure on a yellow foundation, w/ blue steps and white interior; has blue & white streamers strung out from it. Central figure is 1 ft tall statue of the Virgin of San Juan, 3 votive candles- 2 lit, 1 bouquet of wilted marigolds, pink wreath. Next to it is a 3ft tall x 2.5 ft wide wood w/ glass doors shrine nailed to a tree; a little porch-like part in front for the votives. There is also a metal & glass votive candleholder on one side with several candles lit. This one has both the Virgin of S.J. (8" tall statue) and NSGuad (8x10 print in a brass frame), wilted flowers in plastic coke bottles that are nailed to the tree. A sign above reads: "No tirar basura en esta lugar, Grupo Ecologico S.G."	25	120E	s
QT146	White granito arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop, 2 urns on brick pedestal; 1.5m tall	29	120E	n
QT145	1ft tall, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	30	120E	n
QT144	Concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop, 1.5m tall	30	120E	s
QT143	White concrete cross	32	120E	s
QT142	White concrete, hip-roof nicho & white concrete cross w/ blue circles on tips; interior was blue matching the cross.	33	120E	n
QT141	White concrete nicho w/ black metal door	34	120E	n
QT140	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	34	120E	n
QT139	Concrete A-frame nicho on concrete pedestal w/ black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees atop; 1.5m tall	35	120E	s
QT138	White granito arch-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ cross atop, 1m tall on concrete pedestal	35	120E	s
QT137	White concrete arch-roofed, 3ft tall, nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear	36	120E	s
QT136	White concrete, gable roofed nicho; built into road-cut	40	120E	s
QT135	Cross, covered with wreath	43	120E	s
QT134	Blue, 1m tall, cross mounted on a pile of concrete & whitewashed rocks; total 3m tall	45	120E	s
QT133	White concrete nicho w/ blue pipe cross atop gable roof, open faced; interior is blue	46	120E	
QT132	Green concrete, gable roofed nicho, white interior; built into road-cut	46	120E	n
QT131	White concrete, flat roofed nicho w/ red door	47	120E	s
QT130	Small wooden cross	48	120E	s
QT129	Very large open shrine outdoor shrine to NSGuad	48	120E	n
QT128	White concrete nicho built into road-cut w/ white metal cross w/ filigrees atop front of gabled roof	51	120E	n

QT127	Brick nicho w/ white granito cross atop front; 2m tall, 1m square	52	120E	n
QT126	Yellow concrete nicho & cross atop front of gabled roof	52	120E	n
QT125	Concrete open-faced, gable-roofed nicho built into side of the road-cut w/ concrete cross inlaid into rear wall	52	120E	s
QT124	Shrine on a road-cut (100ft above road) w/ steps up to it.	53	120E	s
QT123	1 black metal cross w/ center scroll	55	120E	s
QT122	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross has 4 smaller crosses on the horizontal arms on top of an arched roof.	56	120E	s
QT121	Concrete gable roofed shrine to NSGuad, about 3m cubed; inside are lots of Xmas decorations. Right next to the fire fighters station.	66	120E	s
QT120	White concrete nicho w/ 2 crosses atop gabled roof; on a brick pedestal	67	120E	n
QT119	Rusted metal cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	68	120E	s
QT118	Turquoise concrete nicho w/ white metal concrete cross atop rear of gabled roof; 3'x2'x2'	71	120E	
QT117	Brick nicho w/ black metal cross atop front of gabled roof; faced parallel to road	73	120E	s
QT116	Brick, 1.5' tall, nicho w/ black metal cross atop gabled roof	74	120E	s
QT115	White metal cross w/ roofed diamond-shaped center scroll	74	120E	s
QT114	Black metal cross	74	120E	s
QT113	Black metal cross	75	120E	s
QT112	White concrete flat-roofed nicho w/ cross & wreath	76	120E	s
QT111	2 concrete nichos; 1 is arch-roofed & 6" tall, other is gable-roofed w/ white metal cross atop front & is 3ft square	77	120E	s
QT109	White gable-roofed (w/ some damage to it) nicho & 2 black crosses behind the nicho	81	120E	s
QT110	White concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ black cross atop rear	81	120E	s
QT108	Brick & stucco nicho, 1m cubed, flat-roofed w/ wreath. Inside is a black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll reading: "Sr. J. Luis Barbailon Morales, fallacio 8 mayo 1996, recuerdo de su esposa, hijos y hijas, familiares, amigos, companeros de Transportes Cadereyta, Qto" there are rosary beads hanging from the top arm. the roof is partially broken & a tree is planted in front.	84	120E	s
QT107	Concrete & brick nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	86	120E	s
QT106	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop rear w/ wreath	86	120E	s
QT105	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/white cross atop	89	120E	n
QT104	Concrete, 2-tiered nicho, w/ cross atop rear of arched roof	90	120E	s
QT103	Large shrine, painted at the top: "Maria puerta del Cielo" yellow with a domed roof with 2 copulas, both with outline crosses atop. It has electricity from what looks like used to be, a settlement here. The central figure is the Virgin of Guadalupe on an altar built of rocks and concrete and decorated with a combination of potted, silk and live flowers. There is an altar in front with a dozen, out of 30, candles burning, a small [4x2ft] votive box in the corner with another dozen candles burning. Quite impressive actually, considering	91	120E	s

	that this is really a remote location, and there are a lot of fresh flowers here, a lot! A pickup truck just passed by with a little boy hanging out the window, and he looked back at the shrine and crossed himself.			
QT102	At the bottom of a very steep decline; shrine is to NSGuad.	95	120E	s
QT101	2-tiered concrete gable-roofed nicho, black outline cross atop rear w/ center scroll	97	120E	s
QT100	Black pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & wreath	99	120E	s
QT99	White concrete 3-tiered nicho w/ cross atop w/ wreath	99	120E	s
QT98	White concrete, 1ft tall, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho	101	120E	n
QT97	Turquoise concrete, gable-roofed shrine w/ cross atop front; 3m deep, 2m wide & tall	101	120E	n
QT96	White granito, gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear w/ center scroll & filigrees	102	120E	n
QT95	Large monument w/St. Joseph & Christ child atop; 20ft tall	104	120E	s
QT93	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop rear w/ wreath	108	120E	s
QT94	Black metal cross	108	120E	s
QT92	Blue concrete arch-roofed nicho, 2ft tall	109	120E	s
QT91	White concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear w/ wreath; 1m tall	110	120E	n
QT90	White concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear w/ wreath; and, as is customary around here, it has rocks piled in front	111	120E	n
QT89	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	111	120E	n
QT88	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop rear w/ wreath	114	120E	n
QT87	White concrete gable-roofed nicho, 1ft tall	114	120E	n
QT86	Gray concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ black WI gate & fresh wreath atop	115	120E	n
QT84	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ cross atop rear	115	120E	s
QT85	Small arch-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	115	120E	n
QT83	Turquoise concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	115	120E	s
QT82	White concrete nicho	115	120E	s
QT81	White concrete nicho. Scratched into the concrete in front; "dia ? ? fallacio el joven Lom?...ano de 1982" has fresh flowers on top and inside which is tiled & has a cross inside. What is interesting about this is that the death was 18 years ago; longer ago than the boy probably lived. This on is a good example of the type of nicho that is popular in this area where the pedestal extends out farther than the nicho.	116	120E	s
QT79	White concrete, 2ft square, flat roofed nicho	116	120E	s
QT80	Gabled nicho concrete roof w/ black metal cross atop front	116	120E	s
QT78	White concrete nicho, 1m square & 2m tall, w/ cross, wreath	117	120E	s
QT77	Brick flat-roofed nicho, 2ft cubed, w/ small niche opening & cross atop w/ wreath	117	120E	s
QT76	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	118	120E	n
QT75	Open domed roof nicho on 4 columns w/ cross inside; all of concrete on concrete pedestal, 1m tall	119	120E	n
QT74	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	120	120E	s

QT73	Brick, flat-roofed w/ a copula shrine to NSGuad; 2m tall	121	120E	s
QT72	Cross, covered by wreath	121	120E	n
QT71	Concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ black door & cross atop w/ wreath; 1m tall	124	120E	s
QT70	Black metal cross on concrete 2-tiered pedestal w/ fresh wreath and behind it 1 gray metal	125	120E	s
QT69	Large white cross, up on a hill above the road about 50m; & a small shrine	132	120E	s
QT68	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ white concrete cross atop rear; on a concrete pedestal	133	120E	s
QT67	White metal cross w/ center scroll & fresh wreath	134	120E	s
QT66	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ wilted wreath	141	120E	n
QT65	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & wreaths	141	120E	s
QT64	Open shrine to NSGuad at a crazy intersection	149	120E	s
QT63	White concrete, open-faced, arch-roofed nicho w/ square rear façade; lots of fresh wreath	152	120E	n
QT62	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	153	120E	s
QT61	White granito nicho w/ 2 niches; 1.5m tall w/ gabled roof, open faced	157	120E	s
QT60	White metal cross w/ roofed diamond-shaped center scroll & fresh wreath	159	120E	s
QT59	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	161	120E	s
QT58	White pipe-type cross w/ black center scroll mounted in a pile of red rocks & concrete	161	120E	s
QT57	Wood 1x4 lumber cross, w/ center scroll	165	120E	s
QT56	White concrete cross on white concrete pedestal w/ rear façade	166	120E	n
QT55	Black metal cross w/ roofed diamond-shaped center scroll & white concrete pedestal	170	120E	n
QT54	Nicho on a pillar w/ Christ statue atop	170	120E	n
QT53	White granito nicho	171	120E	n
QT52	White concrete cross	171	120E	s
QT51	Black metal cross w/ diamond-shaped center scroll	172	120E	n
QT50	White metal cross w/ sun rays on a 3-tiered pedestal, 2 urns & fresh wreath	176	120E	n
QT49	Rusted metal cross w/ center scroll	180	120E	n
QT46	Large granito nicho w/ 3 silver-colored pipe-crosses atop	181	120E	n
QT47	White metal cross w/ center scroll, faces away from road	181	120E	n
QT48	Black metal cross w/ roofed diamond-shaped center scroll & fresh gladiolas lain at the base	181	120E	s
QT45	Brick, stucco nicho w/ black cross atop rear of arched roof; on a platform-type pedestal	182	120E	n
wB53	QT/GT boundary; end W4, Querétaro	183	120E	

Table B7.6: México

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB10	Leave QT enter MX; transect L2	0	57S	
MX01	White metal cross with flowers	2	57S	m
MX02	Black metal cross	3	57S	m
MX03	White concrete cross	10	57S	m
MX04	Wooden roof-type cross	23	57S	m
MX05	Blue open niche with cross on top	24	57S	w
MX06	1 blue metal cross, 1 white concrete cross & 1 black metal cross	25	57S	m
MX07	Black metal roof-type cross	26	57S	m
MX08	2 white metal crosses	31	57S	m
wB11	MX/HD	35	57S	
wB12	HD/MX	80	57S	
MX09	White pipe cross with scroll	82	57S	e
MX10	White metal cross	86	57S	w
MX11	White pipe cross with scroll	86	57S	e
MX12	White crown cross with floral wreath	88	57S	e
MX13	Black metal roof-type cross with scroll	89	57S	e
MX14	4 x 4 x 8m shrine at PEMEX plant	90	57S	w
wMX01	Tepozitlan	93	57S	
MX15	Yellow tile nicho, 0.5 x 0.5 x 1m, with black WI cross	95	57S	w
MX16	Black plywood nicho with black wrought iron cross	95	57S	w
MX17	Black cross	96	57S	w
MX18	Black metal cross and black metal cross with scroll	97	57S	w
MX19	Black metal cross with scroll	97	57S	w
MX20	Black metal cross	98	57S	w
MX21	White metal cross and a small niche	98	57S	w
MX22	Black metal cross with scroll on a pedestal	99	57S	w
MX23	Black metal roof-type cross	100	57S	w
MX24	1 black metal & 2 white metal crosses; all with scrolls	100	57S	w
MX25	2 white pipe crosses with scrolls	100	57S	w
MX26	White metal cross	101	57S	w
MX27	White concrete crown cross	101	57S	w
MX28	Black metal roof-type cross	101	57S	w
MX29	Nicho, built into road cut	105	57S	w
MX30	Black metal cross	177	132E	n
MX31	White metal cross	180	132E	s
MX32	White metal cross	180	132E	n
wMX03	Tepexpan; break and split transect L2	186	132E	
wMX06	Begin L2a: jct autopista to MexCity/road to Chalco	186		
MX78	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	190	150DW	s
MX77	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	190	150DW	s
MX76	White metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	193	150DW	n
MX75	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross inside	193	150DW	n
MX74	White metal cross	196	150DW	n

MX73	Cross, covered w/ wreath; 20m off pavement	197	150DW	n
MX72	Heavily weathered concrete, gable-roof, open-face nicho	204	150DW	n
MX71	4 crosses; 3 black metal (2 identical), 1 white metal, same design as 2 of the blacks	204	150DW	n
wB66	MX/TX; end L2a, México	205	150DW	
wB13	HD/MX; transect W5	0		
MX70	.25x.5x1m white granito nicho white glass door and black metal cross	2	132E	s
MX69	White metal cross	4	132E	s
MX68	Black metal cross with white concrete name plate	4	132E	s
MX67	White metal cross	4	132E	s
MX66	Blue metal cross	4	132E	s
MX65	0.25 x 0.5 x 1m granito nicho with gable roof, wrought iron gate and cross on top	4	132E	s
MX64	2 crosses, 1 white & 1 black metal on same pedestal	4	132E	s
MX63	White concrete crown-type cross	7	132E	m
MX62	White metal cross with heart in center	7	132E	s
MX61	White outline cross	8	132E	m
MX60	Black metal cross with center scroll	12	132E	s
MX59	4 x 4 x 6m shrine. Turquoise with a modernistic 2m tall statue of Sacred Heart Jesus in the center, 1m statue of same on rear altar, 0.5m statue of NSGuad, votive box w/ 20 votives, & 2 flower pots.	12	132E	n
MX58	Black metal cross	12	132E	m
MX57	1 black metal cross & 1 small white metal cross w/flowers	14	132E	s
MX56	Box or outline cross	15	132E	s
MX55	White metal cross	17	132E	n
MX54	4 white metal crosses with an open A-frame and crucifix	17	132E	s
MX53	0.5 x 1 x 2m nicho	19	132E	n
MX52	2 white concrete crosses on pedestals	19	132E	n
MX51	1 white concrete cross & 1 black metal cross	20	132E	s
MX50	5 white concrete clover crosses	20	132E	s
MX49	0.5 x 1 x 2m white concrete nicho/shrine with cross with death inscription and flowers.	20	132E	s
MX48	White concrete nicho/cross (pedestal has a built-in nicho), and a black metal cross	21	132E	n
MX47	Black metal roof-type cross	22	132E	n
MX46	Black metal roof-type cross w/ scroll, candle & flowers	24	132E	n
MX45	2 white crosses and 3 black crosses	24	132E	s
MX44	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m with glass walls, gabled roof nicho, 0.5m statue of SHJesus & 2 black metal crosses	25	132E	n
MX43	Black metal roof-type cross with scroll	27	132E	s
MX42	Gray metal roof-type cross with scroll	27	132E	n
MX41	Black metal roof-type cross with scroll	27	132E	n
MX40	30 x 30 x 60cm white granito with wood nicho w/ glass door with a cross carved out of it. Interior; black stylized crucifix and a pot of flowers next to a concrete cross.	27	132E	n
MX39	2 white metal crosses with scrolls	28	132E	n

MX38	Black metal cross with scroll	28	132E	n
MX37	Concrete nicho with glass and metal door and crucifix	39	132E	s
MX36	White metal cross	39	132E	n
MX34	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25m nicho	34	132E	n
MX33	White metal cross	40	132E	n
wMX03	Tepexpan; break in transect	48	132E	
wMX07	Resume W5:jct autopista to MxCity/road to Chalco	48		
MX79	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	51	150S	w
MX80	Black metal cross	51	150S	w
MX81	White concrete, gable roofed nicho w/ 2 black metal crosses	51	150S	m
MX82	Black metal cross	51	150S	m
MX83	3 black metal crosses	51	150S	w
MX84	Black metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll	51	150S	w
MX85	White concrete nicho w/ 2 wooden spindle-crosses atop	52	150S	w
MX86	Black metal roof-type cross w/ scroll & white lettering	52	150S	w
MX87	White granito nicho w/ cross atop	52	150S	w
MX88	Cross	52	150S	e
MX89	4 crosses	52	150S	e
MX90	Black pipe-type cross	52	150S	e
MX91	Black metal cross	52	150S	w
MX92	White concrete, gabled nicho	53	150S	e
MX93	White metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	53	150S	w
MX94	White metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll	53	150S	e
MX95	White pipe-type cross w/arm-roof & center scroll	53	150S	e
MX96	White concrete gable roofed nicho	53	150S	w
MX97	Cross	53	150S	e
MX98	White metal cross	53	150S	w
MX99	White metal cross	53	150S	w
MX100	6 crosses; and 2 nichos	53	150S	w
MX101	Nicho	54	150S	w
MX102	3 white metal roof-type crosses w/ center scrolls	54	150S	e
MX103	Purple metal cross w/ center scroll	54	150S	e
MX104	White granito nicho w/ white metal cross atop	54	150S	e
MX105	White metal cross	54	150S	e
MX106	2 black & 3 white metal crosses	54	150S	e
MX107	Black metal cross	54	150S	e
MX108	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & pointed tips	54	150S	e
MX109	White concrete, arch-roofed nicho	55	150S	e
MX110	White granito nicho	55	150S	e
MX111	Metal nicho, tied onto a tree	55	150S	e
MX112	White granito nicho w/ cross atop	55	150S	w
MX113	Black metal cross	56	150S	w
MX114	White granito nicho	56	150S	e
MX115	Cross, covered by wreath	56	150S	e
MX116	2m tall blue arch-roofed nicho w/ cross centered atop	56	150S	e
MX117	Brick nicho w/ black metal cross atop; parallel to road	56	150S	w
MX118	Black metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll	56	150S	w
MX119	White pipe-type cross tied to a tree	57	150S	w

MX120	White granito, & light blue granito nichos; white pipe cross	57	150S	w
MX121	Black metal nicho w/ black metal cross atop; in a road-cut	58	150S	e
MX122	Silver-colored pipe/roof-type cross w/ center scroll	58	150S	w
MX123	Gray metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll	59	150S	w
MX124	2 white metal crosses w/ center scrolls	59	150S	w
MX125	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	60	150S	w
MX126	Large yellow concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 3 white metal crosses inside	60	150S	w
MX127	White metal cross	61	150S	w
MX128	Brick, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho	61	150S	e
MX129	Cross covered by flowers	61	150S	w
MX130	White granito crown-type cross	61	150S	w
MX131	2x3x2m shrine facing away from road	64	150S	
MX132	White metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	65	150S	w
MX133	White granito cross, 1m tall, "Sra. Angelita?"	65	150S	w
MX134	White metal cross	65	150S	w
MX135	4 pipe-type crosses w/ arm-roofs	66	150S	w
MX136	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	67	150S	w
MX137	7 crosses near to a tree	67	150S	e
MX138	Black metal cross	67	150S	e
MX139	Black metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll' nailed onto a tree	67	150S	w
MX140	Light blue tile nicho, 1m cubed, flat-roofed w/ dome, belfries & 3 black metal crosses atop	67	150S	e
MX141	2 black metal crosses w/ floral bouquet on a small wedge-type monument between them	68	150S	w
MX142	Cross, nailed to a tree	69	150S	w
MX143	Purple shrine to NSGuad, 0.5x1x2m, w/ altar top and metal & glass gabled roof over a 24x36 print of NSGuad; right at a colectivo stand.	71	150S	w
MX144	White metal cross nailed to a utility pole	71	150S	w
MX145	2 black metal crosses	72	150S	e
MX146	White metal cross	74	150S	w
MX147	White granito gable-roofed nicho	75	150S	w
wMX09	Boundary MX/MR; end W5, México	76	150S	e

Table B7.7: Morelos

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wMR02a	Begin transect L2b; jct 160W/95S at Cuernavaca	0	160W	
MR29	White pipe-type cross w/ center scroll	5	160W	m
MR28	Concrete A-frame, open-faced nicho	6	160W	m
MR27	Concrete, 12" tall, gable-roofed nicho w/ a cluster of crosses leaning against a tree next to it	10	160W	n
MR26	White concrete arch-roofed nicho, painted pink inside w/ fresh flowers	10	160W	n
MR25	White metal outline-type cross w/ center scroll	12	160W	n
MR24	Pink concrete flat roofed nicho and 1 white concrete, red tile gabled roof nicho; both about 1m cubed	14	160W	m
MR23	4 wooden crosses nailed to a stanchion of an over-pass	16	160W	
MR22	6" tall A-frame nicho and 3m tall concrete cross behind and 2 black metal crosses, one to either side	17	160W	n
MR21	Black metal cross	17	160W	s
MR20	Concrete gable roofed w/wings nicho w/ wood spindle-type cross behind	17	160W	s
wMR01a	Break transect L2b; jct 150S/160W, near Cuautla	22	160	
MR42	Resume L2b; South of Cuautla	22	160S	
MR43	Cross	23	160S	
MR44	Nicho	24	160S	
MR45	3 crosses	26	160S	
wB37	MR/PB boundary	30	160S	
MR01	Transect W5, 50m south of MX/MR boundary; large white granito, arched roof nicho w/ cross atop & 2 urns in front; Sacred Heart Jesus statue inside.	0	150S	e
MR02	Black metal cross w/ spear point tips & center scroll	1	150S	w
MR03	White metal cross w/semi-circular scroll & roof over scroll	1	150S	w
MR04	Natural wood cross; nailed to a tree	1	150S	w
MR05	2 gray metal crosses roof-type w/ center scroll	1	150S	w
MR06	Black metal cross w/ scroll	2	150S	e
MR07	1 black cross and 1 white metal cross	2	150S	e
MR08	Brick & concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/ wooden spindle-type cross inside	3	150S	w
MR09	Brick & concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho	3	150S	e
MR10	On a hard curve, which now has a double guardrail on it. 23 crosses, 4 nichos: from north-to-south. 1. Homemade brick & concrete nicho w/ a black metal cross centered on the rear. Its inscribed: "Aqui fallacio el Sr. Pachudo [?] Cordova Lira que nacio el 27 de 11, 1953, fallacio 2 de 9, 1996. Recuerdo de esposa y hijos." 2. Black metal cross inscribed: "Gordito" 29-8-50, 2-9-96; todos los que te queremos nunca te olvidaremos, familiares y amigos." 3. White granito clover-type cross: "Sr. Bernardino Rodriguez P. 2-9-96" 4. Behind 3. Black metal cross commemorating the same person with the initials "BRP" and "CO dolor es una	3	150S	w

	<p>oracion sin palabras, estamos orando por ti desde que ti hacientaste de nosotros, recuerdo de padrinos y familiares”</p> <p>5. White metal roof-type cross: “Javier Contraras Estrada” on the left part of the heart-shape center scroll: “A Dios le dejas tu cuerpo” on the right part: “A la Virgen le dejas tu alma” and below: “A tu familia dejenos te recuerdo” 3-dic-1955/2-sept-1996”</p> <p>6. Behind that a black metal outline-type cross w/ filigrees and a roofed diamond-shaped plate inscribed: “Joven Victor Prejo Alvares, 2-9-96 a la edad de 30 anos Descansa en Paz”</p> <p>7. Bent and twisted black metal cross inscribed: “Aqui descansan los restos del Sr. Francisco Rojas Cadena, fallacio el 2 sept 1996 a la edad de 38 anos, recuerdo de esposa y hijos, familiares y padrinos”</p> <p>8. Cross inscribed: “Gerardo Flores Carmona, 24 sept 1967/ 2 sept 1996, recuerdo de tu esposa, padres y familia”</p> <p>9. Cross directly behind it I can’t read. There’s a detached inscription plate: “El Sr. Fransisco Rojas Gonzalez” he was 52 years old and died the same day. “Recuerdo de sus padrinos”</p> <p>10. Green wooden cross: “fallacio el Sr. Pedro Maxim ? [its broken & the piece is missing]</p> <p>11. Behind that a white wooden spindle-type with a roof-type inscription plate that I can’t read.</p> <p>12. Standing against the tree is a 1m tall gray metal cross with a roof-type diamond inscription plate: “El Pedro Meja Martinez, fallacio 2 sept 1996 a la edad de 58 anos, Descansa en Paz; premier aniversario, “lupuoso” recuerdo de sus padrinos”</p> <p>13. Nailed high on the tree is a wooden cross covered with silk flowers and a hand engraved natural wood plaque: “Eduardo Rotge, Fabiola Rotge”</p> <p>14. Down low on the tree, a white metal cross: “La senorita R. Gabriella Espinosa Avilla, fallacio 2 sept 1996 DEP”</p> <p>15. Other side of the tree; a wooden cross, all I can make out is “Sr. Eduardo”</p> <p>16. Black metal cross: “Sra Lourdes Valencia de la Rosa” age 22</p> <p>17. Wood cross nailed to the tree</p> <p>18. Large nicho shrine behind which is another black metal cross inscribed: “Antonio Sanchez Reyes, a la edad de 24 anos, recuerdo de sus padrinos”</p> <p>19. White granito nicho with 2 urns on the bottom plate, a wedge-type platform and then 2 chapel niches with an urn in the middle; both niches have an 8x10 print of Jesus crucified and 5x7 gilded framed print of Michael Archangel banishing the devil, and a small white vase with white flowers. The inscription on this is: “Aqui fallacieron los hagenimos el dia 2 sept 1996; el Papa Jenero Sanchez Oyerez a la edad de 59 anos, recuerdo de su esposa y hijos”</p>			
--	--	--	--	--

	<p>on the other side: “Y hijo Jose Antonio Sanchez Reyes a la edad de 23 anos, recuerdo de su Mama y hermanos; nunca las vamos a di a olvidar DEP”</p> <p>20. Behind that a black metal cross with a purple scapula-type thing hanging on it; this is for the same man as the nicho.</p> <p>21. Black metal cross: “El Sr. Anastacio Gonzales Martinez” age 44, same date “recuerdo de su esposa, padrinos y hijos”</p> <p>22. White granito nicho with a double niche and three urns in front and two black metal crosses behind. The first niche has a NSGuad print and a votive candle. The second has a Jesus crown-of-thorns print and a votive candle. The inscription, to the right, is: “Aqui fallacio el Sr. Pedro Lopez Garcia, 2 sept 1996 a la edad de 64 anos, recuerdo de sus esposa y hijos y familia” The second inscription, to the south, reads: “Aqui fallacio el Sr. Antonio Linares Avilla a la edad de 34 anos, recuerdo de su esposa y hijo y padres” and the black crosses to the rear have the same inscriptions.</p> <p>23. Arch-shaped granito nicho with an angel inside and a cross centered on top. Appears that there was an inscription thing, but its all busted up now and I can’t read anything on it.</p> <p>24. Behind 23 is a white wooden roof-type cross</p> <p>25. to the left of that is a cluster of crosses. The front one, I can’t read the back ones, says: “2 sept 1996 fallacio Anorio Flores Palomino”</p> <p>26. Gray metal cross with pointed tips: “Sr. Ulysses Corria Rodriguez fallacio 2 sept 1996 recuerdo de su esposa y hijos”</p> <p>The following article provides the grisly details of the accident that resulted in this sacred place: La Jornada 3 de septiembre de 1996 AUTOBUS SIN FRENOS EN LA MEXICO-CUAUTLA; 23 MUERTOS María de los Angeles Velasco y Francisco Guerrero Garro, corresponsales Veintitres muertos y 15 lesionados, ocho de ellos de gravedad, fue el saldo del accidente esta mañana en la vía México-Cuautla, a la altura del kilómetro 58, cuando un autobús de pasajeros de la línea Premier chocó contra un camión de carga y una camioneta estacionados en la orilla de la carretera. Según pasajeros del autobús, desde dos o tres kilómetros antes del impacto el motor y la caja de velocidades del vehículo empezaron a tronar y éste a ganar velocidad, debido a que en esa parte la carretera va de bajada. El chofer del vehículo gritó que se habían quedado sin frenos y los pasajeros que aventara el camión contra la cuneta. El lugar del accidente en la carretera México-Cuautla. Foto: Carlos Ramos Mamahua (see Text)</p>			
--	---	--	--	--

	<p>Momentos después, relató Rodrigo Villalba, hospitalizado en Cuautla, ``el camión empezó a zigzaguar e inmediatamente vimos cómo, al no poder tomar una curva, nos fuimos contra un camión que se hallaba a la orilla de la carretera. Sentimos un fuerte golpe y perdí el conocimiento".</p> <p>El primer impacto fue contra un camión de ocho toneladas, placas NZ 8209, el siguiente contra la camioneta y finalmente contra un árbol. El autobús se partió en dos y restos humanos y del vehículo quedaron regados en una área de 50 metros.</p> <p>El suboficial de la Policía Federal de Caminos Martín Flores Aguilera y el comandante de la Cruz Roja Ricardo Pineda, de Cuautla, quienes coordinaron el rescate de los heridos y el levantamiento de los cadáveres, informaron que en el lugar perecieron instantáneamente 19 personas y 15 habían sido canalizadas a los centros de socorro, donde posteriormente fallecieron otras cuatro.</p> <p>De los lesionados, nueve fueron trasladados en helicópteros al Hospital Central de la Cruz Roja en Polanco, siete no han podido dar sus nombres debido a su gravedad y sólo se ha identificado a Ciro Méndez González y Jesús Valencia Valencia.</p> <p>En el Hospital General de Cuautla fueron atendidos José Aguilar, Angel Daza Morales, Juan Maldonado Santiago, Evelio Cortez Reyes y José Arturo Sánchez Reyes, además de otras tres personas no identificadas.</p> <p>Al parecer el conductor del autobús, que se dirigía a Chalco, pereció y fue identificado como Adolfo Hernández Reyes, según la licencia de conducir que portaba.</p> <p>Los cuerpos de las personas que murieron en el accidente fueron trasladados al Servicio Médico Forense de Cuautla, en espera de que se les practiquen las autopsias y sean reclamados por sus familiares</p>			
MR11	Black metal outline-type cross	3	150S	w
MR12	Concrete arch roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop and 2 black metal crosses	3	150S	w
MR13	Black metal cross	6	150S	e
MR14	1 white concrete cross and 1 white metal cross	7	150S	e
MR15	Gray metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll	7	150S	w
MR16	Light blue metal cross w/ center scrolls & filigree	8	150S	w
MR17	Natural wood cross, 1m tall, w/ center scroll	8	150S	w
MR18	White granito nicho	9	150S	w
MR19	Concrete, tiled roof double nicho w/ 2 black metal crosses centered atop a double gabled roof	9	150S	w
wMR01	Break transect W5, near Cuautla	9		
wMR02	Resume transect W5, jct 160W/95S	9		
MR31	Mounted up in a tree; .25x.25x.5m wood & glass shrine to NSGuad	13	95S	w
MR32	Concrete & brick, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ crosses	19	95S	w

	inside			
MR33	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white metal cross centered on rear	23	95S	w
wMR04	95 splits, this section is to Taxco; W5a	29	95W	
MR34	White brick, arch roofed nicho w/ white metal cross centered on rear; x had red & white flowers on it	34	95W	s
MR35	3 large white wooden spindle-type crosses and 1 small one; up on the bank of a road-cut; all were the same so the size difference likely signifies a child.	35	95W	s
MR36	White metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll	39	95W	n
MR37	2 metal roof-type crosses; white one is inscribed: "Camilio Ernesto Reyes" the other "Sandy Jazmine Reyes ?", black metal unreadable	40	95W	n
MR38	White granito cross w/ diamond-points and platform w/ 2 urns: "Rogiglio Contraras Garcia, 5sept1994, edad de 40".	40	95W	n
MR39	A large rock painting and 4 nichos. From north-to-south: there is a NSGuad image and it looks like some truck emblems or something, and 2 granito urns with fresh flowers in them. Then there is a series of 5 urns, 2 little nichos, 2 more urns on top of that, another nicho on the bottom; urns all over the place. Sitting in between them is a box-type nicho. The painting is about 30 feet tall.	40	95W	n
MR40	2m tall, dome-roofed, aluminum & glass shrine w/ 1m tall statue of St. Jude inside and a small nicho and 3 urns w/ fresh flowers in front	40	95W	n
MR41	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	40	95W	s
wB68	MR/GR boundary	41	95W	

Table B7.8: Hidalgo

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB11	MX/HD; transect L2	0	57S	
HD01	White concrete diamond cross	3	57S	e
HD02	White concrete 0.25 x 0.5 x 0.5m nicho with two urns, facing away from the road; and a white concrete cross facing the road.	6	57S	w
HD03	Blue 0.25 x 0.25 x 2m concrete nicho with centered cross and side belfries	6	57S	w
HD04	White concrete cross	6	57S	e
HD05	White concrete cross	6	57S	e
HD06	White concrete cross	10	57S	e
HD07	White metal cross	10	57S	w
HD08	White metal cross	10	57S	e
HD09	1 white metal cross & 1 black metal cross	12	57S	e
HD10	5 x 4 x 7m blue & pink stucco chapel with metal and glass door and side windows. Interior: 2m tall statue, 30 x 60cm print in red and gold colored wood frame of "Maria Auxilium Christianorum", 90 x 129cm home-made painting in wood frame of Jesus and a saint holding a ball with a cross on it in 1 hand and a stick(?) in the other. On the altar in front of the above is a brass crucifix and to either side are 4 urns full of fresh flowers. On the floor below are 6 buckets full of fresh flowers.	14	57S	w
HD11	Blue metal cross with concrete pedestal	15	57S	e
HD12	2 x 2 x 2.5m brick shrine with blue concrete arch-roof with wings in front of a factory in the industrial zone. Interior; 1m tall statue of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and a 20cm statue of an angel holding a flaming staff, these are in a wood and glass case and there are 2 silk floral baskets on the floor in front.	15	57S	w
HD13	1 black metal cross & 1 white concrete cross	16	57S	e
HD14	White concrete cross	17	57S	w
HD15	2 white concrete crosses, 1 with an urn	18	57S	w
HD16	White concrete cross	18	57S	w
HD17	White metal cross with urns	18	57S	e
HD18	White concrete cross	19	57S	e
HD19	White concrete cross	19	57S	e
HD20	1 white concrete cross & 1 white metal cross	20	57S	w
HD21	Domed shrine, 3 x 4 x 4, on the outskirts of a small town	20	57S	w
HD22	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	20	57S	e
HD23	White metal cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	20	57S	e
HD24	2 white concrete crosses	22	57S	w
HD25	Blue metal cross	23	57S	w
HD26	White metal cross & 1 white concrete cross	28	57S	e
HD27	5 black pipe crosses	30	57S	e
HD28	White concrete cross	30	57S	e
HD29	Black metal cross	30	57S	e
HD30	2 white metal cross & 1 white concrete cross	30	57S	e

HD31	White concrete cross with urn	31	57S	e
HD32	White concrete crown-type cross & 1 silver pipe cross	31	57S	e
HD33	Black metal roof-type cross	31	57S	e
HD34	2 large white concrete crosses & 2 small white concrete crosses	32	57S	w
HD35	White concrete cross with arch niche	32	57S	w
HD36	Black metal cross	32	57S	w
HD37	White concrete cross with small white niche	32	57S	w
HD38	White concrete cross	32	57S	w
HD39	White concrete cross on 1m pedestal	32	57S	w
HD40	Gray metal cross with center scroll	32	57S	w
HD41	3 white concrete crosses	32	57S	e
HD42	White concrete cross	33	57S	w
HD43	Large 3 x 3 x 5m shrine to Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe at entrance to Pemex refinery	34	57S	w
HD44	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25m nicho with blue cross	34	57S	e
HD45	Black pipe cross	35	57S	w
HD46	Rusted metal cross	36	57S	e
HD47	Black metal cross	37	57S	e
HD48	Black metal roof-type cross	38	57S	e
HD49	White metal cross	39	57S	e
HD50	2 white metal crosses	39	57S	w
HD51	White, 0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m, nicho to N.S. Guadalupe with 2 urns & black metal cross	40	57S	w
HD52	Black metal cross on 1m square concrete pedestal	42	57S	w
wB12	HD /MX; end L2, Hidalgo	45	57S	
wB14	PB/HD; transect W5	0	132E	
HD112	Concrete A-frame nicho with concrete cross atop	0	132E	s
HD111	White cross on nicho pedestal with an urn	2	132E	n
HD110	White concrete cross in black metal cage w/ concrete roof	2	132E	n
HD109	White metal cross	2	132E	n
HD108	White metal cross	2	132E	s
HD107	Black metal cross	2	132E	s
HD106	Turquoise, brick dome-roofed shrine w/ centered cross, side belfries (one w/bell), white W1 gate. Inside; 60x90cm print of NSGuad, 20x25cm Sacred Heart Jesus print, 2 floral buckets, 2 votives. South of Laguna Tejocotal.	2	132E	s
HD105	White concrete, 1.5 x 0.5 x 0.75m, nicho w/ flowers inside	2	132E	s
HD104	Turquoise concrete, 2 x 2 x 4m, nicho on stilts	3	132E	s
HD103	1x1x3m blue shrine to NSGuad w/ white centered cross, on a hill	4	132E	s
HD102	White metal cross	4	132E	n
HD101	Granito nicho	4	132E	n
HD100	Granito nicho	4	132E	n
HD99	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.75m nicho on stilts, with print of NSGuad	4	132E	s
HD98	Glass & white metal nicho, .25x.5x.5m, dangerous curve	5	132E	n
HD97	Yellow outline-type cross with pointed tips	5	132E	n
HD96	Concrete cross, broken off of tablet pedestal	6	132E	n

HD95	White concrete crown-type cross	8	132E	n
HD94	White concrete crown-type cross	8	132E	n
HD93	White concrete crown-type cross	9	132E	n
HD92	2x2x4m concrete egg-shaped shrine with arch & 1m tall statue of Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe	9	132E	n
HD91	2 white concrete crown-type crosses	9	132E	s
HD90	White metal, 1 natural wood cross	9	132E	s
HD89	White concrete cross	11	132E	n
HD88	Granito nicho with green and yellow gable roof	11	132E	n
HD87	White concrete crosses on either side of an angel statue in a scallop-shell	11	132E	n
HD86	Concrete wedge-type monument	11	132E	n
HD85	White concrete clover cross with 2 urns	11	132E	s
HD84	2 large white metal, 2 small white metal crosses	12	132E	n
HD83	White concrete cross	12	132E	n
HD82	Concrete A-frame nicho, 0.25 x 1 x 0.5m, empty	14	132E	s
HD81	1 large & 1 small blue metal cross on 1m tall concrete pedestal	14	132E	s
HD80	Concrete, 1x1x2m, gable-roof nicho, centered cross, with blue metal door	15	132E	s
HD79	White concrete cross on nicho pedestal	15	132E	s
HD78	White concrete cross on 2-tiered pedestal	15	132E	n
HD77	White concrete cross	15	132E	n
HD76	3 large & 1 small concrete crown-type cross	15	132E	s
HD75	White metal cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	15	132E	n
HD74	White concrete clover-type cross on a pedestal	16	132E	s
HD73	1 turquoise metal cross & 1 black metal cross	16	132E	n
HD72	White concrete cross on a box nicho	16	132E	n
HD71	Concrete dome-roof nicho, facing parallel to the road	16	132E	n
HD70	White concrete diamond-type cross	16	132E	n
HD69	2 x 3 x 3m gable-roofed, tile shrine on a dangerous curve	18	132E	n
HD68	Concrete nicho, empty	18	132E	n
HD67	White concrete clover-type cross on concrete pedestal	19	132E	n
HD66	White-painted adobe nicho with white metal cross atop with dried-up flowers all over it	20	132E	n
HD65	White concrete crown-type cross	24	132E	s
HD64	1 white metal cross and 1 white metal cross on a blue nicho facing away from the road	25	132E	s
HD63	Large concrete box-type nicho with flowers and cross	25	132E	n
HD62	White concrete outline-type cross with centered crucifix	26	132E	n
HD61	1 black metal, 1 small white wood cross	27	132E	s
HD60	Black metal cross	28	132E	s
HD59	White metal outline-type cross on blue concrete pedestal	28	132E	s
HD58	White concrete cross	29	132E	s
HD57	White concrete cross with urn	30	132E	s
HD56	White concrete clover-type cross with fenders nearby	31	132E	n
HD55	White metal cross	32	132E	s
HD54	4 concrete crown-cross, 1 large black metal outline-cross	32	132E	s

HD53	.5x.25x1m white concrete dome-roofed nicho with wrought iron gate, cross atop and flowers inside	34	132E	s
wB13	HD/MX; end W5, Hidalgo	36		

Table B7.9: Tlaxcla

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB66	MX/TX boundary; transect L2a	0	150DW	
TX142	White granito, dome-roofed nicho w/ belfries & cross atop	3	150DW	s
TX141	White metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees; up on a road-cut	7	150DW	n
TX140	White arch-roofed nicho	7	150DW	n
TX139	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & lots of flowers	7	150DW	n
TX138	Brick & concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross center on rear	8	150DW	n
TX137	White gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop	8	150DW	n
TX136	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho; below road level	10	150DW	n
TX135	White metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	10	150DW	n
TX134	White pipe-cross w/large diamond-shaped center scroll	11	150DW	s
TX133	Concrete, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear; built into road-cut	13	150DW	n
TX132	Bronze-colored metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	13	150DW	n
TX131	White metal cross	22	119W	s
TX130	White concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho	22	119W	s
TX129	1 white concrete, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho and 1 white granito nicho	23	119W	n
TX128	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & white arm tips	24	119W	n
TX127	White arch-roofed, open-faced nicho and 1 adobe nicho; both w/ crosses in front	25	119W	s
TX126	3 black crosses & 1 white metal cross; w/ flowers	25	119W	n
TX125	White concrete open-faced, arch-roofed nicho	25	119W	n
TX124	2 black metal crosses w/ filigrees	25	119W	n
TX123	White granito, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho and black metal cross in front	26	119W	n
TX122	White metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	29	119W	m
TX121	White metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	29	119W	m
TX120	3 black metal crosses; 1 roof-type cross	29	119W	m
TX119	White metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	29	119W	m
TX118	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	32	119S	w
TX117	White concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ WI gate, 1x.5x.5m	33	119S	w
TX116	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	34	119S	m
TX115	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 2 black metal crosses on the front corners	36	119S	m
TX114	2 light blue metal crosses attached to a pole; scrolls & filigrees	36	119S	w
TX113	Adobe nicho w/ silver metal cross atop w/ scroll & filigrees	37	119S	m
TX112	White granito nicho w/ cross atop	37	119S	w
TX111	3 black metal roof-type crosses w/ scrolls	37	119S	m
TX110	Black metal & black pipe-type cross; Apizaco, at a RR track	39	136W	
TX109	Black metal & glass nicho and white metal cross next to it	43	136W	n
TX108	White metal nicho with white metal cross next to it	43	136W	s
TX107	Tan metal, arch-roofed nicho	43	136W	s
TX106	2 white concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nichos w/ white metal crosses atop	43	136W	n
TX105	White metal cross	43	136W	n

TX104	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white metal cross inside	44	136W	s
TX103	White metal cross	44	136W	s
TX102	White metal outline-cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	45	136W	
TX101	Wooden cross leaning against the railroad crossing sign; has one arm broken off	45	136W	n
TX100	Wooden spindle-type cross on concrete pedestal	45	136W	s
TX99	White wood cross; nailed to utility pole: this & next one are by a railroad track	45	136W	s
TX98	White granito nicho w/cross atop; black metal cross adjacent	45	136W	n
TX97	Concrete block box-type nicho w/ cross inside and black metal cross next to it	45	136W	s
TX96	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	45	136W	n
TX95	Light blue metal & glass nicho	46	136W	s
TX94	White granito nicho w/ black WI & glass door	46	136W	n
TX93	White granito nicho and 6 crosses in a cluster	46	136W	n
TX92	Black metal cross	47	136W	n
TX91	White granito nicho w/ cross [clover-type] & urn	47	136W	n
TX90	Black pipe-type cross w/center scroll & filigrees	47	136W	n
TX89	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	47	136W	s
TX88	Gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 3 white crosses inside	49	136W	s
TX87	2 blue concrete nichos, 1x.5x.5m, gable-roofed, open-faced; identical	49	136W	s
TX86	Brick nicho w/ wooden spindle-type cross inside	49	136W	s
TX85	White granito cross, 0.5m tall	49	136W	s
TX84	White concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross	50	136W	n
TX83	White granito nicho and black metal cross	50	136W	n
TX82	White granito nicho w/ cross & urn	50	136W	n
TX81	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	51	136W	n
TX80	White granito nicho	51	136W	s
TX79	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	52	136W	n
TX78	6 crosses and 1 nicho	53	136W	s
TX77	1 nicho and 1 cross	53	136W	s
TX76	10 crosses and 1 nicho	53	136W	n
TX75	Silver metal cross	53	136W	n
TX74	3m tall white granito, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop	53	136W	s
TX73	Small gable-roofed nicho	53	136W	s
TX72	Black metal cross	53	136W	s
TX71	Small white concrete, gable roofed nicho	53	136W	s
TX70	White granito nicho & 2 crosses	55	136W	n
TX69	Large shrine	55	136W	s
TX67	(?) Wooden spindle-crosses on concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho	62	136W	s
TX66	Pink concrete nicho	63	136W	s
TX65	Brick & concrete nicho	63	136W	n
TX64	White granito nicho, cross atop is broken off	63	136W	s
TX63	Light blue concrete nicho, arch-roofed, open faced w/ light blue metal cross inside	63	136W	n

TX62	Brick arch-roofed nicho w/ metal cross inside	64	136W	s
TX61	Large dome-roofed shrine at PEMEX station	64	136W	n
TX60	White granito nicho w/ turquoise metal cross inside & granito cross atop	64	136W	n
TX59	White granito nicho w/roman-cross inside & 2 urns in front	64	136W	s
TX58	Black metal cross	65	136W	n
TX57	Black metal cross	65	136W	s
TX56	Black metal cross	65	136W	n
TX55	Black metal cross	65	136W	n
TX54	White nicho	65	136W	n
TX53	Small gable-roofed glass & aluminum nicho	65	136W	s
TX52	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 3 black metal crosses atop	65	136W	
TX51	Arch roofed nicho	65	136W	n
TX50	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal; center scroll & filigrees	66	136W	
TX49	White concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ turquoise pipe cross behind	66	136W	n
TX48	Black metal cross	66	136W	s
TX47	9 black metal crosses & 1 wood spindle-cross	66	136W	s
TX46	6 black metal crosses	67	136W	n
TX45	Turquoise, 3m tall, shrine to NSGuad	67	136W	s
TX44	2 black metal crosses	67	136W	
TX43	2 black metal crosses on a pedestal	67	136W	
TX42	Flat roofed nicho w/ 5 metal crosses inside	67	136W	
TX41	Brick nicho w/ black metal roof-type cross atop w/ center scroll	67	136W	s
TX40	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	68	136W	s
TX39	Black metal cross	68	136W	s
TX38	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	68	136W	n
TX37	5 green & 1 black metal cross	68	136W	n
TX36	2 white concrete nichos and 6 black metal crosses	69	136W	n
TX35	White granito cross	69	136W	n
TX34	3 black metal cross and white concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	69	136W	
TX33	2 black metal & silver metal cross	69	136W	s
TX32	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ cubical base & 3 round tiers	70	136W	s
TX31	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear w/ center scroll & filigrees	70	136W	s
TX30	White open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross behind	71	136W	n
TX29	Black metal cross & 2 [?] others	71	136W	n
TX28	Round brick shrine	71	136W	s
TX27	White metal cross "Sra."	72	136W	n
TX26	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	72	136W	s
TX25	White box-type nicho	72	136W	n
TX24	2 nichos w/ granito crown-type crosses atop	72	136W	n
TX23	3 black metal crosses	72	136W	s

TX22	Small concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	73	136W	s
TX21	Tan concrete nicho w/ cross, belfries & spire atop	73	136W	s
TX20	2 crosses; 2 nichos; no description	74	136W	n
TX19	Blue metal roof-type cross & white concrete nicho	74	136W	n
TX18	Brick arch-roofed nicho	75	136W	n
TX17	Nicho, no description	75	136W	n
TX16	Nicho, no description	75	136W	n
TX15	3 nichos & 1 cross	75	136W	n
TX14	White granito nicho w/ cross atop, 1m tall	77	136W	n
TX13	White pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	77	136W	n
TX12	White concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white cross centered on rear	78	136W	n
TX11	2 crosses	79	136W	e
TX10	Nicho, 2 people	79	136W	e
TX09	Blue nicho w/ 2 rusted crosses	79	136W	e
TX08	6 crosses, 3 adult males, 1 adult female, 14 year old boy & 9 year old boy	79	136W	e
TX07	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees	79	136W	s
TX06	Turquoise shrine to BVM w/ virgin & child print	79	136W	w
TX05	Black metal cross	80	136W	s
TX04	Concrete nicho w/ white metal crosses atop	80	136W	
TX03	10 crosses; 1 white concrete, 2 white metal, 1 black metal, 2 gray metal (1 outline-type), 4 wood spindle-types	81	136W	e
TX02	Box-nicho w/ 2 metal crosses atop	82	136W	s
TX01	Box-nicho w/ 2 metal crosses atop	83	136W	n
WB68	TX/PB boundary	84	136W	

Table B7.10: Puebla

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
PB176	Small concrete nicho w/white metal cross; 50m east of TX/PB boundary, transect L2	0	136W	s
PB175	2 crosses; 1 wooden spindle-type & 1 black metal cross	1	136W	
PB174	Arch-roofed, concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	1	136W	s
PB173	Concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	1	136W	n
PB172	Concrete box-nicho w/ white metal cross atop and a black metal cross behind; both were outline-types	1	136W	n
PB171	Black metal cross on white concrete pedestal	1	136W	s
PB170	Nicho, 50m off the road in a field; large granito shrine/type and 4 little homemade nichos, 2 on either side	2	136W	s
PB169	White granito cross w/ urn and 1 black metal	3	136W	n
PB168	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/black metal cross centered on rear w/ center scroll & filigrees	4	136W	s
PB167	3 white granito crosses on a single pedestal	4	136W	s
PB166	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho; faced away from road	5	136W	s
PB110	White tile, open-faced, gable roofed nicho w/ white metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees centered on rear.	8	150D/W	s
PB109	White, dome-roofed nicho	9	150D/W	s
PB108	3 black metal roof-crosses w/ filigrees, center scrolls	9	150D/W	s
PB107	White nicho with black metal cross atop	9	150D/W	s
PB106	Large pink shrine among some commercial buildings	11	150D/W	n
PB105	Rusted metal cross	11	150D/W	n
PB104	Wood cross	12	150D/W	n
PB103	Small concrete nicho w/ silver metal cross atop	13	150D/W	n
PB102	White granito crown-cross w/ 2 urns	13	150D/W	n
wB36	VZ/PB	13	150D/W	
wB37	MR/PB	13	160S	
PB177	Cross	15	160S	
PB178	Cross	15	160S	
PB179	Cross	15	160S	
PB180	Nicho	16	160S	
PB181	Shrine to BVM; Queen of Heaven? (Mary w/ a crown)	16	160S	
PB182	2 nichos	18	160S	
PB183	Nicho	20	160S	
PB184	Double nicho	21	160S	
PB185	Nicho	21	160S	
PB186	Cross	23	160S	
PB187	Cross	23	160S	
PB188	Cross	23	160S	
PB189	3 crosses	23	160S	
PB190	Nicho	27	160S	
PB191	Shrine to NSGuad	27	160S	
PB287	Red & tan shrine	29	160N	
PB286	Lime green shrine to NSGuad	30	160N	
PB285	White metal cross	31	160N	
PB192	Nicho	31	160S	

PB284	Large blue shrine	32	160N	e
PB283	Turquoise & white granito nicho w/2 spires & black metal cross behind	32	160N	w
wPB22	Jct 160/190 at Izucar de Matamoros	32	190N	
PB282	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	34	190N	e
PB281	Concrete nicho, inside was blue tile	36	190N	w
PB280	6" cubed box-nicho, behind are 3 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & scroll, all 2' tall	38	190N	e
PB279	6" tall arch-roofed nicho w/ black WI door	40	190N	e
PB278	White granito nicho w/ cross atop front, 2 urns w/ fresh flowers, black WI door	40	190N	w
PB277	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; virtually covered w/ fresh flowers	41	190N	e
PB276	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	41	190N	e
PB275	Unpainted block, gable-roofed shrine w/ tri-color bunting, 4ft square x 5ft tall, w/ light blue WI door, to NSGuad	43	190N	w
PB274	Black metal cross w/ scroll & flowers	43	190N	w
PB273	Beautiful, handmade wood cross	44	190N	w
PB272	Blue concrete shrine, 2m square x 3m tall, central image is a 24x36 print of NSGuad, has plastic & fresh flowers inside	45	190N	e
PB271	Concrete, flat-roofed nicho w/ turquoise cross atop front & turquoise WI door	47	190N	e
PB270	White granito nicho w/ 2 flower-filled urns; gable roof, black WI door	47	190N	w
PB269	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	48	190N	w
PB268	Nicho, exactly the same as PB267; sat 6 ft below road level	49	190N	w
PB267	Blue tile nicho, the 4 sides are made as crosses & there is a black metal cross atop a hip roof; this interesting because of the repetition of the cross theme, between each cross-shaped wall is WI work which includes a cross, so there are at least 9 crosses built into the structure.	51	190N	e
PB266	Concrete block, flat-roofed nicho w/ 2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls, 1m cubed, box-type	52	190N	w
PB265	6 black metal cross w/ filigrees & scrolls; all same design	52	190N	e
PB264	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho, 1m cubed, has cross-shaped cut-outs on 3 sides, looked like there had been a cross atop at one time	53	190N	w
PB263	Concrete nicho, 2ft tall, w/ black metal cross atop rear	55	190N	w
PB262	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	56	190N	e
PB261	Black metal roof-type cross w/ scroll	58	190N	e
PB260	White metal cross w/ roofed scroll	59	190N	w
PB259	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll attached to a bridge	61	190N	e
PB258	Brick, gable-roofed nicho w/black metal cross atop rear	66	190N	e
PB257	Shrine to NSGuad, aluminum & glass embedded in a large plastic hand which had a star of David [?] and an eye on the tip of the middle finger; the hand & star stood about 5 ft tall, the nicho was in the palm of the hand	67	190N	e
PB256	Yellow, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear; nicho 18" tall, cross 8" tall	69	190N	e

PB255	Block & concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white metal cross atop and 2 yellow crosses inside	69	190N	e
PB254	Brick, flat-roofed shrine, 4x4x5 ft, to NSGuad	70	190N	w
PB253	3ft square x 4ft tall, blue, gable-roofed, concrete shrine, to NSGuad	70	190N	w
PB252	2-tone pink, 5ft cubed, flat-roof shrine w/ front facade & black metal crosses on all 4 corners; faced parallel to road 7 sat down off the road 20 ft.	71	190N	w
PB251	Concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear, the cross has scroll & sun-rays, nicho 1ft tall, cross 3ft tall.	72	190N	e
PB250	White granito nicho, 6' tall, w/ 2 steeples & 2 urns in front; the main part was a glass encased niche	73	190N	e
PB249	Brick gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, 1ft tall, w/2 black metal crosses centered atop rear	75	190N	w
PB248	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll on concrete pedestal	76	190N	w
PB247	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	76	190N	e
PB246	White granito nicho, gable-roofed w/ 2 urns & cross	76	190N	w
PB245	White granito nicho w/ black WI door & 12" tall statue of NSGuad inside	76	190N	w
PB244	Brick/concrete nicho w/ what used be a white metal cross w/ filigrees atop but the nicho was built up around the cross and all that is visible of the cross now is the upper vertical arm.	78	190N	e
PB243	Brick nicho w/ roof caved in and 3 black metal crosses inside	81	190N	e
PB242	Granito church, steeple-type nicho, this is the 6000 peso type	81	190N	e
PB241	Brick shrine to NSGuad w/ dome roof at PEMEX station	81	190N	w
PB240	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	81	190N	e
PB239	Brick, arch-roofed shrine, 4m sq x 5m tall, central figure is a crucifix, to its right is a 3x4ft print of NSGuad, left is a 2ft tall St Jude statue in a wood & glass cabinet and in front the altar is a Nativity scene. There are fresh flowers and votive candles burning.	82	190N	e
PB238	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop front w/ white WI door & wilted flowers	82	190N	w
PB237	Blue concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop 3-tiered flat roof	82	190N	e
PB236	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns & cross	83	190N	e
PB235	Black metal cross	83	190N	e
PB234	Shrine, about 7x5x7m, has an outline cross centered in front, made of brick painted blue and has a metal door. Central figure of NSGuad and has a Nativity scene in front of it, many paper streamers. VofCarmen above Guadalupe, a crucifix, another image of NSGuad (these are all 2x3ft prints), a Jesus Sacred Heart.	83	190N	e
PB233	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	84	190N	w
PB232	2 white metal cross on a pedestal	85	190N	w
PB231	Box-type nicho w/ black metal cross atop	85	190N	e

PB230	White granito nicho w/ black metal cross atop front	86	190N	e
wPB16	Acatlan	87	190N	
PB229	Silver-color pipe-type cross w/ filigrees & scroll	88	190N	w
PB228	White granito nicho w/ black metal cross & 2 urns	89	190N	w
PB227	White granito nicho w/ black metal cross atop & 2 urns in front	89	190N	w
PB226	Turquoise flat-roofed shrine w/facade & cross, 2m cubed, 2x3ft framed print of Mary Sacred Heart, smaller Nino de Atocha & V de San Juan prints. Several photos, 1 votive candle lit, floral bouquets	90	190N	e
PB225	Green metal cross w/ scroll & wreath	92	190N	e
PB224	Brick, gable-roofed shrine, 5m cubed	95	190N	e
PB223	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ rusted metal cross centered atop rear	97	190N	e
PB222	Blue metal cross	97	190N	e
PB221	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, 1ft cubed, w/ black metal cross w/ scroll & sun-rays atop rear, pot of wilted flower	98	190N	w
PB220	"Juan VP" cross & roof-less nicho	98	190N	w
PB219	Black metal cross	98	190N	w
PB218	Old 1m square x 2.5m tall concrete shrine	100	190N	w
PB217	Black metal cross w/ scroll on brick pedestal	100	190N	e
PB216	Concrete arch-roofed nicho, 3x1.5x3ft	100	190N	w
PB215	Brick nicho w/ black metal cross atop center	101	190N	w
PB214	Shrine, 3x3x6ft, w/24x36" print of Senor del Calvario	101	190N	w
PB213	Small flat-roofed concrete nicho w/ large black metal outline-type cross atop rear w/ filigrees & pointed tips	101	190N	e
PB212	Black metal, very fancy cross, w/ filigrees, on concrete pedestal	102	190N	w
PB211	Double nicho w/2 arched-roofs w/ 2 black metal crosses atop, 3x3x4ft	102	190N	e
PB210	Block, 3x3x2ft, nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	104	190N	w
PB209	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	104	190N	w
PB208	Concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	104	190N	e
PB207	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	105	190N	e
PB206	Concrete nicho, flat roof w/ facade & black metal cross atop front	105	190N	w
PB205	Concrete, flat-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross, scroll & filigrees atop rear	106	190N	e
PB204	White granito nicho w/ NSGuad print, 2 urns & cross; "Sr Neftali Vergera Estamali, 27-apr-92 DEP"	106	190N	e
PB203	Black metal nicho w/ scrolls above & below an attached Christ figure, filigrees & sun-rays	106	190N	w
PB202	Square concrete nicho, 2' cubed, w/ 1' sq opening on the left	106	190N	w
PB201	Granito nicho w/ white and black metal crosses; "Han muerto para mundo pero divieron eternamente en le corazones de los tuyus" and 1 white concrete, flat-roofed, 2' cubed, w/ black metal cross atop front w/scroll, filigrees & sun-rays	106	190N	e

PB200	Brick arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop front and 1 concrete w/ steeples & black metal cross atop the left one	112	190N	w
wB43	OX/PB boundary; end L2, Puebla	114	190N	
wB15	VZ/PB boundary; transect W5a	0	132E	
PB63	White concrete cross with flowers	2	132E	n
PB62	White granito nicho with 2 white metal crosses atop	5	132E	n
PB61	.5 x .5x.5m concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	5	132E	s
PB60	White pipe cross with centered name scroll	6	132E	n
PB59	Gray pipe cross	7	132E	s
PB58	2 white metal crosses with flowers	8	132E	s
PB57	Virgin & Christ child statue in a stone 'gate post' nicho at a ranch entrance	8	132E	s
PB56	1x1x1m brick gable-roofed nicho w/25x30cm NSGuad print	9	132E	n
PB55	2 x 2 x 2m turquoise nicho w/ 1m tall statue of NSGuad	10	132E	n
PB54	Brown pipe cross	11	132E	s
PB53	White metal cross, 1m tall on a 1m high white pedestal	11	132E	s
PB52	Violet arch-roofed nicho with a brown 2 votives	12	132E	n
PB51	White A-frame nicho with 2 urns on a pedestal on stilts	13	132E	s
PB50	0.5 x 0.5 x 1m white A-frame nicho w/ cross and 2 urns	13	132E	s
PB49	0.5 x 0.5 x 1m blue & white nicho, empty	14	132E	s
PB48	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m empty concrete nicho	15	132E	s
PB47	4x4x4m yellow concrete shrine, w/ blue gable concrete roof & cross-shaped door. Inside; 90x120cm NSGuad tiles, streamers & votive box with 10 votives.	17	132E	n
PB46	2 black metal, 1 white metal cross	17	132E	s
PB45	1 white metal cross, 1 white metal nicho	18	132E	s
PB44	.5x.5x.5m concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross & urn	18	132E	s
PB43	White metal cross atop an arch	19	132E	n
PB42	Rusted pipe cross on a pedestal	21	132E	s
PB41	Wood cross & .5x.5x.5m white nicho w/ black metal cross	21	132E	n
PB40	White .5x.5x.75m concrete nicho w/ white metal cross	21	132E	s
PB39	.25x.25x.25m blue concrete, gable roof nicho w/ 2 white urns, NSGuad in the middle and white death cross atop.	22	132E	n
PB38	1 black metal & 1 white pipe cross atop nicho; pedestal, 4 urns	25	132E	s
PB37	Blue arch-roofed nicho	25	132E	s
PB36	1 white nicho, 1 black metal cross, 1 white metal cross	25	132E	n
PB35	1 blue wood, 1 natural wood cross	25	132E	s
PB34	1x1x1m concrete nicho w/ black metal cross; good example of hard to see	28	132E	s
PB33	1 green wood & 1 brown wood cross in a door-yard garden	31	132E	s
PB32	White concrete cross with built-in nicho and urn	31	132E	s
PB31	White pipe cross	32	132E	s
PB30	6 x 3 x 3m brick shrine with 1m tall NSGuad statue	35	132E	s
PB29	.5x.5x.5m concrete gable-roofed nicho w/black pipe cross atop	36	132E	s
PB28	3 blue pipe crosses, 3m tall	37	132E	n
PB27	Gray pipe cross	39	132E	n

PB26	10x10x7m white concrete shrine w/ dome, double belfry w/ bells, gable facade & rest area to the side. Interior; 1m statue of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 0.5 x 1m tile of same on one side and same size tile of Sacred Heart Jesus on the other, 1m statue of St. Jude in one corner, 30cm statue of Nuestra Senora de San Juan in the other, 4 live potted plants, 10 fresh flower vases and cans, 25 votives.	40	132E	s
PB25	.25 x 0.25 x 0.25m adobe nicho w/white metal cross behind	41	132E	s
PB24	Brown pipe cross on pedestal w/ flower box built-in	42	132E	n
PB23	1 white concrete, 1 brown wood cross	42	132E	n
PB22	Granito nicho with an urn and metal and glass door	42	132E	n
PB21	5 white metal crosses w/ filigrees	44	132E	n
PB20	2 white tile, 0.25 x 0.25 x 0.5m, nichos with gable roof	45	132E	n
PB19	White wood, 2m tall cross	45	132E	s
PB18	White stucco nicho with red tile gable roof	47	132E	n
PB17	Blue nicho with gate and NSGuad print inside	47	132E	n
PB16	1 white pipe and 1 white concrete cross	48	132E	s
PB15	White metal cross	48	132E	s
PB14	White concrete cross	48	132E	n
PB13	White granito nicho with turquoise gate and a white concrete cross behind	49	132E	s
PB12	2 white metal crosses (1 w/ a centered heart) on a pedestal	49	132E	s
PB11	White concrete cross	51	132E	n
PB10	White concrete cross	51	132E	s
PB09	Black metal, 1 natural wood cross	52	132E	s
PB08	10x10x6m shrine at the entrance to a PEMEX plant. White concrete, dome roof, centered cross, belfries with bells. Interior; 1m statue of NSGuad, w/ 60x90cm tile of same on the left & same size and subject framed beadwork on the right along with a 30cm statue of Nuestra Senora de San Juan- all on a glass encased step with many flowers	57	132E	s
PB07	White concrete cross with white concrete angel statue	58	132E	n
PB06	Dome-roofed red, white & green shrine (Like the flag) with tiled interior, NSGuad print and flowers	58	132E	s
PB05	0.5 x 1 x 1m turquoise concrete nicho, gabled with a white concrete clover-type cross atop	60	132E	n
PB04	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m concrete nicho with gable roof and 3 concrete crosses	61	132E	s
PB03	White concrete clover-type cross, 1 black metal	62	132E	n
PB02	White (?)Nicho on base and arms of a white concrete cross	63	132E	n
PB01	Blue pipe-type Cross	63	132E	s
wB14	PB/HD; end W5a	63	132E	
wPB13	Puebla; begin W5b	63	190N	
PB199	Cross	83	190N	
PB198	Cross	84	190N	
PB197	Nicho	96	190N	
PB196	Nicho	102	190N	
PB195	Nicho	107	190N	
PB194	6 crosses; 1 nicho	107	190N	

PB193	Nicho, 1 w/ 2 angels	108	190N	
wPB12	Break in W5b at Izcar de Matamoros	117		
wB67	VZ/PB boundary near El Seco; transect W6	0	140N	
PB288	6 crosses; 1 nicho	7	140N	
PB165	Home made nicho	15	140E	s
PB164	Home made nicho	15	140E	s
PB163	Home made nicho	15	140E	n
PB162	White concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/white wooden spindle-type cross inside and an old white concrete nicho in disrepair	16	140E	s
PB161	Granito cross, 12" tall, roman-style	19	140E	
PB160	Concrete block, 1m cubed nicho w/ a cross inside	19	140E	n
PB159	Black metal outline-type cross w/ center scroll	20	140E	n
PB158	White wooden spindle-type cross	21	140E	n
PB157	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear w/center scroll & filigrees	21	140E	s
PB156	A-frame, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered in rear	22	140E	
PB155	4 black & 1 white metal cross	22	140E	n
PB154	White granito arch-roofed nicho w/ 2 light blue crosses in front of it	23	140E	n
PB153	White concrete nicho	23	140E	s
PB152	Tan concrete nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	23	140E	n
PB151	Concrete block nicho	23	140E	s
PB150	Black metal outline-type cross w/ sun-burst	23	140E	s
PB149	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop, gable roofed, open-faced	24	140E	s
PB148	Blue concrete nicho, 2x1x2m	30	140N	e
PB147	Concrete nicho w/ white metal cross atop	31	140N	w
PB146	Black metal cross on a concrete pedestal	31	140N	e
PB145	Blue concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop	31	140N	e
PB144	Light blue tile nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	33	140N	w
PB143	White concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/ a silver cross inside	33	140N	w
PB142	Light blue concrete nicho, 2x1x2	33	140N	e
PB141	2 blue concrete nichos; 1 w/ 2 white crosses atop, the other w/ 2 black crosses atop	34	140N	w
PB140	Gold-colored nicho w/ white cross atop	34	140N	e
PB139	White granito, 5x5x1m, nicho w/ cross centered atop	37	140N	w
PB138	Turquoise & yellow shrine to V of Juquilla	37	140N	w
PB137	Blue concrete, 2x2x3m, nicho w/ spires; attached to a fence at the entrance to a town	37	140N	w
PB136	Tablet-type grave marker monument	37	140N	w
PB135	Blue concrete, 1x.5x1m, arch roofed nicho w/ cross atop	39	140N	w
PB134	Tan concrete, 1x1x2, arch roofed nicho; inside is turquoise & has 4 black & 2 white crosses	40	140N	w
PB133	Rusted metal nicho, 1.5m tall, on stilts and w/ black cross in front	40	140N	w

PB132	Brown wood, spindle-type cross	42	140N	w
PB131	4 wood crosses; 1 painted light blue	43	140N	e
PB130	A-frame nicho	43	140N	e
PB129	Concrete, 2.5m tall nicho with 3 black crosses	44	140N	e
PB128	Black wood spindle-type cross	44	140N	e
PB127	Brick, 2x1x1.5m, nicho w/ white metal cross atop & white WI gate	44	140N	w
PB126	White concrete nicho w/ 2 black metal crosses atop	45	140N	e
PB125	Light blue nicho w/ 3 white pipe crosses atop	45	140N	w
PB124	White concrete, gable roofed nicho w/ the facing edges painted black; on a pedestal w/ 2 black crosses centered on the rear	45	140N	w
PB123	2 white crosses on a blue pedestal	46	140N	
PB122	4 white metal crosses	46	140N	e
PB121	White concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/ 2 light blue crosses atop	47	140N	e
PB120	2m tall light blue cross & 1m tall white metal cross	47	140N	w
PB119	2 white metal crosses on a stone & concrete pedestal; both have center scrolls & inter-arm filigrees and painted inscriptions in light blue	48	140N	e
PB118	2 black metal crosses with center plates	49	140N	e
PB117	White granito nicho w/ cross-topped steeples & 2 black metal crosses between the steeples; 1 light blue metal cross	50	140N	e
PB116	Open-faced box-type nicho with turquoise cross inside	50	140N	e
PB115	White granito clover-type cross on a pedestal	52	140N	e
PB114	2 turquoise blue nichos	52	140N	e
PB113	White metal, gable roofed nicho w/ open front & back, facing parallel to the road	53	140N	w
PB112	White metal cross	53	140N	w
PB111	Black metal cross	54	140N	e
wPB08	Jct 150 & 140 to Serdan; break in W6	56		
wB35	PB/VZ; W6	56	150N	
PB101	2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees & wilted wreaths	57	150N	e
PB100	2 white crosses and a gray cross, w/the gray one in the middle. All are metal w/ inter-arm filigrees & center scrolls. Can't get any names off of it, I get the date 3rd of july, 1998. These are rusted pretty badly. The center cross that is gray, I can make out "33 anos" the 2 white crosses "a la edad de 7 anos" & "a la edad de 13 anos" they also have cherubs at the top & the gray cross has a crucified Christ figure at the top of the cross. So the symbolism is pretty clear on this that white = innocents and gray = somewhat tarnished.	59	150N	e
PB99	Another cross cluster; the front one was white metal, there are 3 wooden crosses sandwiched directly behind it	60	150N	w
PB98	2m sqx2.5m tall, shrine to Virgin de Juquilla. Belfries atop. the front altar is full of fresh flowers, 2 baskets of imitation flowers on the side & has a spot light. Got a little impromptu ethnography there. It was interesting those girls immediately agreed that crosses are sacred places; that because somebody	60	150N	w

	died where a cross is, those recuerdos are sagrado. That was an interesting verification of what it is that I'm doing here.			
PB97	Brick & concrete nicho w/ double white metal cross in rear; both have center scrolls & inter-arm filigrees	60	150N	w
PB96	1 black metal cross w/ center scroll; this is another cluster with several crosses in front of each other; probably for 1 death & are DOD replacements	63	150N	w
PB95	Bronze-colored cross w/sun-burst & red & white wreath	63	150N	w
PB94	Brick nicho w/ gray metal cross atop; 4 junk cars behind	64	150N	w
PB93	White metal cross	64	150N	e
PB92	Small nicho, silver cross on the nicho; cross is 1m tall	64	150N	w
PB91	White metal cross w/ filigrees, center scroll & pedestal	64	150N	e
PB90	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ metal cross centered in rear	64	150N	e
PB89	4 crosses, 1 nicho: white concrete made to look like a church w/ belfries and it has a cluster of 4 crosses on the back of it and a small door; there's nothing inside of the nicho & it appears that all of the crosses are for the same person "Joven Antonio Fuerta Bendonzo, fallacio el 14 de nov 1998 a la edad de 17 anos, recuerdo de sus padrinos, DEP"	65	150N	e
PB88	Double (1 atop the other) white metal cross w/ filigrees on concrete pedestal	65	150N	w
PB87	3 silver-colored metal crosses and 1 wood spindle-type	65	150N	e
PB86	Concrete arch roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	66	150N	w
PB85	Blue wooden under a tree cross	66	150N	e
PB84	White concrete gable roofed nicho	66	150N	e
PB83	White box-type nicho w/ silver pipe cross centered on rear, has center scroll & inter-arm filigrees	66	150N	
PB82	Dark blue nicho, 1m tall, w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees centered on rear. Nicho has a platform 1x2m; hand painted inscription: "Com fech 14 marzo 1997 fallacio el Sr. Guervocio ? Sanchez a la edad de 56 anos DEP, recuerdo de su esposa y hijos".	66	150N	e
PB81	Wood spindle-type cross w/ sun-burst center & faded wreath; 50m outside town of Santa Ana	67	150N	e
PB80	White concrete cross on concrete pedestal; 1.5m tall, it has been displaced from road grading	67	150N	e
PB79	Shrine that sits up on a road-cut, its a little bit hard to get to, a little bit dangerous conditions here. All I really saw on the inside was a silver-colored x-fix down low and small NSGuad print up high. It had red, white & green bunting. 3m deep, 2m wide, 3m tall.	67	150N	w
PB78	Red metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees	67	150N	e
PB77	White metal cross	68	150N	w
PB76	Cluster of 5 crosses; behind them a white granito, 1m tall, belfry & steeple-style	68	150N	e
PB75	Red brick gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/black metal cross centered on rear; next to it a black metal cross. Both crosses had center scrolls & inter-arm filigrees	69	150N	

PB74	4 crosses: red metal w/ inter-arm filigrees; wooden spindle-type; another wood spindle-type; gray metal; front to back in a series. At least the last 2 are for the same person	69	150N	e
PB73	In a little grassy area at a PEMEX station, a 1m cubed, green concrete (painted to simulate brick), shrine to NSGuad. The girl in the store said "some guy" built the shrine; it was not PEMEX; he had the permission of PEMEX but he built it for his own religious reasons.	69	150N	e
PB72	Light blue arch roofed nicho, 1m cubed, w/ white metal cross centered on rear, niche opening was arch-shaped & 6" high; faced parallel to road, looked like it had been moved by some heavy equipment, it looked displaced rather than built in that spot.	70	150N	e
PB71	Green pipe-type cross w/ bouquet of wilted flowers	70	150N	w
PB70	Pink concrete & light blue tile shrine; NSGuad 11x14 print, 2 urns w/ white irises in them, 1 lit votive candle	71	150N	e
PB69	Sheet metal, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho which has been damaged	75	150N	e
PB68	Light blue concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho, 1m tall & .5m square, w/ 2 wooden crosses in the rear	75	150N	e
PB67	Black metal cross w/ multi-colored wreath	84	135N	w
PB66	Gable roofed shrine next to the toll station at Tetitlan. Its the kind that has wings, made of concrete on a red pedestal, the roof is of red tile. Inside is a 1m tall of NSGuad, a vase of artificial flowers, 2 empty jugs, 2 empty pop bottles, an empty Jose Cuervo tequila bottle, an empty water bottle and a donation box.	90	135N	e
PB65	White concrete, arch roofed nicho w/ white concrete cross centered atop the middle; under a bamboo framed shelter; faced parallel to road	99	135N	w
PB64	Arch-roofed niche built into the side of a road-cut, apparently the road crews have concreted the slope around the niche; it contains 3 wooden crosses.	99	135N	e
wB34	OX/PB; end W6, Puebla	100	135N	

APPENDIX C
SOUTHERN MEXICO DATA TABLES

Table C10.1: Colima

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB30	End Jalisco, begin Colima; transect L3	0	200S	
CO01	White concrete crown-type cross on pedestal; 1m tall	2	200S	w
CO02	Natural concrete cross on pedestal	4	200S	w
CO03	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ blue & red wreath	4	200S	w
CO04	White metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees on brick pedestal	5	200S	w
CO05	Aluminum cross ~0.5m tall	9	200S	e
CO06	Natural concrete cross w/ rusted white WI fence	10	200S	e
CO07	Concrete cross, partially obscured by heavy brush	10	200S	w
CO08	White concrete cross	10	200S	w
CO09	5 silver-colored metal crosses, all w/ faded wreaths	11	200S	e
CO10	White concrete cross, 1m tall, on pedestal; w/ 2 red & white wreaths	15	200S	e
CO11	White metal cross on pedestal w/ remains of a wreath on it	15	200S	e
wCO02	Manzanillo centro	30	200S	
CO12	White metal cross on concrete pedestal; flowers on it	31	200S	e
CO13	Concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered in rear	36	200S	w
CO14	White metal cross, next to a bridge	37	200S	w
CO15	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ 2 white concrete crosses in the rear corners	37	200S	w
CO16	1m tall white metal cross w/ center plate and a roof over the vertical arm	40	200S	w
CO17	White metal cross	41	200S	w
CO18	White metal cross, 1m tall w/ white floral bouquet	42	200S	e
CO19	Small dome-roofed nicho, w/white concrete Maltese cross	42	200S	w
CO20	White concrete cross 1m tall roman style	43	200S	e
CO21	Blue arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross in rear	43	200S	e
CO22	2 silver-colored metal crosses w/center scrolls	43	200S	e
CO23	1 black metal cross & 1 turquoise metal cross on separate pedestals; both w/ wreaths	43	200S	w
CO24	White concrete gable-roofed nicho w/1 white concrete cross centered in rear & black metal cross centered in front	45	200S	w
CO25	Black metal cross	45	200S	e
CO26	2 white concrete Maltese style crosses	45	200S	w
CO27	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ blue wreath	46	200S	e
CO28	White concrete cross on pedestal w/ visitation pebbles on horizontal arms	47	200S	w
CO29	Light blue metal cross	47	200S	e
CO30	White metal outline-type cross on pedestal w/an old wreath	47	200S	e
CO31	White concrete cross	49	200S	w
CO32	Turquoise wooden cross nailed to a tree, w/an old wreath	51	200S	w
CO33	2 white metal crosses on a pedestal, w/scrolls &wreaths	51	200S	e
CO34	Concrete cross, used to be turquoise	52	200S	w
CO35	White concrete nicho w/ light blue cross centered in rear	53	200S	e
CO36	Black metal outline-type cross; 2 white concrete crosses; 1 white metal cross	53	200S	e

CO37	White open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ white concrete cross centered in rear	54	200S	e
CO38	White angle iron cross	56	200S	w
CO39	Small concrete cross	58	200S	e
CO40	White concrete cross w/ visitation pebbles on the pedestal	59	200S	w
CO41	0.5x1x1.5m homemade, white tile nicho, with brown tile gabled roof, surrounded by 1m tall white wrought iron fence. Inside is a white granito cross "Sr. Agustin Ramos Farias, 2 agosto 1991 a la edad de quareta seis anos; recuerdo de esposa y hijos"	60	200S	w
CO42	Light blue flat-roofed nicho w/ light cross in rear; all of concrete	60	200S	e
CO43	White concrete cross, delineated by a roof-less nicho, has the remains of a cross-shaped wreath & a purple/white wreath; visitation pebbles on the retaining wall; "Jose Luis Guerrero Trujillo".	61	200S	e
CO44	Small open-faced, box-type nicho w/ concrete cross inside, w/ visitation pebbles atop the inscription says "Chuey, tus padres y hermanos te renden este homenaje y te recuerda" below that it says: "Luara Berenice" and it has visitation pebbles on the cross part too.	61	200S	e
CO45	White concrete nicho/cross; "Jose Luis ?"	61	200S	e
CO46	White concrete cross "Jose Luis Lopez"	61	200S	w
CO47	Yellow concrete crown-type cross	62	200S	m
CO48	White concrete clover-type cross	62	200S	m
CO49	White concrete roman-type crucifix, with visitation pebbles on the arms	63	200S	w
CO50	White granito nicho w/ open-book platform in front and white cross centered in rear	64	200S	w
CO51	Turquoise, home made, concrete cross	64	200S	m
CO52	3 white concrete crosses	65	200S	e
CO53	Wood cross	65	200S	w
CO54	White metal cross	65	200S	e
CO55	2 small brick nichos with larger white metal crosses centered in the rear	65	200S	w
CO56	White metal cross & 1 concrete Maltese style	65	200S	e
CO57	Black metal cross w/ heart-shaped red & green wreath	65	200S	e
CO58	White concrete cross	66	200S	w
CO59	White concrete cross	66	200S	w
CO60	White concrete cross w/ wreath	67	200S	w
CO61	Black metal outline-type cross	69	200S	e
CO62	White concrete cross	69	200S	w
CO63	2 white concrete crosses	70	200S	e
CO64	Concrete nicho, 1m tall in Cofradia de Moreles	71	200S	w
CO65	Light green cross, 1m tall, concrete	72	200S	w
CO66	White granito crucifix on pedestal w/ a small brick nicho at the base of the pedestal	72	200S	w
CO67	White concrete cross w/ a large red & white wreath	75	200S	e
CO68	Nicho, w/white concrete crown cross	77	200S	e

CO69	Green metal outline type cross	77	200S	w
CO70	White concrete cross w/ red, white & green wreath	77	200S	w
CO71	2 light blue metal crosses, one above the other; with wreaths	78	200S	w
CO72	2 white metal crosses on side-by-side pedestals, w/ wreaths	79	200S	w
CO73	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ wreath	81	200S	e
CO74	White concrete cross, 1m tall	81	200S	w
CO75	White concrete cross	82	200S	w
CO76	White concrete cross w/ wreath	82	200S	w
CO77	White concrete cross w/ wreath	82	200S	w
CO78	Large white concrete cross w/ wreath	84	200S	w
wB31	CO/MC	85	200S	
wB51	Border JL/CO; transect W3b	0	54S	
CO79	2 gray metal crosses w/wreaths	3	54S	e
CO80	Cross, covered by wreath	4	54S	w
CO81	White concrete cross w/ wreath	11	54S	w
CO82	White concrete cross w/ wreath	11	54S	m
CO83	White concrete cross w/ wedge pedestal	11	54S	e
CO84	Concrete box nicho w/white concrete crucifix	12	54S	m
CO85	Small concrete nicho w/ large granito cross	14	54S	w
CO86	White concrete cross	14	54S	w
CO87	White concrete cross	19	54S	w
CO88	Black metal cross	19	54S	m
CO89	White granito cross on pedestal w/ wreath	23	54S	e
CO90	White granito nicho w/cross atop center, 2 urns, wreath	24	54S	e
CO91	White granito nicho w/ wreath	24	54S	e
CO92	White metal cross	24	54S	e
CO93	Turquoise box-type nicho on the base arm of a turquoise metal cross, w/gabled roof	26	54S	w
CO94	White concrete cross	28	54S	e
CO95	Cross, covered by wreath	28	54S	e
CO96	White granito cross on pedestal	29	54S	e
CO97	White granito cross on pedestal w/3 wreaths	29	54S	w
CO98	Purple A-frame nicho w/white front	30	54S	e
CO99	Black metal cross	34	54S	e
CO100	White concrete cross	34	54S	e
CO101	6 white metal crosses w/ wreaths	37	54S	w
CO102	White concrete cross	37	54S	e
CO103	White concrete cross w/ wreath	38	54S	w
CO104	Large shrine of some sort	41	54S	e
CO105	3 crosses w/ wreaths, 2 clover-types; all were concrete	41	54S	
CO106	White metal cross w/filigrees and scroll	42	54S	e
CO107	Cross; "Antonio Marin B. nacio 15 aug 1939 fallacio 18 aug 1983, recuerdo de sus padres" at jct of 54 & 200	43	54S	w
wCO06	Intersection 54W/200S; end of transect W3b	43	54S	

Table C10.2: Guerrero

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB32	MC/GR, transect L3	0	200S	
GR01	Black metal cross, of tubular metal, w/crown-type tips	2	200S	e
GR02	Black metal cross w/ center name plate	3	200S	w
GR03	White granito, roman-style cross; mostly deteriorated such that the top vertical arm is only rebar	5	200S	w
GR04	Red metal cross on concrete pedestal, w/ pointed tips	11	200S	w
GR05	White granito, gable roof nicho w/cross centered on rear, WI door & urns on either side	12	200S	e
GR06	White metal cross	18	200S	e
GR07	Blue pipe-type cross	18	200S	w
GR08	White granito cross: "Sr Jose Antonio Valesquez M.; 14 apr 199?, recuerdo de sus padres y familia"	21	200S	w
GR09	White concrete, homemade cross	23	200S	w
GR10	2 white granito crosses; "Sra. Victoria E. Villar de Tostado, jun 30, 1989" "Ing. Carlos S. Tostado Perez, jun 30, 1989"	27	200S	w
GR11	White granito cross, 2m tall w/ 2x1m concrete pedestal	28	200S	w
GR12	White metal cross w/ center plate; fallen over	37	200S	e
GR13	Cream colored metal cross	39	200S	w
GR14	White granito cross by a bridge w/red & white flowers; "Carlos"	39	200S	w
GR15	Blue wood cross	39	200S	w
GR16	Natural wood cross in a corral of same	40	200S	w
GR17	White granito cross; "Alfredo"	42	200S	w
GR18	A large wall shrine, adjacent to a walled in area that is private property. The south side has a large tile image of NSGuad beneath a cross built into the concrete and a small nicho with votive candles burning. The north-facing side, beneath the same cross, has a tile image of the Holy Trinity and another nicho. On both sides are painted prayers to the particular divine personages.	43	200S	w
GR19	White granito nicho, 50m from road in a field; on 1x2m pedestal w/ 2 urns & cross	49	200S	w
GR20	Small white granito nicho w/ cross atop, brass & glass door; 0.5m tall	51	200S	
GR21	Black metal cross w/ slant-pointed tips & center plate	53	200S	w
GR22	White granito cross; "Omar"	57	200S	e
GR23	White granito nicho w/ Roman cross atop & urns on either side	78	200S	w
GR24	White concrete cross; "Bernabe Rogel B." has fallen off pedestal & lays on a road-cut slope	79	200S	w
GR25	2 white concrete crosses; "S.L.V." "Andreas Castillo ?" 1992 and white wooden	81	200S	w
GR26	White granito on wedge pedestal w/ inscription	82	200S	e
GR27	White granito cross on pedestal	82	200S	e
GR28	2 white granito crosses on one pedestal	82	200S	e
GR29	White concrete, arched roof nicho w/cross on top	83	200S	e
GR30	Black metal cross & white concrete, arch roof nicho w/2 urns	83	200S	w

GR31	Blue concrete, gable roofed nicho w/ blue concrete cross	83	200S	w
GR32	White granito nicho w/ cross atop & black WI door	83	200S	e
GR33	White metal cross, pedestal, name plate & filigrees	84	200S	w
GR34	White Roman-style cross on pedestal inscribed; "Jesus ?"	84	200S	w
GR35	White granito arch-roofed nicho w/ white granito cross atop; "Cerman"	84	200S	w
GR36	Blue homemade concrete cross	85	200S	w
GR37	Natural wood cross on concrete pad	86	200S	w
GR38	White granito nicho w/ rusted door & 2-tiered platform	90	200S	w
GR39	Wedge monument	93	200S	e
GR40	White wood cross w/ flowers on it; on a bridge that is under repair; the workers have lifted it up out of the way rather than destroy it.	93	200S	
GR41	Black metal cross w/ pointed tips; just outside Joluchuca	95	200S	e
GR42	3m tall light blue concrete cross, 10m off the road	99	200S	w
GR43	3m tall yellow concrete cross on a 3-tiered pedestal; "3mayo 1998"	99	200S	w
GR44	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees	101	200S	e
GR45	White cross on a beautiful cliff above the ocean; has a little nicho next to it and there's nothing inside except one votive candle. The ladies here at the restaurant next to the cross told me rest that when this was just a dirt road and people traveled by horseback, somehow it got the reputation of being, and was called, "Calvario." So its not a cross that marks a death, it is from religiosity.	104	200S	w
GR46	3 black metal crosses; 1 white concrete roman-style cross	113	200S	e
GR47	White granito cross w/ urn	115	200S	w
GR48	Light blue concrete cross	116	200S	e
GR49	Raised platform nicho w/ centered cross; "Edwardo Overa"	116	200S	
GR50	Nicho w/ open book inscription	117	200S	w
GR51	Black metal cross on turquoise concrete pedestal	118	200S	w
GR52	White granito, roman-style cross	118	200S	w
GR53	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal, about 10ft below road level; next to it is wrecked green VW	123	200S	w
GR54	Red metal cross on red painted concrete slab	125	200S	w
GR55	White concrete A-frame nicho on turquoise pedestal w/ white concrete cross inside	126	200S	w
GR56	White granito roman-style cross w/ an urn	127	200S	w
GR57	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees	127	200S	w
GR58	Light green metal cross w/ filigrees on concrete pedestal	129	200S	w
GR59	White metal cross on pedestal w/ red & white wreath	132	200S	w
GR60	White granito roman-style cross w/ an urn	132	200S	e
GR61	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & red flowers on it	133	200S	w
GR62	Large turquoise metal cross on a pedestal; in a small village	140	200S	e
GR63	White granito nicho w/ cross in front; "Hector Sanchez G."	141	200S	w
GR64	Black metal cross w/ turquoise pedestal	141	200S	w
GR65	Gray pipe-type cross w/ filigrees & center plate; on a bridge	147	200S	w
GR66	White gable roofed nicho	151	200S	w

GR67	Cross; data missing		200S	
GR68	White arch nicho (0.5m wide x 1.5m span) w/ 2 crosses on it, on top it says; "Sr. Vincente Santaruiño, 26 aug 1988" there is another cross w/ the same name	167	200S	w
GR69	The remains of a white concrete cross	167	200S	e
GR70	Black metal cross, totally covered with flowers	167	200S	e
GR71	Sky blue homemade concrete cross	168	200S	e
GR72	White concrete nicho w/ white metal cross atop enclosed within white WI fence	172	200S	e
GR73	2 black metal crosses with red flowers on them	173	200S	e
GR74	White concrete cross; "Isabel"	174	200S	w
GR75	White concrete roman-style cross	175	200S	w
GR76	Black metal cross w/ center plate & inter-arm filigrees	177	200S	w
GR77	White granito arch roofed nicho w/ cross on the rear, statue of Jesus Sacred Heart inside; on a 2x1x2 pedestal.	179	200S	w
GR78	Brick gable-roofed nicho, facing away from the road, 1x0.5x1m	180	200S	w
GR79	Small concrete nicho w/ black metal cross	180	200S	w
GR80	1.5m tall blue concrete cross on a 1m tall pedestal	180	200S	e
GR81	Large nicho/shrine w/ 4 crosses on it. Tiled gable roof & white WI fence around it	182	200S	w
GR82	Small w/ black metal nicho centered in the rear	182	200S	e
GR83	White metal	183	200S	w
GR84	Blue homemade concrete cross	186	200S	w
GR85	White concrete cross on white concrete platform	192	200S	w
GR86	Blue homemade nicho, used to have a blue cross behind it. Has a visitation stone inside and 2 homemade urns. Right next to it is a white concrete cross, the inscription is: "Sr. Florencio Rios Orazco, mayo 17 de 1980"	193	200S	w
GR87	4 wooden crosses small A-frame nicho w/black metal cross atop	193	200S	e
GR88	Large natural wood cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	194	200S	w
GR89	Remains of a homemade concrete cross on a pedestal	195	200S	w
GR90	White granito cross w/ 2 urns	196	200S	e
GR91	Natural concrete cross, 11.5ft tall	197	200S	w
GR92	Small nicho, about 10m off the road; white gable roofed w/ glass & metal door and cross centered atop the rear	200	200S	w
wGR11	Acapulco: junction of 95E & 200S, just east of the tunnel	208	200S	
GR93	Shrine w/ wall painting of NSGuad	208	200S	w
GR94	Black metal cross	208	200S	w
GR95	White concrete cross; these first 3 are in the urbanized area	208	200S	w
GR96	3 natural wood (lumber) cross	214	200S	w
GR97	Black metal cross, w/ red wreath; set in concrete	216	200S	w
GR98	White concrete cross	216	200S	w
GR99	See Text (above)	217	200S	w
GR100	Green concrete cross & 1 black concrete, both homemade	218	200S	w
GR101	White concrete cross	218	200S	e
GR102	Black pipe-type cross w/ center plate	218	200S	w

GR103	White pipe-type cross in front of 1 white concrete cross	220	200S	e
GR104	Small weathered wooden cross	221	200S	w
GR105	White concrete cross; down off the road	221	200S	w
GR106	White concrete roman-style cross	222	200S	w
GR107	2 small wooden crosses	222	200S	w
GR108	Concrete, gabled nicho w/ concrete cross centered atop rear, facing parallel to road & is unpainted	225	200S	e
GR109	Natural colored concrete, homemade cross, 1.5ft tall	227	200S	w
GR110	Large tan metal cross, 1.5m tall, on concrete pedestal w/ inter-arm filigrees & center plate	229	200S	e
GR111	White metal cross on concrete base	231	200S	w
GR112	Light blue concrete cross, 1ft. tall; on a hard curve	236	200S	w
GR113	Light blue, flat roofed nicho, rebar gate. Built into roadcut	239	200S	w
GR114	White concrete cross	239	200S	w
GR115	White concrete cross, 18", on 2-tiered, 0.5m tall pedestal	240	200S	w
GR116	White pipe-type cross on a hard curve, almost covered w/ red & white flowers	241	200S	w
GR117	Small white concrete cross; on a hard curve	248	200S	e
GR118	Turquoise concrete nicho, 1.5x1x1.5m, w/cross centered in the rear of the flat roof. 2-tiered & quite old.	251	200S	w
GR119	Large (2m tall) white concrete cross w/ a statue in front	257	200S	w
GR120	2 brown metal crosses on pedestals	266	200S	w
GR121	Black metal cross	266	200S	e
GR122	White concrete cross	266	200S	w
GR123	White A-frame nicho w/ brown metal cross centered in rear	266	200S	w
GR124	White concrete cross w/ red floral bouquet	275	200S	w
GR125	White concrete, flat roof nicho (1m square) w/ white granito cross atop. Nicho opening was 6" square	277	200S	e
GR126	2 black metal crosses w/ inter-arm filigrees & center plates	284	200S	e
GR127	Blue & white concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho 2m tall, w/wood metal cross inside	289	200S	e
GR128	Sky blue concrete nicho on a pedestal w/ 2 blue crosses behind. Pedestal is 0.5 tall & 1m square; nicho is 1ft cubed w/ gable roof & open face; crosses were on the nicho's rear corners.	290	200S	e
GR129	White concrete granito, gable roofed, nicho; open on front & sides, supported by 2 pillars in the middle.	295	200S	w
GR130	White concrete nicho, 1m tall including pedestal, flat roofed w/ concrete cross centered in rear	296	200S	w
GR131	Cross, no description		200S	
GR132	Cross, no description		200S	
GR133	Nicho, "A. Arnulfo Maren Mendoza de agosto 15, 1954 a enero 22, 1997 DEP: con honoredez, nobleza y valentia viviste sentimos en al alma tu partida; familiares y amigos" 2 vases full of fresh flowers.	303	200S	e
GR134	Blue, flat roofed nicho w/ dome atop; "Architect Roman Mayo Gonzales, 10 mar 1993"	307	200S	e
GR135	Nicho, down off the road; "Lic. Florentino Rodriquez; 10 mar 1993"	307	200S	e

GR136	Concrete nicho containing a wooden spindle-type cross; "Raphael Justo Castillo, 5 may 1997"	308	200S	w
GR137	White concrete cross	309	200S	w
GR138	4m square shrine w/ beautiful NSGuad done in beadwork, niche covered w/flowers	311	200S	w
GR139	Concrete nicho w/ brown wooden cross inside	314	200S	e
GR140	Blue nicho w/ wooden cross	314	200S	e
GR141	White concrete nicho w/ brown wooden cross inside	314	200S	
GR142	Green concrete A-frame nicho, 8" tall, w/ green concrete cross (2m tall) behind. All beneath an open shelter (3m cubed) w/ timber posts & palm leaf thatched shed-type roof.	315	200S	w
GR143	A-frame concrete nicho (8" tall) w/ 0.5m tall white metal cross atop	321	200S	e
GR144	White concrete cross, 1w/ pointed tips	324	200S	e
wB33	GR/OX boundary; end L3 Guerrero	332	200S	
wB68	MR/GR boundary; transect W5	0	95W	
GR145	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear w/ filigrees & center scroll inscribed in white paint.	2	95W	s
GR146	White granito clover-type cross	2	95W	n
GR147	Shrine up on a bluff above the road, maybe an old church	4	95W	n
GR148	Flat roofed shrine to NSGuad(?); 1.5x1.5x2m	11	95W	n
GR149	Aluminum & glass shrine to NSGuad; near a toll booth	14	95W	n
GR150	Blue pipe cross on a 3-tiered concrete pedestal; whole structure is 2.5m tall, cross is 18" of that	22	55S	e
GR151	2 black metal crosses within a black WI fence w/ lots of flowers on the crosses	24	55S	w
GR152	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees and the remains of a small concrete nicho	25	55S	w
GR153	Turquoise concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho	25	55S	w
GR154	White granito nicho w/ black WI door & fresh flowers; 14" tall	26	55S	w
GR155	Wood spindle-type cross atop what looks like an old grinder on a post	30	55S	e
GR156	Red metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees; mounted up on a rock in a road-cut	31	55S	w
GR157	White granito nicho w/ roman cross centered atop; faces parallel to road & away from the direction of traffic	31	55S	w
GR158	White granito, arch-roofed nicho w/ white metal outline-type cross inside & red WI door	33	55S	w
GR159	White granito nicho, dome-roof w/cross atop & urns in front	33	55S	e
GR160	White granito nicho w/ 1 black metal outline-type cross in front	34	55S	e
GR161	White concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	35	55S	e
GR162	White granito, gable roofed nicho w/ black WI door	36	55S	e
GR163	2-tiered white granito nicho w/ roman cross atop; 2m tall	36	55S	e
GR164	Brick arch-roofed shrine, to NSGuad, 1m square & 2m tall	37	55S	e
GR165	White granito, arch-roof nicho w/black metal cross inside	38	55S	w

GR166	White granito nicho w/ black metal cross in front w/ center scroll & filigrees	39	55S	e
wGR16	Iguala	42	95S	
GR167	Blue metal outline-cross w/filigrees, on a concrete pedestal	45	95S	w
GR168	Light blue granito, flat-roofed Nicho, .5m sq, w/ statue of Jesus Sacred Heart	45	95S	w
GR169	White metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll & floral bouquet, on a concrete pedestal	46	95S	w
GR170	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns in front, black metal cross atop and black WI fence around it	46	95S	w
GR171	Black outline-type cross w/ center scroll	47	95S	w
GR172	Arch-roofed nicho, 1.5m tall, open-faced w/ black WI gate	49	95S	e
GR173	White metal outline- cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	49	95S	e
GR174	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	49	95S	w
GR175	White granito nicho w/ granito cross centered atop and in front of it are 3 black metal crosses w/ center scrolls & filigrees	49	95S	w
GR176	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns & black metal cross in front: "Residro ? Silvra"	50	95S	w
GR177	Blue metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll: "Sergio ??"	50	95S	w
GR178	White granito clover-cross and a black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	51	95S	w
GR179	2 white concrete roman-style crosses & 1 black metal cross	51	95S	w
GR180	White granito arch-roofed nicho w/ 2 urns in front	52	95S	w
GR181	White granito roman-style cross	52	95S	w
GR182	Flat-roofed brick nicho w/ open face & white concrete cross centered on rear	52	95S	e
GR183	White concrete, flat-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered on front; faced parallel to road	53	95S	e
GR184	Concrete, flat-roofed nicho; in disrepair	54	95S	w
GR185	Light blue metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	54	95S	e
GR186	Black metal cross and 1 white concrete cross	54	95S	e
GR187	White granito nicho w/ roman cross centered on rear; on a concrete platform & surrounded by black WI fence; 1.5m sq & 2m tall built onto a road-cut.	56	95S	w
GR188	Black metal outline-type cross w/ filigrees & scroll	57	95S	e
GR189	White sheet metal nicho, 2ft tall, w/ white WI gate	58	95S	w
GR190	White granito roman-style cross	58	95S	w
GR191	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns & brown cross atop	60	95S	w
GR192	White concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, .5x.25x.5, w/ turquoise WI gate & 3" turquoise metal cross centered on the front	61	95S	w
GR193	White granito nicho w/roman cross atop; inside crucified Christ image mounted on the rear wall (these images are metal & I've seen them in stores).	61	95S	e
GR194	White granito nicho, Maltese-cross atop, in white WI fence	62	95S	e
GR195	White pipe-type cross w/ scroll on top of a road-cut bank	63	95S	w
GR196	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & heart-shaped scroll	63	95S	w
GR197	2 white granito, roman crosses; "Jose"	66	95S	e

GR198	White wood cross	67	95S	w
GR199	2 white metal crosses	68	95S	
GR200	White granito cross	70	95S	w
GR201	Black metal cross w/ scroll, filigrees & bouquet of red & white artificial flowers	71	95S	w
GR202	White granito cross on brick pedestal	71	95S	w
GR203	2m tall aluminum & glass nicho on stilts. In front are 2 smaller nichos on either corner, all crosses on front.	72	95S	w
GR204	White granito arch-roofed nicho w/ cross on rear & white WI fence around it	72	95S	w
GR205	3 white metal crosses	75	95S	w
GR206	White metal cross	75	95S	w
GR207	White metal cross on concrete pedestal	75	95S	e
GR208	White granito, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, side pillars, statue of Jesus Sacred Heart & 2 urns	77	95S	e
GR209	Large brick shrine, to NSGuad at a turn-out w/ food stands	78	95S	e
GR210	White granito nicho w/cross atop & black metal cross in front	78	95S	
GR211	Concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross on front	78	95S	
GR212	White granito gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop & 2urns	80	95S	w
GR213	Sky blue wooden cross	80	95S	e
GR214	Black metal cross, covered by red artificial flowers	80	95S	w
GR215	3 white pipe-type crosses w/ roofed scrolls	82	95S	e
GR216	White granito nicho w/ cross atop & 2 urns atop	82	95S	
GR217	3 gray metal roof-crosses w/ pointed tips & center scrolls	82	95S	w
GR218	White granito, arch-roofed nicho w/ clover cross atop, 2 urns, black WI door and a black metal cross behind it	85	95S	w
GR219	Concrete & stone nicho w/2 white & 1 gray metal cross	86	95S	e
GR220	Reddish-colored metal roof-type cross w/ center scroll: "A nuestros caridos y envoldidables amices soston echiburo Giomar Morales Anita Maria Debia Moria echiquburo nos recuerdan siempre, familia Zamorra Contrares, familia Pissaro Cortes, 8-1-81"	86	95S	w
GR221	A large chapel made of brick w/ concrete hip roof & a dome on the peak and a cross atop the dome. Its about 5x5x3m. The inside has a white tile floor with nice designs in the tile, has green, white & red bunting hung from the center of the roof. There is a 1m tall 2-dimensional ceramic of NSGuad in the center, below is a 5x7 print of same & in front of it is a small Juan Diego statue, in front of that is a white glassed box with a flower bouquet [looks like a wedding bouquet], to the left of that is a 2'x3' print of V de SJdIL. There are bouquets of both fresh & artificial flowers. In front is a votive box with candles burning. There are homemade wooden benches on either side. "Zumpango del Rio, Guerrero; familia Hernandez Rios"	86	95S	w
GR222	White granito roman-style cross on 2-tiered pedestal	91	95S	e
GR223	Concrete cross; weathered	93	95S	e
GR224	White granito roman- cross on a rock & concrete pedestal	93	95S	w
GR225	Concrete arch-roofed nicho; quite weathered	94	95S	e

GR226	White metal, gable-roofed nicho; brown wood cross inside	95	95S	w
GR227	White nicho w/ WI fence around it	95	95S	w
GR228	Wooden cross	95	95S	w
GR229	Cross on a pink concrete pedestal, 1m cubed	95	95S	w
GR230	White concrete cross	96	95S	w
GR231	White granito nicho w/urns & brown wood cross inside	96	95S	w
GR232	Red wood cross & 1 white metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	97	95S	e
GR233	White metal cross	97	95S	e
GR234	White A-frame nicho w/ white granito cross in front	97	95S	w
GR235	Natural wood cross w/ forked tips	97	95S	e
GR236	Light blue wood cross on concrete pedestal	97	95S	e
GR237	Shrine, 1 large statue of Cristo Rey above the road on a road-cut bank; about 4m tall	98	95S	
GR238	White granito nicho w/ Maltese-cross atop arched roof & 2 urns in front	99	95S	e
GR239	Large nicho, the inscriptions on the 3 crosses are: "Joven Hugo de J. Figueroa Gomez, 15 jan. 1980" "Sra Bertha Gomez Cruz, 25 mar. 1958" "Srta Gabriella Figueroa Gomez, 21 sept 1977" in front it says: "Hugo, Gaby, Berta; siempre los recordemos donde lugeria que estances amigos que nunca los olvidaremos, fallacieron 15 feb 1998" there are 3 wooden crosses inside of the aluminum & glass box that used to be here. Flat-roofed bronze-colored aluminum & glass nicho w/ 3 clover-type crosses inside, 2 urns on the outside and its enclosed by a 5.5' tall gray WI fence and it has chicken wire on it and the flowers in the urns are fresh. There's also some auto parts strewn about the vicinity.	100	95S	w
GR240	Pink concrete, open-faced shrine, 2x3x3m, w/1.5m tall statue of NSGuad & 18" tall statue of Juan Diego on a 2-tiered rock & concrete pedestal. Behind is flag of Mexico, a pail of fresh flowers & a potted plant. This is at a rest stop w/ a mechanic shop & restaurant.	102	95S	w
wGR17	Chilpancingo	103	95S	
GR241	2 brown wood crosses & 1 black metal cross	106	95S	w
GR242	Light blue wood cross	120	95S	w
GR243	White concrete box-type nicho, 6" tall, white concrete cross, 2' tall, centered on rear	127	95S	w
GR244	White metal nicho and 1 red metal nicho	131	95S	w
GR245	White granito nicho w/ cross atop		95S	w
GR246	White metal nicho w/ center scroll	131	95S	w
GR247	Black metal cross w/ red flowers, behind the guard rail	145	95S	w
GR248	White granito, arch-roofed nicho w/ 2 urns in front & Jesus Scared Heart statue (2 ft tall) inside of the open arch	154	95S	w
GR249	White metal outline- cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	162	95S	m
wGR21	The Acapulco tunnel; end W5a	179	95N	
wB38	GR/MR; begin W5b	0	95N	
GR257	2 black crosses, built into a rock & concrete nave	8	95N	e
GR256	Small aluminum & glass shrine to NSGuad, .25m cubed	14	95N	w
GR255	Wood cross w/ orange flowers on it	68	95N	w

GR254	White granito roman-style cross	70	95N	w
GR253	Green metal cross, covered w/ fresh flowers	71	95N	w
GR252	3m tall cross on a road-cut bank	74	95N	w
GR251	Arch-roofed shrine w/ wings, has a cross in red caution tape in the front. Main image is a statue of V. de San Juan, at its base is a 5x7 print of NSGuad, behind it is a x-fix and to its left is half of a statue of St Jude. It has an open book inscription in front, there are 11 steps leading up to it, and the inscription is: "Santissima Virgin de San Juan de los Lagos milagros que a diario hace las santissa senora a los que de corazon le piden el remedio de sus aflicciones y oraciona que acudan a este capilla a rendir confo[?] de hermaje a la riena de cielo" at the bottom it says "Gracias madre mia por todo, familia Gomez Pacheco, 20 dic 1992" and this is on a turn-out off of the autopista and is right near where there is some emergency water & waste baskets and an emergency telephone.	112	95N	e
GR250	Black metal cross w/ diamond-shaped center scroll: "Teofilo Valez Zapato, jan. 8, 1945-oct 26, 1977; DEP"	112	95N	e
wGR21	The Acapulco tunnel; end W5b	112	95N	

Table C10.3: Oaxaca

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB21	OX/VZ border: transect L2	0	175N	
OX65	Remains of a concrete A-frame nicho	9	175N	w
OX64	1x1x1 concrete nicho with concrete cross atop	9	175N	w
OX63	Blue and black concrete nicho, .25 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed	11	175N	w
OX62	Blue tile nicho, .5 x 1x1m, with white cross centered in the rear and nothing inside; in front of a monument vender	12	175N	w
OX61	White metal cross and turquoise metal cross	11	175N	
OX60	Unpainted concrete nicho	11	175N	
OX59	Blue nicho, 1x .5x1m w/ white metal cross	13	175N	e
OX58	White concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ concrete cross atop, very small niche opening	16	147N	e
OX57	Blue cross	17	147N	e
OX56	White concrete nicho	17	147N	e
OX55	Unpainted concrete, A-frame, open-faced nicho	17	147N	e
OX54	Green concrete, 2' square & 3' high, gabled nicho with black metal cross	19	147N	e
OX53	White metal cross	38	147N	e
OX52	White box-type concrete nicho with white concrete crown cross in front	40	147N	w
OX51	Blue concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with a centered cross in the rear of the same material	40	147N	e
OX50	4x3x4m turquoise concrete open shrine with spires on the sides and a centered cross on a dome that is built over the ridge of the gabled roof and has a bell centered below the cross; Inside: centered crucifix, on either side are glass encase 18" tall statues of St. Jude and a Virgin Mary and fresh flowers.	45	147N	e
OX49	White granito nicho, 2m, with church-type spires with 'flames' atop on a pedestal with 2 urns and open-book inscription in front; inside are 2 Virgin of Guadalupe prints and a wooden spindle cross.	47	147N	e
OX48	Unpainted concrete, gabled, open-faced nicho with a cross atop in the rear	47	147N	e
OX47	Small blue gabled concrete nicho; used to have a cross atop	49	147N	e
OX46	Small concrete nicho	49	147N	e
OX45	White granito arched roof nicho with centered cross, 2 side urns, white metal gate, with a painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe on the back wall of the inside.	49	147N	w
OX44	White concrete cross	51	147N	w
OX43	Blue concrete, steeply gabled roof, open-faced nicho; .25 x .25 x .5	54	147N	w
OX42	2x1x2 granito nicho with front urns, open-book with death inscription in front of the black metal niche door; inside is a crucifix.	56	147N	e
OX41	Small A-frame, concrete nicho with silver cross atop	57	147N	w
OX40	White granito nicho with side spires with 'flames' atop the spires, centered cross, flower urns in the front, black metal	57	147N	w

	door, in front of the door is an open-book with the death inscription.			
OX39	Green wood cross with a centered nameplate that is wrapped with the remains of a paper floral cross-shaped wreath.	79	147N	w
OX38	White granito, 1x.5x1, gable-roofed nicho with 3 stars; 2 votive candles & 8x10 print of Jesus Sacred Heart	84	147N	e
OX37	White granito A-frame nicho with white cross: Talked to the people who live nearby. They said someone who lives somewhere else built the nicho, they hardly ever come anymore except on Nov.1.	86	147N	e
OX36	.25 x .5 x .75 white, open-faced concrete nicho with a white concrete cross centered in the rear	90	147N	e
wOX05	jct 185/147: end L2a @Palomares	91	147N	
wB43	OX/PB boundary: transect L2b	0	190N	
OX343	2 double concrete, gable-roofed, 4' wide x 3' tall nichos w/ identical black metal crosses atop rear	0	190N	w
OX342	2 nichos, one has a white cross in front & is white concrete, gabled & has black metal cross behind w/ fresh flowers. Next to that is a divided flat-roofed concrete nicho w/ black metal cross behind w/ diamond-shaped scroll, NSGuad print inside. Partially buried due to some roadwork.	1	190N	w
OX341	Concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear, 2' cubed w/ black WI door; cross has filigrees & scroll.	2	190N	e
OX340	Black metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & fresh flowers	3	190N	w
OX339	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees, plastic flowers, atop center; in a tree next to it is a bouquet of wilted flowers; death date, 13 Feb 1993 at age 26, 7 years later someone is still bringing flowers.	10	190N	e
OX338	Concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ facade that used to have crosses on both corners, 3x2x2.5'	12	190N	w
OX337	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll on either a nicho or a pedestal of stone, odd-shaped, like a wedge of pie	13	190N	w
OX336	Pink concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop front, 3' deep x 2' wide & tall; built into a road-cut	13	190N	e
OX335	a) Light blue nicho of homemade concrete bricks w/ wooden cross inside, padlocked. Outside a wood cross is nailed to it; "Magdeleno Montes Sanchez, nacio 22 jun 1948, fallacio 22 aug 1996; recuerdo de su esposa y hijos" has both fresh & imitation flowers inside. b) Larger central nicho has inside 2 crosses; "Omar Israel Gonzales Garzon, 8 dic 77- 22 aug 96; tercer aniversario, recuerdo de su padrino" central figure is a dark-skinned Virgin, probably Juquilla. There is also a Virgin & child, a crucifix, a lantern with a cartoon of an English bobby, a pack a Delicado cigarettes, one of them is out; there are 4 pieces of candy and half of a Coke. Both fresh and imitation flowers and planted flowers. c) Below that is a white metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees for the same man, "recuerdo de sus papas." d) Next to that is a gable-roofed nicho with 2 white crosses behind it, the name is; "Issac Z. Rojas Martinez, 3-6-66/22-8-96." e) Next to that	15	190N	e

	is a flat-roofed nicho with a black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; "Manuel Vale Pena, 25-12-71/ 22-8-96 a la edad de 24, DEP" and it has both wilted and plastic flowers inside.			
OX334	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll; a pile of brick & concrete in front	17	190N	e
OX333	Brick A-frame nicho w/ rusted metal cross atop rear w/ filigrees; nicho was stuccoed at one time	18	190N	w
OX332	White metal cross on brick & concrete pedestal, filigrees & scroll	19	190N	w
OX331	Tri-color shrine to NSGuad, looks like it is basically a nicho atop a cistern set back off the road 50m	19	190N	w
OX330	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	20	190N	w
OX329	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scrolls	21	190N	w
OX328	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns in front, arch-roof, key-shaped facade, image inside is Vdel carmen, & a smaller image of nino del P?, behind is a cross; "Jose Manuel Lopez Gil, nacio 28 feb 1974 fallacio 12 dic 1996 DEP" beautifully landscaped, even the soil was brought in and has a mulch layer. Padlocked and in a very remote location.	21	190N	e
OX327	Concrete A-frame, 18" tall nicho in front of 2 black metal identical crosses w/ filigrees & scrolls; 2' tall	23	190N	w
OX326	White granito nicho w/ urn in front & cross behind	24	190N	w
OX325	White metal outline-type cross w/ filigrees, in the rock of a road-cut	27	190N	w
OX324	Large white concrete, gable-roofed shrine, 2m square, on a road cut, central figure is Christ w/ crown of thorns	29	190N	e
OX323	Black metal cross, totally covered w/ very fresh flowers, none wilted and a beautiful assortment of flowers	31	190N	w
OX322	In Tamazulapan; large red concrete, A-frame shrine; there's a plaque centered above the central figure; "Fue construida esta capilla el 7 de abril de 1967, por la ?? Amalia Mendoza Juarez, Tamazulapan, OX; 4-67"; the central image is a dark Christ chained to a pillar, inscribed "Bendito Jesus del desmayo" and there a 2 large, very, very beautiful bouquets of fresh flowers (including calla lilies and red, yellow, white, and pink carnations) and 3 of 7 votive candles are burning. There is an A-frame of imitation flowers and a basket of imitation flowers atop the aluminum & glass case that contains the Christ statue; the case is 6' long and 2' square. At the base, the shrine is 5 ft across and wide; it has trees and azaleas planted in the outside patio, and a bell.	33	190N	e
OX321	White granito nicho w/ cross behind; 18" tall	37	190N	w
OX320	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	38	190N	w
OX319	White granito nicho, arch-roof w/ white metal & glass door, fresh flowers	38	190N	e
OX318	Black metal cross w/scroll & sun-burst; faced away from road	39	190N	e
OX317	White granito nicho w/fresh flowers & angel on a flat roof	41	190N	w
OX316	Nicho w/ cross centered atop rear	41	190N	e

OX315	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross centered atop rear	42	190N	w
OX314	White cross	42	190N	e
OX313	4 crosses, and 3 nichos	42	190N	w
OX312	2 crosses,	42	190N	e
OX311	2 concrete, arch-roofed nichos, 1' tall, one w/ black metal the other w/ white metal crosses centered on rear; crosses were same design w/ scrolls & filigrees.	44	190N	e
OX310	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	46	190N	e
OX309	2 white metal crosses w/ diamond-shaped, roofed scrolls	46	190N	w
OX308	2 black metal crosses on brick & concrete pedestal, mounted in tandem; rear one 2' tall, front 18" tall. White inscriptions on arms, fresh flowers	48	190N	w
OX307	White pipe-cross w/ filigrees & scroll, spear-point tips	51	190N	e
OX306	Light blue metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll, & fresh flowers	51	190N	w
OX305	Large monument/cross in the middle and an arch over it that says; "Los hombres mueran mas no los ideales"; the cross is inscribed; "Prof. H.S.P. 18-3-96".	56	190N	e
OX304	White granito, flat-roofed nicho w/ 2 urns w/ wilted flowers in front	57	190N	w
OX303	Wood [6" tall] cross on concrete 3-tiered pedestal [2.5' tall]; above the road on road-cut bank	59	190N	w
OX302	Brick, flat-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ yellow metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll centered on rear [2' tall]	60	190N	e
OX301	Unpainted concrete A-frame, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross, w/ filigrees & scroll, centered in rear	60	190N	w
OX300	Unpainted 1x2 lumber wood [8" tall] cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal [2' tall]	62	190N	e
OX299	White granito, flat-roofed nicho w/ cross centered on rear, aluminum & glass door	62	190N	w
OX344	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	65	190N	w
wOX29	jct 135N/190N at Asuncion Nochixtlan; break L2b	66	190N	
wOX24	Ciudad Oaxaca; resume L2b	91	190N	
OX218	6" tall arched roof nicho w/black metal cross centered	93	190N	m
OX217	Small box-type nicho	93	190N	m
OX216	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns & black metal cross	93	190N	m
OX215	Small box nicho w/black metal cross centered in rear	93	190N	m
OX214	Arched roof nicho w/ cross	93	190N	m
OX213	White metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees, has 2 vases of fresh gladiolus	94	190N	w
OX212	White granito nicho w/ clover cross atop w/ black WI gate; 1m tall	94	190N	w
OX211	White concrete, arch roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered in rear; faced parallel	96	190N	w
OX210	White granito clover- cross, 1m tall w/ small nicho beneath	98	190N	
OX209	Black metal cross, 15m off the road	98	190N	e
OX208	Black metal nicho, partially destroyed	98	190N	
OX207	Gray nicho w/cross	98	190N	w
OX206	White granito nicho	98	190N	e

OX205	White granito crucifix	98	190N	w
OX204	Small concrete nicho w/ black metal cross centered in rear	100	190N	
OX203	Gold-painted concrete, arched roof, 1m tall nicho w/ gold colored metal cross centered in rear	100	190N	w
OX202	2 white granito nichos and 1 black pipe cross	100	190N	w
OX201	4m tall white metal cross w/ small nicho at its base	100	190N	w
OX200	White granito nicho w/ crown-type cross atop	100	190N	w
OX199	3 granito nicho and 1 black metal cross	101	190N	w
OX198	Natural concrete box-type nicho w/ white metal cross inside & flowers in front	104	190N	w
OX197	4m tall outline-type cross on a white base w/ red trim	104	190N	e
OX196	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees and a small nicho in front	105	190N	w
OX195	Natural concrete, gable-roofed nicho; 5m off the road & quite weathered	106	190N	e
OX194	White & yellow shrine to NSGuad, 3m cubed, and near a bunch of auto repair shops.	107	190N	w
OX193	White granito nicho w/ crown-type cross centered in rear, black WI gate	109	190N	e
OX192	Black metal cross w/ spear-point tips & center scroll	109	190N	e
OX191	Small brick, real simple nicho, made of 4 or 5 bricks, flat roof w/ black metal cross centered in rear	109	190N	e
OX190	Black, 1m tall, metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees	110	190N	w
OX189	18" tall concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered in rear	110	190N	w
OX188	Concrete, 1x.5x.75m, arch roofed nicho; set back off the road 5m; niche opening was 1/2 the width of nicho	112	190N	w
OX187	1m tall, gable-roofed, granito nicho	113	190N	e
OX186	Brick gable-roofed, open faced nicho	116	190N	e
OX185	White arch-roofed nicho w/ 2 urns	120	190N	w
OX184	Black metal cross	120	190N	w
OX183	White concrete, arch-roofed nicho	120	190N	w
OX182	Silver-colored metal cross	120	190N	w
OX181	White granito, 1m tall cross, "Pedro Mendez"	120	190N	e
OX180	White granito nicho w/urns on sides & cross atop middle	124	190N	w
OX179	2m tall metal cross and nicho. There's lots of broken glass & stuff around here, parts of a windshield. This whole site is very nicely done; white washed rocks outlining a little garden with half a dozen roses planted in it; they're all in condition and growing. There is a sign with a painting of the truck and says "Recuerdo de sus amigos que no te olvidaremos" and marble monument with a relief of Jesus w/ crown of thorns. And there's a small niche with 2 votive candles; has 2 built-in urns w/ imitation flowers. The inscription is; "Clemente Calderon [? Date]. Next to it is a brown & white pipe-type cross; "Andreas Alonzo Cruz, DEP nacio 9 octubre 1948, fallacio 14 febrero 1997; recuerdo de sus companeros de trabajo" I guess the picture with the cross matches with	124	190N	e

	nicho, I'm going to try to read this on the nicho; "Recuerdo de sus companeros sera seres te ahron[?] nunca que olvidaron, [?] Garcia, de febrero 1997"			
OX178	Concrete nicho and 1 black metal cross w/ filigrees	125	190N	w
OX177	1 silver-colored metal cross, 1 white metal & 1 black metal; all have center scrolls & inter-arm filigrees	127	190N	w
OX176	2 black metal crosses w/ center scrolls & filigrees; in front of them is an arch-shaped piece of concrete (looked like something that might be used to build a fence, you put 2 of them together & have a circle, it is pre-formed and has some other use).	128	190N	w
OX175	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho; built into road-cut on a curve	129	190N	e
OX174	Concrete, arched roof nicho; built into road cut	129	190N	e
OX173	Small concrete nicho w/ gabled red tile roof	129	190N	w
OX172	Brick/concrete A-frame nicho w/black metal cross centered on rear (scroll & filigrees); nicho 6" tall, cross 3' tall.	130	190N	w
OX171	White 3m tall concrete cross w/ heart painted in the junction of the arms; set off to the left on what used to be a turnout but is now a gravel pile for the maintenance crews.	131	190N	w
OX170	2 box- nichos; 1st has white metal cross w/ center scroll & filigrees & is rusted and centered in rear; 2nd has no cross.	131	190N	e
OX169	Concrete nicho w/ brick arched roof, 1x.5x.5m, roof is partially caved in; faces parallel to road	132	190N	w
OX168	White granito crown-type cross	135	190N	e
OX167	Small concrete, arch-roofed nicho, 1x.5x.25m, w/ homemade concrete cross centered in rear	137	190N	e
OX166	White concrete, arch roofed nicho w/ black metal cross w/filigrees, centered in rear & 2 openings; 1 in the square bottom part, another in the arched section; Statue of Michael Archangel in upper niche.	137	190N	w
OX165	Concrete, 1x.5x.5m, arch roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered atop the middle in the rear; sits about 5' below road level & parallel to the road.	139	190N	w
OX164	Block (unpainted) nicho w/ red gabled roof & silver pipe cross centered atop rear; is quite weathered	140	190N	e
OX163	A) 1st nicho has a black WI sun-burst cross w/ spear-point tips; "A.E.H.J." behind it on the same pedestal is a white granito, arch-roofed nicho w/ urns on either side & white cross atop; inside are 4 votive candles, x-fix and V. of Juquilla print. B) 2nd nicho is a homemade flat roofed nicho of natural concrete; built into it, you can see that the cross was set before the nicho was set. The only thing left on the cross that still shows are the cross arms and name scroll; "Sr. Tarino Juacinto Mendoza A., nacio el 11 de agosto 1961, fallacio el 29 agosto 1995, DEP recuerdo de esposa, hijos y nietos" C) Next nicho is a double homemade concrete, gable-roofed. As with the previous one, the crosses were set first and the nicho was added later. Left cross; "Juvantino Lopez Diaz nacio 24 enero 1934, fallacio 29 agosto 1995" next to it	142	190N	e

	"Maria Martina Lopez nacio 2 agosto 1927 fallacio 29 agosto 1995, DEP". D) Next is a black WI cross w/ spear-point ends, inter-arm filigrees & center scroll; "DEP Benito Ruiz Hernandez f. el día 29 agosto 1995 a la edad de 32 anos". E) Next is a small homemade nicho w/ flattened gable roof, behind it is a pipe cross w/ oval scroll; abril 10, 1933- agosto 29, 1995 DEP recuerdo de su esposa, hijos y nietos; Cleofus Alvarez Mejandocas". F) Granito nicho w/ arched roof & Maltese-style cross atop; "DEP Abel Avilar Perez, 29 agosto 1995" has urns on either side. Inside is a framed V. de Juquilla print, 2 votive candles and a vase of flowers. G) Set up on a hill from this group is a large (1.5m tall) cross w/ initials "A.E.H.J.; Hernandez Morales, recuerdo de sus hijos, 29 agosto 1995"			
OX162	2 large (1.5m tall) crosses, one was plain roman & red; the other was black metal w/ inter-arm filigrees	143	190N	
OX161	Brick homemade, flat-roofed shrine w/white cross atop built into a rock. Inside is a small light blue granito chapel that is inscribed; "Virgincita" on the left, and on the right; "de Juquilla" inside it is a 11x14 print of the same.	143	190N	e
OX160	White granito, arch roofed nicho w/ black WI & glass door, black metal cross w/ center scroll, centered atop rear	144	190N	e
OX159	Light blue pipe-cross w/ center scroll & filigrees	145	190N	w
OX158	3 arch-roofed, white concrete nichos, one w/ blue tile interior & a red metal & a black metal cross; all up atop the bank of a road-cut above road level.	153	190N	e
OX157	2 black metal, 1 red metal cross; one of the blacks has center scroll & filigrees, the others are plain roman-style.	154	190N	w
OX156	Tan granito, 1.5' tall nicho w/ black metal cross w/ center scroll "AJF"; looked fairly new	159	190N	w
OX155	1.5m cubed box-type nicho, facing parallel to road, under construction w/ wooden cross leaning against it in the rear	160	190N	
OX154	2 black metal crosses, 8" tall, one w/ bouquet of red artificial flower	164	190N	w
OX153	White concrete nicho w/turquoise WI door, 1m square & 1.5m tall	166	190N	w
OX152	White pipe-cross w/ rusted center scroll	171	190N	w
OX151	Small white A-frame, concrete nicho w/ white metal cross behind. Nicho 6" tall, cross 1m tall w/scroll & sun-rays.	173	190N	e
OX150	0.5m tall concrete nicho w/ rebar cross centered in the middle atop a flat roof. Very weathered	175	190N	e
OX149	A large chapel, about 6m cubed, has a church facade with belfries (and no bells) and a cross atop the center. Doors are locked. Inside: a center altar with an altar cage that is the same shape as the building, inside it is a wood and glass cabinet containing a 2 ft tall statue of the Virgin of Juquilla. Outside of the cage statues of St. Jude to the right and St. Peter (?) to the left. Just inside the door are votive candles that can be lit from the outside. On the left wall is NSGuad print, on the right wall is a Jesus Sacred Heart print. The	176	190N	e

	inside is decorated with party-type streamers from the center of the ceiling. On the outside wall is painted; "Deposte aqui su demosna" above a little hole big enough for coins. And this is out in the middle of no-where, there's no population anywhere near here. Definitely meant for the traveler.			
OX148	White granito cross, up on a road-cut bank	180	190N	w
OX147	Blue pipe-cross w/ small brick nicho in front & black metal cross	180	190N	w
OX146	White, arch-roofed, granito nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	181	190N	e
OX145	White pipe-type cross w/ pointed tips; 1m tall	183	190N	w
OX144	Blue metal, 8" tall, cross w/ 3 pieces of concrete & brick arranged in front to form a shelter for candles	183	190N	w
OX143	1' square, brick nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	187	190N	w
OX142	Light blue concrete shrine, 5m long x 3m wide x 3m tall, enclosed on 3 sides w/ patio supported by 6 concrete pillars. Inside; 14x24 print & 12" statue of Virgin of Juquilla, small framed plaque of San Bartholome Apostol, "aug 24 San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca, Mexico" ; 2 vases of flowers.	189	190N	w
OX141	White granito nicho w/ red crosses painted on sides, black metal cross atop & black WI door	194	190N	e
OX140	Green metal cross, "J.R.G." & white granito nicho; "Joel Reyes Guzman"	194	190N	w
OX139	Blue double nicho w/ 2 crosses atop each; "Ramulio Franco C. 15 julio 1993" & "Carlos Franco C. 15 julio 1993" center scrolls are heart-shaped & around the edges of both is painted; "Aqui termino mi existecia fisica, hoy inicio mi existencia espiritual".	194	190N	w
OX138	White metal outline-type cross w/ center scroll; "Miguel A. Mejia S.; 21-9-92"	196	190N	e
OX137	White granito, .25m tall nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	201	190N	w
OX136	Red metal cross w/ center scroll & spear-point tips	201	190N	w
OX135	White wood cross w/ floral bouquet at the base	203	190N	e
OX134	Natural concrete nicho, 0.5m cubed, flat-peaked gable roof w/ wings & white metal cross w/filigrees, scroll & spear-point tips. Inside: vases w/ flowers	205	190N	w
OX133	2 black metal crosses w/ center scrolls on concrete pedestal	205	190N	w
OX132	2 brick nichos (6" tall & 12" tall), side-by-side, w/ black metal crosses (1m tall) in the rear. Xs w/ center scrolls & inter-arm filigrees.	214	190N	w
OX131	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	218	190N	e
OX130	Brick nicho (.5x.25x.25m) flat peak-gable roof w/ black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center scroll centered on rear.	220	190N	e
OX129	3 black metal crosses w/ inter-arm filigrees & center plates	222	190N	e
OX128	Black metal cross w/ filigrees on horizontal arms; "Irene Blas Garcia, recuerdo de su esposo, ninos y familiares" on the vertical arm on is painted in red "INRI" and a cross; at the	226	190N	e

	bottom of the center plate (which is in blue & pink) "DEP".			
OX127	Small (1ft cubed) metal nicho w/ gable roof & white metal cross (5ft tall) atop; "Juan G. Cruz Z.; familia y amigos te recuerdan, junio 17, 1987".	228	190N	e
OX126	Natural concrete, 1x.5x.75m, gable roof, nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear, black WI door	229	190N	e
OX125	White metal roof-type cross, 1m tall	235	190N	w
wOX18	jct 185/190 @ Tehuantepec: end L2b	238	190N	
wOX01	San Pedro Tapanatepec: L2c	238	190W	
OX03	White concrete cross	240	190W	s
OX02	1m tall wooden cross	241	190W	n
OX01	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal	242	190W	s
wB18	OX/CP boundary End L2c	249	190W	
wB34	GR/OX boundary: transect L3	0	200S	
OX66	Small concrete nicho w/ stub of a blue concrete cross atop	2	200S	w
OX67	.5x.5x1m concrete nicho w/ rusted pipe cross in the rear	3	200S	w
OX68	White granito cross on a brick pedestal	7	200S	e
OX69	Red metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center plate facing parallel to the road	8	200S	e
OX70	Just barely saw the top of an arch roofed nicho	22	200S	w
OX71	White concrete clover-type cross	35	200S	w
OX72	Natural wooden cross attached to a boulder on a hard curve	42	200S	e
OX73	2 unpainted concrete box-type nichos w/ black metal crosses centered in the rear, starting to rust	42	200S	e
OX74	Blue gable roofed nicho w/ white metal cross centered on the rear; next to it is a white concrete cross on a brick pedestal.	43	200S	e
OX75	8" cubed box-nicho w/ black metal cross (2' tall) w/ inter-arm filigrees & center plate & red flowers, centered atop.	44	200S	w
OX76	Natural concrete cross on a pedestal, 1m tall	51	200S	w
OX77	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center plates, white flowers; mounted behind a rock	51	200S	w
OX78	Gray metal outline-type cross on concrete pedestal	62	200S	e
OX79	2 black metal crosses on the same concrete pedestal w/ pointed tips, center plates, one w/ initials, and filigrees.	66	200S	e
OX80	Large (2m tall) homemade concrete cross on a concrete pedestal (both white) probably the village cross, no inscription.	80	200S	e
OX81	White metal cross & black metal	96	200S	w
OX82	White granito, arch roofed nicho w/ clover-type cross atop, black WI & glass door and on a pedestal; 1.5m tall	100	200S	e
wOX10	Puerto Escondido	109	200S	
OX83	Natural concrete, .5m long x .25 wide & tall nicho w/ sky blue metal cross centered in the rear; facing away from the road.	114	200S	e
OX84	Black pipe-cross w/ filigrees & center scroll	115	200S	w
OX85	Small concrete A-frame nicho, 8" tall, & a granito cross behind	115	200S	e
OX86	Small gable roofed, concrete nicho w/ beautiful wooden cross inscribed; "Sabas Weneslao Munos Q. fallacio 12/3/99	116	200S	w

	a la edad de 39 anos" inside; silver colored framed print of Virgin of Juquilla & a bottle of water.			
OX87	White wood cross, set down lower than the road, and there's a white-washed rock next to it	118	200S	e
OX88	Small, white, concrete gable nicho w/ blue wooden cross centered on it near the front	121	200S	w
OX89	Gray metal cross w/ filigrees on the arm ends & center scroll; "Juan Reyes Garcia fallacio el 15 de ?"	121	200S	w
OX90	6 crosses, 4 nichos; a) 0.5x0.5x 0.5m arch-roofed nicho with a cross centered in the rear, all of them are homemade, the cross has the initials: "HRR" b) next to it on the south is a concrete homemade cross with the initials: "GGC"; c) a wooden cross; d) another homemade concrete cross with the initials: "MAJ" and "fallacio el 20 de enero 1989" e) Next to it is a red metal outline-type cross, initials: "PSC, 21-1-89" up behind that is a triple nicho with 2 wooden crosses behind it.	125	200S	w
OX91	Small red brick & concrete box-type nicho	128	200S	w
OX92	Small concrete box-type nicho	133	200S	w
OX93	Small concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ sky blue metal cross atop the rear; nicho about 1.5' cubed	135	200S	e
OX94	Small box-type, white concrete nicho w/ cross of same material centered in the rear	147	200S	w
OX95	Box-type nicho w/ pipe cross centered in rear	147	200S	w
OX96	Gray granito nicho w/ urns on either side of nicho/cross; decorated w/ sunflowers	147	200S	e
OX97	Amongst some commercial buildings along side the road; 8 votives (2 burning), fresh & plastic flowers under a bamboo & palm leaf shelter. The center piece is a 2' tall statue of NSGuad, to its left is a x-fix, to the right is small statue of St. Jude; framed prints of St. Jude, San Martin Caballero, Virgin of Juquilla, another Virgin I'm not familiar with, and San Eustaquio (shown facing a deer).	147	200S	w
OX98	White concrete (6" tall) nicho w/ white concrete cross centered in the rear	148	200S	w
OX99	Small wooden cross attached to a stanchion that supports the guard rail of the bridge	149	200S	w
OX100	Faded wood cross, 1ft tall, w/vase of fresh flowers in front	153	200S	w
OX101	Blue granito nicho, under a bamboo & palm shed; 1m tall	172	200S	e
OX102	Concrete nicho w/white pipe-type cross centered in rear	174	200S	e
OX103	Black metal cross w/ filigrees on a concrete pedestal	177	200S	e
OX104	White concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered in rear w/ center plate & inter-arm filigrees; built into a road cut.	180	200S	e
OX105	Small wooden cross, set into a road cut	186	200S	e
OX106	White granito nicho w/ cross broken off the top, has padlocked black WI & glass door	202	200S	e
OX107	Concrete, gable roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered on the rear & black metal door; 0.5m cubed	216	200S	e

OX108	Silver pipe-type cross w/ center scroll	238	200S	e
OX109	Gray pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees; 1m tall	244	200S	w
OX110	Black pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees; 1.5ft tall	244	200S	w
OX111	Black pipe-cross type w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees	246	200S	e
OX112	White concrete, 8"x2'x2' tall, gable roofed nicho	255	200S	w
OX113	White tile, 1ft cubed, gable roofed nicho w/ cross centered on the rear	269	185E	e
OX114	Black metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center scroll on a concrete pedestal	271	185E	e
OX115	Black metal cross w/ center scroll and wooden cross	271	185E	e
OX116	White concrete, 1m cubed nicho, facing parallel to road, flattened gable roof w/ wings	277	185E	e
OX117	2 white outline type crosses w/ center scrolls	278	185E	e
OX118	Light blue concrete, gable roofed nicho w/ black outline cross centered on the rear	278	185E	w
OX119	2 white metal outline-type crosses; white granito Maltese-style w/ pedestal & open book	281	185E	w
OX120	Silver pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees; had red flowers on it	281	185E	e
OX121	2 concrete arch-roofed nichos w/ crosses inside	281	185E	w
OX122	Small nicho and a cross	281	185E	e
OX123	White granito nicho	282	185E	e
OX124	Brown & white tile, 1m cubed, gable roofed nicho, has a cross design worked into the tile	282	185E	e
wOX17	Juchitan; break L3	285	185E	
wOX02	La Ventosa; L3	0	190W	
OX19	Black metal cross on concrete pedestal with a red ribbon	5	190W	s
OX18	.5x.5x1 gray concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ wings on a concrete pedestal and black cross atop	5	190W	s
OX17	.25x.5x1 white concrete arch-roofed nicho w/ round niche opening	6	190W	s
OX16	Unpainted concrete, A-frame nicho w/ white cross centered in rear	7	190W	n
OX15	2 black metal crosses on concrete pedestals	7	190W	s
OX14	1x.5x1 arch-roofed nicho with wings, gray concrete and arched metal door	15	190W	s
OX13	12x6" gray concrete, A-frame nicho w/ rusted outline-type cross behind	16	190W	s
OX12	[3] .5 x .5 x .5 blue gable-roofed concrete nichos on 1x2x1 blue concrete pedestal. Each has a black metal cross atop and one has Sacred Heart of Jesus print inside.	19	190W	s
OX11	White concrete box-type nicho with white metal cross centered in the rear	23	190W	s
OX10	White concrete gable-roofed .5 x .5 x .5 nicho on a bed-type pedestal with white metal cross atop	23	190W	n
OX09	White metal cross on concrete pedestal and small A-frame nicho behind	24	190W	n

OX08	Rusted white metal cross on concrete bed-type pedestal	27	190W	n
OX07	1m tall white pipe cross on .5m pedestal	29	190W	n
OX06	Large brown pipe cross on 1m concrete and stone pedestal (died 6 Oct 1954)	40	190W	s
OX05	White concrete clover-type cross	42	190W	n
OX04	Silver metal cross with center scroll	49	190W	s
wOX01	San Pedro Tapanatepec: break L3	54	190W	
wB34	OX/PB; transect W6	0	135N	
OX236	White granito nicho w/ cross centered on rear; 1m tall, had roses planted around it	7	135N	e
OX235	Light blue meta cross, 2 white metal, 1 black metal	8	135N	w
OX234	Faded wood cross, 20m off road, mounted on a large cactus	11	135N	e
OX233	Black metal cross w/ red flowers & white granito nicho w/cross centered atop & black WI & glass door	12	135N	w
OX232	White wood cross w/ blue ribbons hanging from it; mounted on some wire mesh on an unstable slope	12	135N	e
OX231	White metal, 16" tall nicho w/ white metal cross atop, glass & metal door; next to it is black metal cross	16	135N	e
OX230	White granito nicho w/ cross atop w/ black WI & glass door; 2' tall	17	135N	w
OX229	Concrete block, .5m sq. & 1m tall nicho, w/ tile gabled roof; inside was a black metal cross	28	135N	w
OX228	2 white metal crosses; 1 was roof-type w/ center scroll; other had center scroll. This & OX227 are on a hard curve	40	135N	e
OX227	White metal cross w/ center scroll	40	135N	w
OX226	2 white metal crosses w/ inter-arm filigrees, center scroll & bouquets of red & green flowers	42	135N	e
OX225	2 black metal roof-type crosses w/ inter-arm filigrees, center scrolls and bouquets of artificial flowers	56	135N	e
OX224	2 black metal crosses w/ inter-arm filigrees & center scrolls	67	135N	e
OX223	Black metal cross w/ bouquet of dried-up fresh flowers	75	135N	e
OX222	White wood cross fastened to guard rail; bouquet of artificial flowers tied to it	87	135N	e
OX221	2 black metal crosses w/ inter-arm filigrees	96	135N	m
OX220	White metal cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center scroll	99	135N	w
OX219	White arch-roofed nicho w/ black WI door; built into road cut; inside Cd. Oaxaca	100	135N	e
OX298	White concrete, dome-roofed shrine to NSGuad, w/ white concrete cross atop, aluminum & glass door, 2m tall x .75m square	107	175N	e
OX297	White granito arch-roofed nicho	107	175N	e
OX296	Turquoise granito nicho w/ 2 urns	107	175N	w
OX295	Small arch-roofed concrete nicho built into a wall	109	175N	w
OX294	Cross, covered w/ fresh flowers; this is the first recuerdo I've seen that there is no way to know whether it is just a cross or a cross atop a nicho!	110	175N	w
OX293	Gray metal cross w/ scroll	111	175N	e
OX292	2 white metal, 1m tall crosses	112	175N	e
OX291	A large metal welded cross on a concrete platform and a	113	175N	e

	small shrine to the V. of Juquilla; this is a recuerdo. There is a small box for votive candles inscribed: "Recuerdo de ??? [initials] dic. 18, 1994"			
OX290	Concrete flat-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross on rear	113	175N	e
OX289	2 white metal crosses	113	175N	e
OX288	Concrete, A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross w/ scroll centered on front; nicho 1' tall x 2' deep	116	175N	w
OX287	Black metal cross w/ center scroll	116	175N	w
OX286	Small granito shrine to NSGuad, similar to 6910	117	175N	w
OX285	Blue concrete, flat-roofed nicho w/ belfries & cross atop	117	175N	w
OX284	Small shrine to NSGuad in one of those white granito church-style cabinets with belfries & 2 crosses atop; it is on a blue pedestal. Has fresh flowers & a votive candle in front. Inside there are 2 other Virgins to her left & right, maybe the VdJuquilla and VdSanJuan. The whole thing is inside of a WI frame, which has a gabled rood with that corrugated metal roofing material.	118	175N	e
OX283	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	119	175N	e
OX282	White concrete gable roof, 2m cubed, shrine w/ white cross atop; faced parallel to road	119	175N	e
OX281	Shrine to NSGuad, Santo Nino 2ndary figure; in a corner lot where the road divides	121	175N	w
OX280	Shrine, Vof Juquilla	121	175N	w
OX279	White granito arch-roofed nicho w/ black WI & glass door.	122	175N	w
OX278	White arch-roofed, granito nicho w/ black WI & glass door & 2nd niche opening in the base; 3' x 1.5' x 6" deep	123	175N	w
OX277	White metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll, 2' tall	125	175N	e
OX276	Gray metal cross w/ filigrees, scroll & fresh flowers; behind it is a brown pipe-type	126	175N	
OX275	Concrete, A-frame nicho w/ white metal cross on rear	126	175N	e
OX274	White granito clover-type cross w/ fresh red flowers	128	175N	w
OX273	Brick, flat-roofed, 1' cubed nicho	128	175N	w
OX272	White metal, pole-type nicho, [similar to the Baja style] and a white pipe-type cross nearby	129	175N	w
OX271	Green metal cross w/ fresh red roses in a white vase, a tree planted behind the cross	131	175N	e
OX270	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	132	175N	e
OX269	Nicho	132	175N	e
OX268	Brick pedestal w/ broken-off cross	133	175N	e
OX267	Concrete flat roofed nicho w/ white metal cross centered on rear w/ filigrees & scroll	134	175N	e
OX266	Concrete, A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross on rear	134	175N	e
OX265	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees, spear-point tips & scroll centered on rear	134	175N	e
OX264	Concrete, A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees centered on rear	135	175N	e
OX263	Lime green concrete shrine to NSGuad at PEMEX station, 1.5m square x 2m tall, dome roof, square facade w/ white concrete crosses on the corners.	138	175N	w

OX262	Shrine, 1 open shrine to NSGuad, patio-type	139	175N	w
OX261	Concrete, 8" tall, nicho w/ concrete centered on rear, 6" tall	145	175N	e
OX260	Blue concrete nicho w/ wooden cross centered on front	145	175N	e
OX259	Shrine, saw it my rear view mirror	146	175N	e
OX258	Concrete, gabled roof nicho w/ wings, 2'x3'x2'	146	175N	w
OX257	Turquoise concrete, arch-roofed nicho	148	175N	e
OX256	Concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll inside; nicho 2' tall x 3' wide	148	175N	w
OX255	Concrete, arch-roofed, nicho; 3' deep, 2' wide, unpainted on outside, painted turquoise inside	150	175N	e
OX254	Concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced [2ft tall] nicho w/ black metal cross centered on rear	150	175N	e
OX253	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & scroll	154	175N	w
OX252	White concrete, flat-roofed nicho, 1m cubed, w/ 2-stepped square façade and a 5ft tall, blue pipe-type cross atop	163	175N	w
OX251	Cross, in front of a church, date on the cross is 1946	163	175N	w
OX250	Concrete gable-roofed nicho 1.5 ft tall w/ black metal cross [2ft tall] w/ scroll & filigrees centered on front.	166	175N	w
OX249	No#, 2 crosses w/ open book inscription; "Dr. Jorge??"	168	175N	w
OX248	White brick, arch-roofed nicho: The inscription reads: "Miguel Angel Cruz Perez, al recuerdo del inmenso amor de tu madre y de todos tus seres queridos. 8-may-63/16-aug-96, DEP"	169	175N	w
OX247	White metal cross in concrete footing, w/ black hand-lettering across the arms; "Josefina"	174	175N	e
OX246	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop rear of arched roof, 8"tall x 6" wide & deep, cross is 4" taller	178	175N	e
OX245	Shrine: the central figure is NS Guadalupe, there are 6 bouquets of fresh flowers on either side of the concrete cabinet that holds a 5 ft tall statue of the virgin. There are 4 more fresh bouquets on steps down to it and on the sides; there are calla lilies and other live plants. The shrine is 6m wide x 5m tall, all of concrete, and is sort wedge-shaped; and the view from here is of these mountains that I've been driving over the past 4 hours, a photo would not be able to capture the awesome sight of it.	181	175N	e
OX244	Concrete, flat-roofed nicho and 2 gray metal crosses behind the nicho	183	175N	w
OX243	Brick, stucco nicho w/ rounded gable roof, 2ft cubed; and a concrete block & stucco nicho w. brown wood lumber cross atop rear, inscribed "Duran, 23-06-98".	208	175N	e
OX242	Shrine, 1 to Virgin of Juquilla; 2 bouquets of fresh flowers inside, 5 votive candles, x-mas lights & an apartment-sized refrigerator that is the niche for the Virgin.	204	175N	w
OX241	Small niche w/ an angel on the corner of a municipal building	240	175N	w
OX240	White 1x2 wood cross	241	175N	e
wOX30	jct 175N/200E at Puerto Angel; end W6	248	175N	
wB61	VZ/OX state line; transect W7	0	185S	

OX237	White concrete nicho	8	185S	
OX238	Concrete A-frame nicho	9	185S	w
OX239	White granito nicho w/ 2 urns, image of NSGuad & 2 names and the date 1987; looked like a crenulated tablet	13	185S	w
OX35	3 concrete crosses	31	185E	s
OX34	Purple, concrete, A-frame nicho	31	185E	s
OX33	1x1x1 white concrete, flat-ridged, gable roofed nicho with 2 urns & fresh flowers in front; 1 votive candle burning inside.	34	185E	n
OX32	.25 x .5 x 1 white concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross centered in the rear	36	185E	s
OX31	2 white concrete clover-type crosses	42	185E	s
OX30	White concrete cross on a pedestal with tablet-like vertical rear wall	43	185E	n
OX29	White concrete cross	44	185E	n
OX28	Open-faced concrete, gable-roofed nicho with a flat ridge with a white pipe cross centered in the rear; garbage strewn about in the near vicinity	45	185E	s
OX27	Unpainted concrete, box-type nicho	46	185E	s
OX26	Light blue concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with a black metal cross centered in the rear; inside a can of fresh flowers, just beginning to wilt.	47	185E	s
OX25	.5 x 1.5 x 1m unpainted concrete with red tiled roof with a black pipe cross centered in the front has a center death plate; inside is a black metal cross & a wood spindle-type cross, bouquet of fresh flowers & an open bottle of coca-cola. All crosses are for the same person who was a 23 year-old "new" doctor at the time of his death (1973-1996).	55	185E	n
OX24	Unpainted concrete box-type nicho with a broken white concrete crown cross and the tattered remains of a large photo of a Hispanic-looking young male inside.	56	185E	s
OX23	.5 x 2 x 2 brick, gabled, open-faced nicho, with 4 gray metal crosses with centered, heart-shaped name plates and 2 white metal crosses with square centered name plates inside the nicho.	56	185E	s
OX22	.5 x 1 x 1.5 unpainted concrete, gable-roofed nicho with wrought iron, padlocked, full-sized gate: Inside; 2 gray metal crosses for Francisco Moreno Rios & Carlos Moreno, 2 blue ceramic urns & 2 liter-sized bottles of beer.	57	185E	s
OX21	Yellow concrete box-type nicho with silver cross centered in the rear with centered name plate	59	185E	n
OX20	White metal cross, & 1 red wooden spindle-type cross	61	185E	s
wOX03	La Ventosa; jct 185/200; end W7	62	185E	

Table C10.4: Chiapas

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wCP09	Cd.Cuauhtemoc; 15.43/91.57; begin transect B2	0		
CP134	Turquoise-painted concrete .25 x .25 x .25 flat-roofed box-nicho, with a church-type facade that has a cross hollowed out of it, of tile and concrete with death information painted on the front in light brown and an open door.	1	190s	w
CP135	1 white wood cross	4	190s	e
CP136	Blue-painted concrete A-frame nicho with flat peak and blue metal cross atop with wreath attached	6	190s	e
CP137	Small blue concrete nicho with a gabled-roof, and a blue concrete cross atop (with a wreath attached), set back from the road in someone's front yard. On a raised top tomb-type pedestal 6-8" high and almost the full size of a grave plot with the nicho sitting at the back of the platform.	7	190s	w
CP138	Small blue-painted concrete nicho with blue metal cross atop with a wreath attached	9	190s	w
CP139	Unpainted wood cross w/round ends & wreath	9	190s	w
CP140	Blue concrete nicho flat-topped A-frame, facing parallel to the road, on a tomb-like pedestal with a black metal cross atop with plastic floral wreath attached to it.	10	190s	w
CP141	7 x 4 x 5m shrine to NSGuad w/2.5 x 4foot print of same centered above an altar, 2ft statue of same in a corner; inside has a Mexican flag decor and flowers.	12	190s	w
CP142	Blue concrete, gable-roofed nicho.5x.25x.5 w/flowers	14	190s	e
CP143	Small blue brick and stucco nicho, partially destroyed, with a white metal fancy outline-type cross atop, with a plastic garland attached and a square rear facade behind a gabled roof.	18	190s	w
CP144	Small blue concrete nicho w/flat roof on raised pedestal	23	190s	w
CP145	White brick and stucco nicho with blue concrete roof, .5 x .5 x .5m, white metal cross centered in front; red, white and green flowers inside	34	190s	w
CP146	1 x 3 x 1.5ft open-faced, white concrete nicho w/gabled roof & 2 black crosses inside with plastic floral bouquets attached. Just off the highway but on private property.	38	190s	w
CP147	White concrete crown-type cross	44	190s	w
CP148	White pipe cross, 1m tall	46	190s	w
CP149	.5 x .5 x .5 hip-roofed, blue concrete with a white wrought iron cross on top in the front and a small white wooden cross in the back that looked like it had been replaced by the nicho. And its just in the most incredible place, I had to take the picture because there's almost nothing in the background except a little bit of greenery and then this wall of white clouds.	49	190s	w
CP150	White concrete cross	52	190s	w
CP151	White metal cross with center plate	53	190s	e
CP152	Turquoise concrete, dome-roofed nicho, .5x.25x.25, w/ black metal cross atop	54	190s	e

CP153	Blue concrete split nicho w/white cross atop, were 2 crosses	58	190s	e
CP154	Natural wood cross with pointed ends	65	190s	w
CP155	Red concrete nicho w/black cross atop; w/stepped arch facade	71	190s	e
CP156	Turquoise wood cross	71	190s	w
wCP10	End B2 at Huixtla	76	190s	
wB17	Leaving Tabasco, entering Chiapas; transect L1b	0	186S	
CP01	4 white metal crosses on the arms of one large white metal cross	7	186S	w
CP02	3 black metal crosses laid out in a triangle	12	186S	w
CP03	Black metal cross	12	186S	w
CP04	White concrete cross on a blue concrete pedestal	13	186S	e
CP05	White concrete cross on 3-tiered pedestal	14	186S	w
CP06	White metal cross with center scroll	16	186S	e
wCP01	Jct. 199 (the turn-off to Palenque) end L1b	21	199S	
wB18	CP/OX; transect L2c	0	190W	
CP305	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho on a bed-type pedestal, cross atop, 2 concrete urns in front	2	190W	n
CP304	2 black metal crosses w/ flowers on blue concrete pedestal	4	190W	n
CP303	Small brick nicho with white cross in back	5	190W	s
CP302	Blue spindle-type cross	6	190W	s
CP301	Cross	8	190W	s
CP300	Arch-roofed, black and gray concrete nicho, 1 x 2 x 1.5, w/blue tile floor 1.25 x .5m doorway and two front windows & spindle-crosses inside, lots of flowers (fresh) and 6 votive candles.	8	190W	s
CP299	Brown wood cross on concrete pedestal with 2 urns	8	190W	n
CP298	Light blue and white concrete shrine; 5 x 5 x 5m, with dome roof and copula to NS Guad	10	190W	n
CP297	Open-faced, concrete box-type nicho, 1 x 1 x 1, with white concrete crown cross atop and wooden table-leg type cross and NS Guad statue inside.	10	190W	s
CP296	Rusted metal cross with filigrees on a concrete post	13	190W	n
CP295	3 blue metal crosses on 2-tiered pedestal; end L2cSE	20	190W	n
WCP15	Begin L2cNW	0	190e	
CP159	White concrete, flat-ridged, A-frame nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, with white metal cross centered in rear; on the outskirts of Arriga.	6	190e	s
CP160	White concrete nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, with flower vases on either side and a small white flat-ridged A-frame nicho with silver metal cross behind the first one, has a rock in front holding a piece of cardboard across the opening, votive inside. Granito flower holders to the side.	6	190e	s
CP161	Small gray arch-roofed nicho w/black cross on rear	8	190e	n
CP162	Small box-nicho with a much larger black metal cross atop	12	190e	s
CP163	Green/white/red nicho built into a boulder with 28 x 10 NS Guad prints, 12" statue of same, and 12" statue of St. Martin of Porres. Site dedicated to a trucker by his boss.	12	190e	n
CP164	Unpainted concrete nicho with a cross in bas-relief on the	13	190e	s

	flat roof			
CP165	Small white hip-roofed nicho with fancy white metal cross, small basket of plastic flowers, 2 votives	14	190e	s
CP166	Brick and stucco green, white and red painted Virgin of Guadalupe shrine; 10m deep by 3m wide and 3 or 4m tall with an arched roof, crown facade with a centered white cross. White wrought iron gate, a beautiful embroidered altar cloth, a kneeler on the left, plastic streamers, a big embroidered table cloth is the back-drop for a 2x4 foot print of NS Guad. In the left-hand corner is a 5 foot tall statue of NS Guad and green mantle draped about her, a crown of roses on her head, and a gold crown to the side of that, bouquet of flowers, and white rosary beads without the cross, afixed to her hands. Bouquets of imitation flowers arrayed across the three-tiered altar. To the right is a little homemade wooden shrine, another statue of NS Guad, about 1 ½ feet tall, with the door open, Christmas tinsel around the outside of it, paper and plastic flowers. To the right of that, in the right-hand corner is a picture of El Papa, the Pope, in front of that is a votive box with a slot for coins.	15	190e	n
CP167	White tile nicho; .5 x .5 x .5m, with white metal door and 2 urns in front, white tile cross atop	16	190e	n
CP168	White concrete gable-roofed nicho; .25 x .25 x .25m, with white metal cross centered in rear; 2 votives inside	22	190e	n
CP169	Gray concrete flat-topped gable roofed nicho; .5 x .25 x .5, w/ silver metal crucifix centered and fresh flowers; inside, 2 votives, car parts, and small print of N.S. de San Juan.	22	190e	s
CP170	Lavender concrete nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, with gabled roof and square rear facade with cross-shape cut-out.	23	190e	n
CP171	Pipe cross, 1m tall with diamond-shaped inscription plate	25	190e	n
CP172	Gray concrete nicho; .25 x .5 x .5, gable-roofed with centered black metal cross in rear and black wrought iron door, 4 vases with plastic flowers. Inside; black metal cross, 1 flower vase, 1 votive.	27	190e	n
CP173	White concrete cross on 2-tiered concrete pedestal	28	190e	s
CP174	Small box nicho with black cross centered in rear	28	190e	n
CP175	Small A-frame nicho with black cross centered in rear	28	190e	n
CP176	White concrete crown-type cross	31	190e	n
CP177	Blue concrete nicho, 1x.5x.25m, w/black metal cross on front, concrete front apron and blue wooden door.	32	190e	s
CP178	2 black metal crosses with center scroll plates and filigrees	33	190e	s
CP179	White metal cross on a road cut bank	36	190e	n
CP180	Gray concrete nicho; .5 x .5 x .5, gable-roofed (with wings) with white metal cross centered in the rear	36	190e	n
CP181	Brick flat ridged nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, A frame with a rusted white metal cross centered in front	37	190e	s
CP182	Unpainted concrete nicho; .5 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed with wings and black metal cross centered in the rear, plastic flowers in a vase in front and 1 votive inside.	37	190e	s

CP183	White concrete nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed with a broken, centered, clover cross and plastic flowers inside	39	190e	n
CP184	Brown and white tiled nicho; .5 x .5 x .5, w/ gabled roof and white metal cross centered in front, flowers inside.	40	190e	s
CP185	White granito nicho; 8" x 24" x 36", with cross atop and black wrought iron door	40	190e	s
CP186	Unpainted concrete nicho, .5x.5x1, w/flat roof, white WI gate, black metal cross & 2 flower pots inside.	40	190e	s
CP187	White concrete 3-sided pyramid nicho; .25x.25x.25, with a white metal cross behind.	44	190e	s
CP188	Blue concrete nicho; 1 x 1 x 1, gable-roofed with black metal cross centered atop and a concrete slab in front. just outside of Cintalapa.	44	190e	s
CP189	Unpainted concrete nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed with black cross centered in the front	45	190e	s
CP190	Brown concrete, gable-roofed nicho with a brown cross centered in front, open-faced with flowers inside.	45	190e	n
CP191	Tiny, open-faced, dome-roofed, unpainted concrete nicho with a white pipe cross atop.	46	190e	s
CP192	White concrete and blue granito nicho, .5 x .5 x 1.5, with centered clover cross/crucifix between steeples, and fresh flowers in 2 urns in front. Upper chamber (padlocked) with 1 votive inside and lower chamber with 2 votives inside. On either side of the nicho are plantings inside old tires.	46	190e	s
CP193	Blue concrete nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, A-frame with turquoise cross centered in the rear	47	190e	s
CP194	Blue concrete nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, A-frame with turquoise cross centered in the rear	47	190e	s
CP195	Blue concrete nicho; .25 x .25 x .25, arch-roofed with stepped square facade and blue cross centered in the rear	48	190e	n
CP196	White concrete, .25x.25x.25, gable-roofed nicho w/ brown homemade cross centered atop & fresh flowers in front.	52	190e	s
CP197	Red metal, open meshed, gable-roofed nicho w/cross to the side	53	190e	s
CP198	Gray concrete nicho, .25x.25x.25, arch-roofed, cross atop	55	190e	s
CP199	Cross, 1 wood cross on a hill	57	190e	s
CP200	Gray concrete box nicho, .25 x .25 x .25, nicho with white metal cross centered atop, on a large concrete platform.	57	190e	s
CP201	Olive green nicho/shrine, 1 x 1 x 2, to NS Guad w/2' tall statue of same and flowers inside	59	190e	s
CP202	Pink concrete shrine, 5 x 5 x 5, to NS Guad w/gold-colored dome	60	190e	n
CP203	White concrete nicho, .5 x .5 x .5, with cross atop	60	190e	n
CP204	Brown wood cross, 3 white concrete clover crosses	60	190e	n
CP205	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/blue Masonic symbol atop	60	190e	n
CP206	White concrete nicho, .25 x .5 x 1, flat-ridged, gabled roof w/cross atop, golden metal door & flowers in front.	62	190e	s
CP207	A cluster of six nichos, all with the same death date,	62	190e	s

	100meters east of CP206. Represented by seven nichos and one cross, all these people died on this curve on the same date, eight of them. And, you know its ahh, difficult. It pushes the buttons of your humanity because it hasn't been but moments since we were inches from the same fate as these eight people. I guess that's a point that I hadn't made before either; CP207 and CP208 were interesting sites and sights. To see that, to be there; having been so close, so recently. a: home-made .5 x .25 x .5 unpainted, gable-roofed w/wings, concrete w/centered white concrete cross inscribed w/the death information. b: home-made brick flat-ridged gable-roof w/black metal cross centered in the rear & 2 white urns in front. c: home-made block w/flat-ridged gabled concrete roof & black metal stylized cross centered in the rear. d: granito .5 x .5 x .5 granito w/cross centered in the rear, urns in front on either side & abundant flowers. e: home-made brick w/ gabled-roof & black metal cross centered in the rear & a slab in front. f: home-made brick, gable-roofed w/wings, front slab & white concrete cross centered in the rear.			
CP208	Across from 207 and with the same death date. a: unpainted concrete 'bee-hive' nicho w/open front, side urns & wooden spindle cross centered in the rear [the style that is common in Veracruz and Tabasco]. b: white concrete crown cross	62	190e	n
CP209	Blue open-front nicho, .25 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed concrete with a black metal cross atop	63	190e	n
CP210	White concrete nicho, .25 x .5 x .5, open-faced, gable-roofed with black metal cross centered in the rear	63	190e	s
CP211	Blue concrete nicho, .5 x .5 x .5, arched-roof with a black metal cross atop. Faces parallel to the road with the open side facing east.	63	190e	s
CP212	3 large, white metal outline crosses and 3 small white wooden crosses	66	190e	s
CP213	White wood cross with red tips	66	190e	s
CP214	At a bus stop .5 x 1 x 1 arch-roofed brown concrete shrine w/ arched facade on 1m square pedestal, 24x36" print of NSGuad w/ Juan Diego scenes in the four corners, & fresh flowers.	66	190e	s
CP215	Unpainted concrete nicho, .25x.25x.25, gable-roofed w/black metal cross atop	69	190e	n
CP216	White concrete nicho, .25x.5x.75, gable-roofed w/ black metal cross atop, homemade urns, white metal & glass door w/metal cross inset & fresh flowers.	69	190e	s
CP217	White metal cross and 1 blue wood cross	70	190e	s
CP218	Black metal cross on white bed-type pedestal with the death information inscribed	70	190e	s
CP219	Small blue wooden 'table-leg' style cross	72	190e	s
CP220	Open-faced, gray concrete nicho, .25 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed with a white cross inside	72	190e	s
CP221	White metal cross on a pedestal	72	190e	n

CP222	Blue concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with natural-colored 'table-leg' style wooden cross inside. Faces parallel to the road.	73	190e	n
CP223	Small gray concrete, gable-roofed, open-front nicho with black metal cross centered in the rear	74	190e	n
CP224	White granito nicho, .25 x .5 x 1, with white cross atop, golden door and patio in front	74	190e	n
CP225	White granito nicho with steeples and centered cross	79	190e	n
CP226	2 tan concrete side-by-side double nichos with gabled roof and a blue cross in each side	80	190e	n
CP227	2 White side-by-side double nichos, gable roofed with black crosses in front	80	190e	s
CP228	2 small natural wooden crosses	80	190e	s
CP229	Blue wood cross on a large rock	81	190e	s
CP230	Brick, .25 x .25 x .25, nicho with concrete gabled roof and flowers in front	82	190e	s
CP231	2 white granito.25 x .5 x 1 open-faced nichos with crosses atop	82	190e	n
CP232	White concrete, .5 x .5 x .5, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/cross centered in rear and a spindle cross and wilted flowers inside; memorializes a 31 year old attorney who died in 1987.	83	190e	s
CP233	White concrete cross with floral wreath	83	190e	s
CP234	2 gray pipe Crosses with white concrete clover-type crosses in front	84	190e	n
CP294	Nicho, a hole carved in road-cut rock with flowers in it	86	190W	n
CP293	Blue concrete, .25 x .25 x .25, open-faced nicho with blue metal cross atop	95	190W	m
CP292	Light blue open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with white metal cross centered in the rear	97	190W	s
CP291	White metal cross on a white concrete 2-tiered pedestal	98	190W	n
CP290	White concrete, .25 x .25 x .25, nicho with gable roof and brown wooden cross leaning against it	98	190W	n
CP289	Small wooden cross	98	190W	n
CP288	Green-painted stucco-on-brick, .5 x .5 x .5 nicho with gabled roof and white concrete cross atop	98	190W	n
CP287	Blue brick and stucco nicho, .5 x .5 x .5, gabled roof	99	190W	n
CP286	Brown metal, .25 x .25 x .25, open-faced A-frame nicho on a beige concrete pedestal with white cross atop and a brown wood cross and plastic and fresh flowers inside.	99	190W	n
CP285	Green and pink painted nicho, .5 x .5 x 1, gabled roof, concrete with 2 steps and a metal gate in front	99	190W	n
CP284	White concrete cross on 2-tiered pedestal	101	190W	n
CP283	Blue concrete open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with black cross centered in rear	102	190W	s
CP282	Green concrete arch-roofed, open-faced nicho on pedestal with black metal cross atop	102	190W	n
CP281	White gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, .5 x .5 x .5 concrete with yellow trim paint with a cross inside	103	190W	s

CP280	Blue cross nailed to a tree	104	190W	s
CP279	White concrete, .25 x .5 x .5, flat-ridged, gabled roof nicho w/cross atop, on a small pedestal.	104	190W	n
CP278	Concrete, 1 x .5 x .5, open-faced, arch-roofed nicho, and 2-tiered blue tiled platform in front. The back section is an arch w/ spindle cross on one side and a wooden crucifix in front of the cross.	104	190W	n
CP277	Unpainted concrete, .5 x .5 x .5, gable-roofed nicho with wings and red metal cross centered in the rear	105	190W	s
CP276	White concrete, .25 x .5 x .5, flat-ridged gable roof nicho, w/church facade & white metal cross centered atop.	105	190W	n
CP275	White metal cross with filigrees	106	190W	n
CP274	Remains of a brick nicho on a concrete pedestal	108	190W	n
CP272	Gray concrete box- nicho w/ cross atop; 1 gray concrete A-frame nicho; 1 silver-colored metal gable-roofed nicho w/silver cross atop.	110	190W	n
CP271	Blue tile .5 x .5 x .5 nicho with a tall white cross atop	111	190W	n
CP270	Concrete box-type nicho with NS Guadalupe print inside	111	190W	s
CP269	Black metal cross and 1 white concrete clover-type cross	111	190W	n
CP268	Peach-colored concrete, 1 x 1 x 2, flat-roofed nicho on a 2-stepped pedestal wit 2 urns in front with fresh flowers in them, black wrought iron gate. Inside: a large crucifix.	112	190W	s
CP267	Flat-ridged gable-roofed, .5 x .5 x 1 nicho with concrete cross atop, wrought iron gate and faces parallel to the road	112	190W	n
CP266	White metal, .5 x .5 x .5 nicho with church-type facade on stilts. Front is painted in Mexican tricolor; "perigrinos motociclistas guadalupanos".	113	190W	n
CP265	Red metal nicho, gable-roofed, open front on stilts	113	190W	n
CP264	Blue, 2 x 2 x 2.5, A-frame nicho w/sloped rear roof, silver-colored metal cross in front & silver-colored door.	114	190W	n
CP263	Gray concrete A-frame nicho with large brown metal outline-type cross with round ends atop	114	190W	n
CP262	White metal cross	114	190W	n
CP261	Concrete, .5 x .5 x .5, A-frame nicho with square rear facade, on a concrete pedestal with a white cross atop	114	190W	n
CP260	Blue concrete, .5 x .5 x .5, gable-roofed nicho with a small platform in front	116	190W	n
CP259	Brown concrete, .5 x .5 x .5, gable-roofed nicho with black wrought iron gate, white metal cross atop with the word "Paco" written in the center and 3 votives inside.	116	190W	s
CP258	Black metal outline-cross with rounded tips and filigrees	117	190W	s
CP257	Brick and concrete, .5 x .5 x .5, flat-roofed nicho with a wooden spindle cross inside	119	190W	n
CP256	2 natural wood crosses	120	190W	n
CP255	Green wood cross with red tips on an adobe pedestal	121	190W	s
CP254	Brick and concrete, .5 x .5 x .5, gable-roofed, yellow nicho with green wooden cross centered in rear	122	190W	s
CP253	White concrete, .5x.5x.5, gable-roofed nicho w/ concrete cross atop. Inside: flowers & 8 x 10" print of NS Guad.	122	190W	n

CP252	White concrete, 1x1x1m, flat-roofed nicho w/gable facade supporting 3 light blue, small urns & light blue cross atop.	125	190W	s
CP251	Brick nicho, .5x.5x.5, open-faced w/white concrete cross atop	125	190W	n
CP250	Gray concrete, .5x.5x.5, A-frame nicho, on small pedestal	126	190W	s
CP249	3 white metal crosses with pointed ends, one is badly bent	128	190W	n
CP248	White wood cross with center plate	128	190W	s
CP247	Unpainted concrete, .5 x .5 x .75, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with 4 bars across the front opening and is built into the rock-faced side of a road-cut.	128	190W	s
CP246	3 blue crosses on a .5m high pedestal	130	190W	n
CP245	Purple concrete, .5x.5x.5, open-faced, gable-roofed, nicho w/small step in front and a 3 x 5" print of NS Guad inside.	130	190W	s
CP244	Stick cross on a brick pedestal under a thatched awning supported by 4 small posts	133	190W	n
CP243	Gray concrete, .5x.5x.5 open-faced, flat-ridged A-frame nicho	133	190W	n
CP242	Black wood cross with round ends	134	190W	n
CP241	3 large (1m) green crosses on .5m pedestal w/bundles of juniper in front of each	135	190W	s
CP240	Green concrete, .25 x .25 x .5, open-faced box-type nicho with green pipe cross atop with a black center scroll-plate.	135	190W	s
CP239	3 large green crosses on a 2 x 1 x 1 green pedestal	136	190W	n
CP238	Gray concrete, .5 x .25 x .5, gable-roofed nicho with white metal cross atop	138	190W	n
CP237	A-frame nicho made of 2 blocks with a black metal cross	138	190W	n
CP236	Black wood cross and a smaller green wood cross behind it	140	190W	n
CP235	White concrete open-faced box-nicho w/large blue wood cross atop	145	190W	n
wCP17	San Cristobol; end L2c	147	190W	m
wCP15a	Jct 200N/190E; transect L3	0		
CP158	White concrete cross, 2m tall, on wedge-shaped monument pedestal, 2 black metal crosses w/filigrees, plastic flowers, on either side	11	200n	w
CP157	Small gray A-frame nicho with black metal cross	29	200n	e
CP156	Dilapidated chapel/shrine, 3 x 2 x 3 east of Mapastepec	92	200n	e
wCP10a	Huixtla; end transect L3	135	190s	
wCP20	Jct. 186E/199S; begin transect P1	0	186N	
CP306	White metal cross w/ center scroll, filigrees on pedestal	2	186N	e
CP307	Blue concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop gabled roof; 2ft tall & freshly painted	2	186N	e
CP308	In front of a restaurant; 1m square x 2m tall, shrine to NSGuad	3	186N	e
CP309	3 white metal crosses w/scrolls & filigrees mounted on the cross bar of a T-shaped metal post; stands about 2m tall.	4	186N	e
CP310	White concrete cross, 2m tall	4	186N	e
CP311	Concrete block, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, 1m tall;	5	186N	w
wB55	CP/TB boundary; end transect P1, Chiapas	20	186N	
wCP01a	Jct: 186/199; begin transect W8	0	199S	

CP08	White metal cross	1	199S	w
CP09	Homemade concrete box-nicho with black metal cross.	2	199S	e
CP10	Blue & green, 2 x 2 x 2m, homemade shrine to NSGuad; 1m tall NSGuad statue and flowers inside	4	199S	w
CP11	Homemade concrete arch-roofed nicho	6	199S	w
CP12	Small homemade turquoise concrete nicho with cross on back wall; opening is at 30 degree angle to the road, facing NW.	10	199S	e
CP13	Small white wood cross on concrete pillar	11	199S	w
CP14	Homemade box-nicho, 0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m, w/black wood cross and Sacred Heart of Jesus print inside.	17	199S	w
CP15	2x4x4m open shed-shrine w/tin roof covering a mound of soil and live plants & a 60x90cm NSGuad print centered on a background of blue spray-painted fiberglass batting, 1 votive & a flood light pointed at the print.	17	199S	w
CP16	White homemade concrete gable-roofed nicho with black metal cross atop	18	199S	w
wCP02	Palenque	23	199S	
CP17	Homemade box-type nicho with white metal cross inside built into road cut	46	185W	s
CP18	Homemade, 1 x 1 x 1m, gable-roofed, brick nicho	53	185W	s
CP19	Homemade white concrete, 1 x 1 x 1m, gable-roofed nicho with black metal outline type cross inside	58	185W	n
CP20	Homemade white concrete nicho (was blue), 1 x 1 x 1m, with concrete cross inside:[spoke with Indian farmers on their way to a birthday party, carrying guitars etc].	69	185W	n
CP21	White metal cross with center scroll	76	185W	n
CP22	Gray concrete cross	81	185W	n
CP23	Gray concrete cross	82	185W	n
CP24	Gray concrete cross	84	185W	n
CP25	White, homemade concrete, 1 x 0.5 x 1m, nicho; gable-roofed with white metal cross & wreath inside	91	185W	s
CP26	Homemade concrete, 0.5 x 0.5 x 1, gable-roofed nicho with white metal cross inside	91	185W	n
CP27	Homemade, 1 x 0.25 x 1m nicho with green metal siding, gable-roofed with black wrought iron cross atop and wood death-inscription cross inside.	94	185W	n
CP28	Homemade rose/pink tile nicho, 1 x 1 x 1m, gable-roofed brown wrought iron gate with centered cross atop in front; cut flowers and 2 votives inside.	101	185W	n
CP29	Blue wood fork-type cross with flowers attached	101	185W	n
CP30	White metal cross with center scroll and filigrees	102	185W	n
CP31	Large black pipe cross with flowers and reflectors	102	185W	n
CP32	Homemade white concrete, 1 x 0.5 x 0.5m, gable-roofed nicho with cross atop & death inscription hand written in concrete roof.	104	185W	n
CP33	Painted brown wood cross	104	185W	n
CP34	Homemade, 0.5 x 0.25 x 0.5m nicho, with red metal siding; 2 votives, 2 flower vases, and NSGuad print inside	105	185W	n

CP35	Blue metal nicho with gable roof cross atop and another cross inside	108	185W	n
CP36	Blue, metal, gable roof nicho with cross atop, another cross inside	108	185W	n
CP37	Blue & white tile nicho, homemade w/slightly arched roof	108	185W	n
CP38	Unpainted concrete cross	111	185W	s
CP39	Homemade blue & white tile nicho, 0.5x0.5x0.5m, beehive type	114	185W	s
CP40	Homemade blue concrete nicho with white cross atop	114	185W	s
CP41	Homemade blue metal, 0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m nicho, w/white cross atop; silk flowers and death-inscription cross inside.	121	185W	
CP42	Rusted metal cross with old turquoise paint on 1m tall concrete pedestal	123	185W	s
CP43	White granito nicho with 2 spires, white metal cross atop; gabled roof	126	185W	s
CP44	White concrete cross on pedestal 50m off-road; possibly a village cross	132	185W	n
CP45	Homemade blue concrete nicho, 1 x 1 x 1m, w/ black metal cross atop flat roof, under construction	133	185W	s
CP46	Blue concrete cross	133	185W	s
CP47	3 matching homemade blue concrete beehive -type nichos with black metal crosses atop	133	185W	n
CP48	Blue homemade concrete gabled nicho w/ black metal cross atop	133	185W	s
CP49	Green, white & red shrine, 1 x 1 x 2m, w/cross atop	133	185W	n
CP50	Homemade white & pink tile nicho, 1 x 1 x 1m, with white metal door white metal cross behind and flower pot on top.	133	185W	s
CP51	Blue tile, 1x1x1m, homemade nicho w/blue metal cross atop	133	185W	s
CP52	Homemade bronze tile, 1 x 1 x 1m, nicho; wing roofed, blue door & black metal cross atop	133	185W	s
CP53	Blue tile homemade gable roof white concrete crown-cross atop	133	185W	s
CP54	Gray homemade arch-roofed nicho with concrete cross atop	134	185W	n
CP55	White granito concrete gable-roofed nicho with angel in front, cross atop, and 1m tall white concrete cross to one side	136	185W	s
CP56	Concrete block nicho w/white concrete cross atop	140	185W	n
CP57	Small homemade green concrete with gable roof cross atop and a little bridge leading to it	143	185W	n
CP58	Blue wood cross	144	185W	n
CP59	Small white concrete cross with bells on the arms	144	185W	s
CP60	3 blue wood crosses	146	185W	n
CP61	Blue cross, under corrugated tin awning w/flowers	147	185W	n
CP62	Homemade white concrete, 0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25m nicho with black cross atop and 8 votives inside	152	185W	
CP63	Homemade beige concrete nicho, 1 x 1 x 1m, wing-roofed w/ white metal gate and twig cross atop	154	186	n
CP64	Homemade blue tile, 1 x 1 x 1m, nicho; wrought iron gate with 2 concrete crosses inside	157	190S	e
CP65	Black wood cross with balls on the arms	157	190S	w

CP66	Black wood cross with angled ends	157	190S	e
CP67	Homemade tile & concrete gable-roofed nicho with 2 black round end-type crosses behind	158	190S	e
CP68	White concrete cross	158	190S	e
CP69	Turquoise wood round-end-type cross	158	190S	e
CP70	White wood cross with angled ends, 1 black wood with round ends	158	190S	w
CP71	Turquoise wood cross	158	190S	e
CP72	White wood cross, 1 black metal, 1 blue metal	160	190S	w
CP73	Homemade blue & white tile arch-roofed nicho with black metal door and black metal cross atop	160	190S	e
CP74	Black metal outline-type cross	160	190S	w
CP75	Homemade stone and concrete nicho, 1 x 1 x 1, with blue concrete roof and wrought iron door	162	190S	e
CP76	Homemade blue concrete nicho, 1 x 1 x 1.5m, wrought iron door, pillar facades and 8 blue concrete steps leading up to it.	163	190S	w
CP77	Homemade turquoise tile and concrete nicho, w/wood-frame fence	163	190S	e
CP78	Homemade white concrete 0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m nicho with a 1/2 door and white metal outline cross	186	190S	e
CP79	Homemade turquoise concrete, 1 x 1 x 1m nicho with a 3-step facade and wrought iron gate	186	190S	e
CP80	Homemade, blue concrete nicho w/ church facade & gate	186	190S	e
CP81	Stick cross with flowers	186	190S	e
CP82	Homemade white concrete, 2 x 1 x 1.5m nicho w/ metal cross atop & wooden ramp to nicho from road; NSGuad print inside.	187	190S	w
CP83	Homemade turquoise 1 x 1 x 1m nicho with gable roof; situated parallel to the road	190	190S	w
CP84	Homemade light blue concrete 1 x 1 x 2m nicho with cross atop and tile NSGuad inside	191	190S	w
CP85	White granito nicho with black wrought iron gate and cross	192	190S	e
CP86	Homemade white tile, 1 x 1 x 1m nicho with cross atop and flower vases outside; interior; crucifix, 4 votives, a many fresh flowers.	194	190S	w
CP87	Homemade blue concrete, 1 x 1 x 1m nicho, nicely painted with designs and a flat roof	194	190S	e
CP88	3 blue wood crosses in a corral	194	190S	e
CP89	Homemade natural wood nicho, 1 x 1 x 1m nicho with shed-type tin roof and rose colored wood cross inside	194	190S	w
CP90	Homemade blue floral tile nicho with silver metal door	194	190S	e
CP91	White outline, metal cross	195	190S	w
CP92	Blue metal cross in wood corral	195	190S	e
CP93	Wood cross in wooden corral	195	190S	e
CP94	Wood corral with no cross inside	196	190S	e
CP95	Large white diamond-type cross on pedestal, 1 small blue wood	197	190S	e
CP96	Homemade blue tile, 1 x 1 x 1.5 nicho with blue metal cross atop; 4 floral vases, photo of a young male, 6 votives inside.	198	190S	w

CP97	Homemade brown & rose tile nicho with flat roof brown (locked) metal door and a wedge atop	198	190S	e
CP98	Homemade pink concrete, 1 x 1 x 1m nicho, gable-roofed: black metal cross, pink metal cross, blue wood cross beside.	198	190S	w
CP99	Homemade blue & white tile nicho, 1 x 1 x 1m nicho with white outline-type cross atop and wreath attached	199	190S	e
CP100	Homemade yellow tile, 1 x 1 x 1.5m nicho with black wrought iron gate and black metal cross atop; 7 x 12cm NSGuad print and 7 x 12cm Sacred Heart of Jesus print.	199	190S	e
CP101	White concrete crown-type cross	200	190S	w
CP102	Natural wood cross with many flowers	207	190s	m
CP103	Inside the town of Comitán, blue 0.5x1x1 gable-roofed with wings nicho w/blue metal door, white cross, and a lot silk flowers inside.	208	190s	w
CP104	White concrete, domed-roof nicho with square façade, black metal door that has fallen off	208	190s	w
CP105	Brown flat roof nicho w/ brown metal cross & door [locked]	209	190s	e
CP106	2-tone green, .5 x .5 x .5, shed-roofed nicho w/ brown metal door	210	190s	e
CP107	Pink concrete gable-roofed nicho with flowers in front	210	190s	w
CP108	Concrete 'church' facade nicho, .5 x 1 x 1, black metal cross atop	210	190s	w
CP109	Blue wood cross with round ends, blue and pink wreath attached	214	190s	w
CP110	.5 x .5 x .5m blue concrete and tile nicho with flat roof and stepped facade. Blue cross atop with blue and white floral wreath attached. Blue metal door, locked. Inside is a print "number 127 miligroso nino fundador"	215	190s	e
CP111	Dark blue wood cross	216	190s	w
CP112	Light blue wood cross	216	190s	e
CP113	Faded blue metal cross on concrete pedestal, with a purple and blue floral wreath attached	216	190s	w
CP114	Blue metal cross with pointed ends	216	190s	e
CP115	Natural wood cross with round ends	216	190s	w
CP116	White concrete cross, 1 on 2 x 2 x 1 concrete pedestal	218	190s	e
CP117	Brown & white tile nicho built into a road cut w/ wrought iron door w/initials welded into the fancywork of the door.	220	190s	w
CP118	White metal cross w/ pointed ends & 1 small concrete cross	221	190s	w
CP119	.5 x .5 x .5m light green nicho w/ small arch on top & green metal door w/ small white cross w/ wreath on it	222	190s	e
CP120	.5x1x2m dome-roofed nicho built into a road cut w/ black metal door; painted green, white and red. Inside; vase of flowers, 2 votives, picture miligroso nino fundador, & inscription plaque.	223	190s	w
CP121	Homemade, brick, A-frame nicho, with a very small blue metal cross atop, name plate & date inscribed in the center middle of the roof, rocks around the cross are painted blue. Behind the nicho is a blue wooden cross, which appears to have been in place before the nicho was built.	223	190s	e

CP122	Turquoise concrete nicho, 1 x 1 x 1, with a flat roof and metal door	225	190s	e
CP123	.5 x .5 x .5m blue concrete nicho w/ flat roof, arched facade in front and a blue metal door.	228	190s	w
CP124	Unpainted concrete nicho w/gabled roof w/slight wings, open door, inside empty. .5 x .25 x .5	231	190s	e
CP125	.5 x .5 x 1, white concrete nicho w/black metal cross atop, arch roof, black metal door, cross has filigrees which includes initials, round, plastic wreath, and two stones in front of the door that appear to be keeping the door closed.	233	190s	w
CP126	Homemade blue concrete nicho 1x1x.5 inscribed on a facade which fronts a slightly domed-roof, atop the facade is a blue-painted wood cross w/plastic floral wreath. Inside is an old wooden cross lying down & rotting, and some broken candles	238	190s	w
CP127	Block nicho 1x1.5x1 w/concrete shed roof, two crucifixes in front, one white, one black with name plates above and below the Christ figure, identical except the black lower plate is heart-shaped.	240	190s	e
CP128	2 black wood crosses	243	190s	w
CP129	.25x.25x.25m turquoise concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/slight wings, open-faced; faces nearly parallel to the road. Has a blue metal cross atop the rear & a bouquet of wilted flowers, more wilted flowers on the interior, brown tile floor.	244	190s	w
CP130	.5x.5x1 gray [used to be white or yellow], concrete nicho w/blue wrought iron door, arched facade & flat roof.	246	190s	w
CP131	Blue concrete nicho .5x.25x.5, brown metal cross atop gabled-roof & brown metal door, on a 1x.5x1 pedestal. The lower portion of the pedestal looked like it had a cross cut into it.	248	190s	w
CP132	.5x1x1m faded green, flat-roofed, concrete nicho w/white metal door. Death information, a cross and a floral vine are etched into a square-topped gable facade, and inside is a picture that is faded beyond recognition.	252	190s	w
CP133	Unpainted wood cross with concrete and asphalt chunks around the base and a faded floral wreath	252	190s	e
wCP09a	End W8 at Cd. Cuauhtemoc	252		

Table C10.5: Veracruz

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wVZ17	Villa Cuauhtemoc; transect L1	0	180N	
VZ421	1.5m tall, white concrete cross on a wedge pedestal' inscribed; "L.A.E. Fco. Eduardo Govea Gonzales dic 14, 1964- may 16, 1994; Lealtad, honestidad, comanarismo y responsibilidad son valores que rigeron tu vida. Tu familia y amigos te recuerdan con amor."	4	180N	e
VZ420	White metal cross w/ scroll	6	180N	e
VZ419	2 white granito crosses w/ gold lettering & floral bouquets; within a white WI fence	13	180N	w
VZ418	White granito cross w/ round tips; on a pedestal	18	180N	w
VZ417	Silver pipe-type cross w/ pointed tips & scroll; 1m tall	21	180N	w
VZ416	Light blue metal cross on concrete pedestal w/ wreath	23	180N	w
VZ415	White granito crown-type cross, 1m tall, on a pedestal	23	180N	e
VZ414	1m tall silver-colored pipe-type cross w/ filigrees & square scroll	31	180N	e
VZ413	White granito arch-roofed nicho, 8" tall, w/ 1m tall cross centered on rear & 2 1m tall crosses on either side of it	32	180N	w
VZ412	Black metal cross	45	180N	e
VZ411	Natural wood cross w/ round, ball-type tips; and a white granito	46	180N	e
VZ410	Brick, 1m cubed, gabled-roof nicho made of tan concrete & is open-faced	46	180N	e
VZ408	2 white granito crosses; next to a bridge	55	180N	e
VZ409	White granito cross and 1 white metal, gable-roofed nicho w/ glass & fancy metal work door; up on stilts	57	180N	e
VZ407	Small, 1m sq x 2m tall, shrine to Santa Cruz; 50m off the road	61	180N	w
VZ406	White concrete cross: "Victor??"	61	180N	e
VZ405	Concrete white pipe-type cross, draped w/ paper flowers, 1m tall	61	180N	e
VZ404	Natural wood spindle-type cross, draped w/ faded flowers	62	180N	w
VZ403	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho	64	180N	e
VZ402	Tan & turquoise, 2x2x2m, chapel/shrine to NSGuad	67	180N	w
VZ401	3 white metal outline-type crosses on a pedestal	75	180N	w
VZ400	3 crosses: 1 white pipe-type cross, 1 white granito crown-type & 1 black pipe-type	76	180N	
VZ399	Light blue wood cross on concrete pedestal	76	180N	e
VZ398	White granito crown-type cross. 1m tall	76	180N	e
VZ397	Red pipe-type cross	78	180N	
VZ396	White granito box-type nicho w/ crown-type cross atop	78	180N	
VZ395	White granito crown-type cross, 2m tall	78	180N	e
VZ394	Large open chapel/shrine to NSGuad	82	180N	w
VZ393	White granito crown-type cross w/ pink & red flowers tied to crux	95	127N	w
VZ392	Natural wood cross w/ pointed tips & scroll	99	127N	w
VZ391	Natural wood cross w/ slanted tips & scroll	99	127N	w
VZ390	Blue pipe-type cross w/ scroll	101	127N	w

VZ389	Large, turquoise & pink, dome-roofed chapel to St. Jude. Just outside the town limits of Alamo. The central figure is a 1.5m tall crucifix. To its left is 1m tall statue of St. Jude; to its right is a V. of Guadalupe; and in between them, on a shelf, is a nativity scene. Then are vases of artificial flowers, votive candles, & a donation box built on the door.	101	127N	w
VZ388	Sky blue wood cross w/ scroll on a pedestal	102	127N	w
VZ387	Large shrine. 1m tall statue of NSGuad w/ a mural painted behind it. In the upper left corner it says: "O la cruz en este mundo, o el enfierno en el otro." In the center is a father-type, bearded figure with a cross in one hand and arms outstretched, and it says: "La omnipresencia de Dios" and then an eye where his chest/stomach should be, and the words: "Dios lo ve todo" and then to the right, the side where the cross is an ear; and then on the other side is a hand with a feather pen writing in a book. Quite an artistic piece of work. There are also 2 large urns that have flowers in them, and then 2 empty urns, on either side of the Virgin of Guadalupe; and then 2 little naves on either side of the chapel featuring identical 24x36 prints of NSGuad.	103	127N	e
VZ386	White granito, arch-roofed nicho w/ white crown-type cross atop	103	127N	e
VZ385	White granito cross w urns	107	127N	e
VZ384	Wood cross w/ scroll on concrete pedestal	109	127N	w
VZ383	White arch-roofed granito nicho w/ roman cross atop, and WI door enclosed in a WI fence	109	127N	w
VZ382	Light blue pipe-type cross w/ oval scroll	110	127N	e
VZ381	Wood spindle-type cross on concrete pedestal	116	127N	w
VZ380	Black pipe-type cross w/ center scroll	116	127N	w
VZ379	White metal cross w/ diamond-shaped scroll & filigrees	119	127N	e
VZ378	White metal roof-type cross	119	127N	w
VZ377	Wood spindle-type cross on concrete pedestal	123	127N	e
VZ376	1m cubed, gable-roofed, open-faced, concrete shrine to NSGuad	124	127N	w
VZ375	3 white metal crosses on a pedestal	126	130N	e
VZ374	White granito gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ granito clover cross atop	127	130N	e
VZ373	White brick gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white WI gate	128	130N	w
VZ372	White granito box-type nicho w/ curved pedestal & roman-style cross atop	128	130N	w
VZ371	White concrete nicho w/ rusted metal cross centered on rear	130	130N	e
wVZ14	Poza Rica	134	130N	
VZ18	Stick cross tied to a utility pole	138	180S	w
VZ19	White granito nicho with 2 urns and cross atop	138	180S	w
VZ20	2 x 2 x 2m concrete nicho with a 1m tall statue of St. Jude inside	138	180S	w
VZ21	0.5 x 3 x 0.5m white concrete with triple box gable roof section with wood cross, horseshoe wreath, 12 x 18cm print	140	180S	w

	of NS Guad and 6 votives. 1st level is flat-roofed box with 1 wood cross and same wreath, 2nd level is flat-roofed box with 2 white metal crosses with center scrolls and same wreaths.			
VZ22	Pink and white concrete nicho/shrine with cross atop, NSGuad plaque, fresh roses and 2 votive candles; under a thatch shelter.	140	180S	e
VZ23	2 white concrete crosses on either side of a white concrete nicho	141	180S	w
VZ24	0.5 x 2 x 1m blue dome-roofed nicho with a small cross atop	141	180S	w
VZ25	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m flat-roofed concrete nicho; empty	141	180S	e
VZ26	Shrine to NSGuad at entrance to a factory	144	180S	e
VZ27	2 white pipe crosses	146	180S	w
VZ28	Unpainted wood cross	150	180S	w
VZ29	1 x 1 x 1m white concrete, dome-roofed nicho with centered cross and glass door	152	180S	w
VZ30	Unpainted wood cross with a floral wreath	153	180S	w
VZ31	3 white pipe crosses with center scrolls	153	180S	w
VZ32	White pipe cross with center scroll	153	180S	w
VZ33	White concrete cross	157	180S	w
VZ34	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m gable-roofed nicho with cross inside; in disrepair	161	180S	w
VZ35	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m turquoise, gable-roofed nicho with a wood cross inside	162	180S	w
VZ36	White concrete nicho with flowers and a picture	161	180S	w
VZ37	White metal cross	161	180S	w
VZ38	0.5 x 2 x 2m tile nicho with cross atop and NSGuad print inside	163	180S	e
VZ39	5 x 5 x 4m white concrete chapel, gable roof, centered cross, double belfry (no bells), Interior; 1.5m statue of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in a wood and glass cabinet, 2 urns, votive table with 4 burning votives and a 45 x 60cm print of St. Jude on the right.	164	180S	e
VZ40	Wood cross with a picture in the middle under a stick and tin shelter	164	180S	e
VZ41	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25m concrete nicho with a wooden cross inside	165	180S	w
VZ42	3 unpainted wood crosses with framed name plates	166	180S	w
VZ43	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25m blue concrete nicho with cross atop; empty	170	180S	e
VZ44	Black metal cross	172	180S	w
VZ45	White metal cross	172	180S	w
VZ46	White concrete crown-type cross	174	180S	e
VZ47	White concrete nicho with centered cross atop and NSGuad print inside, and 1 concrete cross on a pedestal	178	180S	e
VZ48	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m white concrete, gable-roofed nicho on a 2m high post	178	180S	w
VZ49	White metal cross	181	180S	e
VZ50	Unpainted wood cross	182	180S	w

VZ51	Blue pipe cross with floral wreath	183	180S	w
VZ52	Unpainted wood cross	184	180S	w
VZ53	1 white metal, 1 large and 1 small concrete crown-cross	184	180S	e
VZ54	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m concrete nicho with cross atop	190	180S	w
VZ55	White metal cross	190	180S	w
VZ56	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25 white concrete nicho with broken cross atop; empty	190	180S	w
VZ57	White metal cross	191	180S	e
VZ58	White wood cross	192	180S	w
VZ59	White concrete crown-type cross	194	180S	w
VZ60	Black metal outline-type cross	195	180S	w
VZ61	White metal cross	196	180S	e
VZ62	Dark green gable-roofed nicho on 4 legs, with 2 crosses on top, glass windows and door and 2 votives inside	198	180S	w
VZ63	White concrete nicho with white cross atop and 2 urns	200	180S	e
VZ64	White metal cross with center scroll attached to the inside of a bridge	200	180S	e
VZ65	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m lavender nicho with cross atop on a lavender pedestal	201	180S	w
VZ66	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.5m blue concrete nicho with yellow aluminum and glass door	203	180S	w
VZ67	1 x 1 x 1m, blue tile nicho with cross atop inside a frame with writing on it	206	180S	w
VZ68	White pipe cross	208	180S	w
VZ69	Black metal cross with center scroll	209	180S	e
VZ70	White concrete clover-type cross on a pedestal	209	180S	w
VZ71	White metal roof-type cross	209	180S	w
VZ72	Black metal cross with center scroll and a red floral wreath	216	180S	w
VZ73	White concrete crown-type cross & 1 white pedestal with broken cross	219	180S	e
VZ74	2 x 2 x 2.5m white concrete and stone shrine (with stones painted red and green), gable-roofed with centered cross, wrought iron and glass full front door, arched windows on each side. Interior; 1m statue of NSGuad with a kneeling Juan Diego, 30cm statue of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 2 silk floral bouquets, and 2 fresh floral bouquets.	219	180S	w
VZ75	White concrete arch with cross beneath	221	180S	e
VZ76	.25 x .25 x .25m white concrete nicho with blue cross atop	222	180S	e
VZ77	Black metal cross with center scroll	222	180S	w
VZ78	White concrete cross on white concrete pedestal	225	180S	e
VZ79	White concrete cross on pedestal	225	180S	e
VZ80	0.5 x 0.25 x 0.5m blue concrete nicho; empty	227	180S	w
VZ81	White concrete A-frame nicho with 2 crosses inside	235	180S	w
VZ82	Red metal cross	237	180S	w
VZ83	White concrete A-frame nicho with 2 urns and cross inside	237	180S	w
VZ84	White concrete cross	237	180S	e
VZ85	Turquoise metal cross with floral arrangement	236	180S	w
VZ86	White concrete crown-type cross	236	180S	e

VZ87	White concrete clover-type cross	236	180S	w
VZ88	White concrete nicho with wood door on a 1m high pedestal; 1 votive inside	237	180S	w
VZ89	White concrete arch-roofed nicho w/white metal cross atop	237	180S	e
VZ90	30cm tall white concrete clover-cross	239	180S	e
VZ91	Large white concrete nicho with wrought iron door and white concrete cross in rear center of the outside	240	180S	e
VZ92	Yellow metal cross with floral wreath	244	180S	w
VZ93	White wood cross	245	180S	w
VZ94	2 black metal crosses with floral arrangements	248	180S	e
VZ95	1 large and 1 small white metal cross with center scrolls	250	180S	e
VZ96	4 x 4 x 5 NSGuad shrine at the entrance to the village of El Cerdo	250	180S	e
VZ97	Arch-roofed, concrete nicho with a blue cross atop	252	180S	w
VZ98	Blue metal cross	253	180S	e
VZ99	1 large & 1 small black pipe cross	254	180S	w
VZ100	1 gray pipe cross	254	180S	e
VZ101	4 x 4 x 4m yellow concrete shrine, flat roof, centered cross silver-colored wrought iron door, and blue tile altar table. Interior; 60 x 90cm NS Guadalupe print, 45cm statue of St. Jude, 4 floral bouquets (3 fresh), and 3 votives.	259	180S	w
VZ102	White concrete A-frame nicho; empty	260	180S	w
VZ103	2 natural-finished wood crosses	261	180S	e
VZ104	Small arch-type nicho with broken cross atop	261	180S	e
VZ105	Stained wood cross with floral wreath attached	264	180S	w
VZ106	White metal cross on concrete pedestal with a flower vase built-in	266	180S	w
VZ107	Monument, concrete obelisk on a brick-paved pad that is circumscribed by 4 metal posts connected by a chain	274	180S	w
VZ108	White pipe cross	276	180S	w
VZ109	White metal cross	277	180S	w
VZ110	White wood cross	286	180S	w
wVZ04	Vera Cruz	292	180S	
VZ111	Silver metal cross with center scroll	293	180S	w
VZ112	Handmade concrete cross	293	180S	w
VZ113	Yellow concrete cross	299	180S	w
VZ114	Black metal cross with center scroll & 1 old wood cross (possibly the wood cross was replaced by the metal one).	313	180S	w
VZ115	Small dome-type nicho with centered cross, & 1 small dome-type w/o a cross; see drawing on notes	314	180S	w
VZ116	30 x 30 x 60cm white concrete gable-roofed nicho	314	180S	w
VZ117	Rusted metal cross with center scroll	315	180S	w
VZ118	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m white tile nicho with 2 urns; empty	315	180S	w
VZ119	Natural-finished wood cross	315	180S	w
VZ120	2 blue metal crosses with center scroll plates	316	180S	w
VZ121	White concrete cross	317	180S	e
VZ122	Brown & white tile, gable-roofed nicho	317	180S	w
VZ123	Blue concrete cross with blue stepped pedestal and a clown	318	180S	e

	statue			
VZ124	White metal cross with a center scroll and floral wreath attached	319	180S	e
VZ125	White concrete nicho with a broken cross and recuerdo plate	321	180S	w
VZ126	Wood cross	321	180S	e
VZ127	2 white concrete crosses with a white concrete nicho between, and 1 black metal	322	180S	e
VZ128	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25 white concrete nicho with a white concrete cross to one side; nicho is empty	323	180S	w
VZ129	Brown & white tile nicho with 3 crosses inside	324	180S	w
VZ130	Brown & white tile nicho with cross atop; empty	324	180S	e
VZ131	Fallen concrete nicho	325	180S	w
VZ132	Red concrete nicho with cross atop, & white wooded cross next to the nicho	327	180S	
VZ133	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m concrete nicho	328	180S	w
VZ134	White pipe cross	329	180S	w
VZ135	2 blue pipe crosses	329	180S	e
wVZ05	Alvarado	330	180S	
VZ136	3 white pipe crosses	331	180S	w
VZ137	Small white concrete nicho with a broken white concrete cross atop and a white pipe cross on one side.	331	180S	w
VZ138	White concrete cross & 1 white pipe cross	332	180S	e
VZ139	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m home-made blue concrete nicho with a matching cross inside	334	180S	w
VZ140	White concrete cross with white urn on a pedestal	335	180S	e
VZ141	2 rusted pipe crosses	335	180S	e
VZ142	White concrete cross on a pedestal	335	180S	w
VZ143	White granito nicho with an urn and wooden cross with hand-carved name; empty	335	180S	e
VZ144	White concrete cross	336	180S	e
VZ145	White concrete cross	339	180S	w
VZ146	Granito white concrete nicho with a blue painted cross atop and a 25 x 30cm print of NSGuad	340	180S	e
VZ147	3 x 2 x 3m open gable roof concrete shrine with altar centered in front and a shelf at the rear. 2 death crosses and urns, NS Guad in tile. Location; 18.42.82/95.37.76; on private property	341	180S	w
VZ148	2 white wood crosses	341	180S	w
VZ149	2 turquoise gable-roofed granito nichos with crosses atop, home-made death inscription plate inside	341	180S	w
VZ150	Wood cross	342	180S	w
VZ151	White concrete cross	342	180S	w
VZ152	White concrete clover-type cross	342	180S	e
VZ153	White wood cross	344	180S	w
VZ154	White and black granito nicho with a matching cross atop; behind is an older white pipe cross	344	180S	e
VZ155	Small white concrete crown-type cross, 1 large white concrete	344	180S	e

VZ156	White concrete cross	347	180S	w
VZ157	White concrete cross	347	180S	e
VZ158	White granito A-frame nicho with 2 urns and a white pipe cross	347	180S	e
VZ159	0.5 x 0.25 x 0.5m home-made blue concrete	347	180S	w
VZ160	House cross made of sea shells	347	180S	w
VZ161	White concrete cross	351	180S	w
VZ162	Homemade community nicho/shrine with 1.5m tall statue of NSGuad under a domed roof supported by 8 poles	352	180S	w
VZ163	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25m home-made concrete nicho with cross atop	354	180S	w
VZ164	Black metal cross	354	180S	w
VZ165	Blue wood cross	354	180S	w
VZ166	White metal cross	354	180S	w
VZ167	Large granito shrine to NSGuad at a business entrance	357	180S	e
VZ168	Large granito shrine to NSGuad at a business entrance	357	180S	w
VZ169	White concrete cross	358	180S	w
VZ170	White wood cross with flowers attached	358	180S	e
VZ171	Gray concrete cross	359	180S	e
VZ172	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m granito white concrete nicho	359	180S	e
VZ173	White granito A-frame nicho with white concrete cross in front	359	180S	e
VZ174	Brown and white granito and tile, gable-roofed nicho with belfries and 2 angels in front on a 1 x 2m pedestal	360	180S	w
VZ175	Red pipe cross	360	180S	e
VZ176	2m tall white pipe cross draped with paper bows	363	180S	w
VZ177	Black metal cross	365	180S	w
VZ178	White concrete cross	365	180S	w
VZ179	Black metal cross	365	180S	w
VZ180	White concrete cross	365	180S	e
VZ181	White concrete cross	365	180S	e
VZ182	Blue concrete cross	365	180S	e
VZ183	3 black metal outline-type crosses with center name plates	365	180S	w
VZ184	2 gold-colored metal crosses with centered name plates	365	180S	w
VZ185	2 white concrete crosses	365	180S	w
VZ186	White concrete clover-type cross	365	180S	w
VZ187	White concrete arrow-type cross	365	180S	w
VZ188	Yellow tile and concrete cross	365	180S	w
VZ189	White concrete cross	365	180S	w
VZ190	White granito nicho with cross	366	180S	w
VZ191	White concrete granito gable-roofed nicho; empty	368	180S	w
VZ192	Blue wood cross	372	180S	e
VZ193	5m tall concrete cross at city entrance	374	180S	w
VZ194	Blue & white home-made brick nicho with a blue metal cross to one side	377	180S	e
VZ195	Blue wood cross	378	180S	w
VZ196	Blue wood cross with center scroll	378	180S	e
VZ197	Blue wood cross and 1 stick cross	380	180S	e

VZ198	5 x 5 x 5m turquoise and pink shrine to NSGuad	382	180S	w
VZ199	Turquoise metal cross	383	180S	e
VZ200	White concrete cross	383	180S	e
VZ201	Blue metal cross	383	180S	e
VZ202	White granito A-frame nicho with a black metal cross inside, aluminum and glass door and a black cross outside.	384	180S	w
VZ203	2 black metal crosses with center scrolls	385	180S	w
VZ204	White concrete granito nicho with white concrete arrow-type cross	386	180S	e
VZ205	3 white concrete crosses and 1 black metal cross	386	180S	e
VZ206	White granito nicho with cross	386	180S	e
VZ207	White tile with blue metal door and a wood cross inside	387	180S	e
VZ208	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.25 home-made turquoise concrete nicho with NSGuad home-made mold of the same color	389	180S	w
VZ209	White concrete granito arch-roofed nicho with wrought iron gate, 2 flower vases built-in and small wrought iron cross atop.	389	180S	e
VZ210	White metal cross	393	180S	w
VZ211	White metal cross	394	180S	w
VZ212	Silver metal cross with center scroll	394	180S	e
VZ213	Brown granito nicho with urns on either side and a cross atop	395	180S	w
VZ214	20 x 20 x 30cm home-made concrete nicho with hip roof; area is demarcated with white-washed rocks and sticks	397	180S	e
VZ215	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m home-made white tile nicho	399	180S	w
VZ216	Concrete tablet-type marker	402	180S	e
VZ217	0.5 x 0.5 x 1m white concrete granito nicho	403	180S	e
VZ218	White concrete block, home-made nicho with a wood cross inside	403	180S	w
VZ219	White concrete cross on grave-like marker with 2 urns	404	180S	w
VZ220	Silver pipe cross, broken white concrete cross, 1 white concrete cross on a pedestal, and 1 white concrete cross on a granito nicho	407	180S	w
VZ221	Gray concrete granito nicho with across atop	407	180S	w
VZ222	Gray concrete granito nicho with across atop	411	180S	e
VZ223	Small gray concrete granito nicho with across atop	412	180S	w
VZ224	Gray pipe cross on concrete pedestal	413	180S	w
VZ225	Home-made blue concrete nicho with cross atop	416	180S	e
VZ226	White home-made concrete nicho with black cross	416	180S	w
VZ227	Blue tile home-made nicho on a raised-tomb-like platform	416	180S	w
VZ228	White granito concrete nicho with urn and cross	419	180S	w
VZ229	2 x 2 x 4m shrine to NSGuad at the entrance to a rancho	421	180S	w
VZ230	Small white concrete granito flat-roof nicho	421	180S	w
VZ231	1 x 1 x 3m shrine to NSGuad at the entrance to a rancho	421	180S	w
VZ232	2 small home-made box-type nichos with black metal crosses atop them	422	180S	e
VZ233	Small gray granito concrete nicho with cross atop	423	180S	w
VZ234	White granito concrete nicho with black metal cross atop	423	180S	w

VZ235	1 x 1 x 2.5m home-made shrine to St. Jude with red wrought iron door	423	180S	e
VZ236	White granito arch-roofed nicho with a cross atop	425	180S	e
VZ237	Unfinished wood cross	426	180S	w
VZ238	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m granito concrete nicho with cross atop, gold-colored metal door and picture frame inside	434	180S	w
VZ239	Small home-made gable-roofed nicho with a black metal cross	435	180S	e
VZ240	Small home-made turquoise-painted concrete nicho with a turquoise cross atop	435	180S	w
VZ241	0.5 x 0.5 x 2m granito concrete nicho; empty	440	185S	w
VZ242	White concrete cross	444	185S	w
VZ243	Black metal cross and 1 unfinished wood cross	444	185S	w
VZ244	Blue metal cross	444	185S	e
VZ245	White concrete cross	449	185S	e
VZ246	2 white concrete crosses on a 2-tiered blue-painted concrete pedestal	450	185S	w
VZ247	Blue metal cross	450	185S	e
VZ248	Brown wood cross	456	185S	e
VZ249	Gray wood cross and 1 blue wood cross	457	185S	w
VZ250	White granito concrete nicho with cross and red floral wreath attached	463	185S	e
VZ251	White granito nicho with cross atop and blue interior and a blue metal cross in front	473	180S	w
VZ252	White granito concrete nicho with cross atop	483	180S	w
VZ253	White granito concrete nicho with cross atop	483	180S	w
VZ254	White granito concrete nicho with cross atop and 2 white crosses on either side	483	180S	w
wB16	Leave Veracruz, enter Tabasco; end L1 Veracruz	493	180S	
wB36	VZ/PB; begin L2 Veracruz	0	150D/W	
VZ485	3 black metal crosses	1	150D/W	s
VZ484	3x3x4m tan shrine w/arched roof nicho w/ small metal cross centered atop in front; "Virgin de Juquila, bendiceme camino" painted across the top of the doorway; this is where the 3 trucks pulled over & the truckers stopped & prayed on 6/10 @2PM.	1	150D/W	s
VZ483	Brick, and white gable-roofed, open-faced nicho; .25m square x .5m tall, and granito, open-faced nicho; both w/ white metal crosses centered on rear.	6	150D/W	m
VZ482	Facing away from this part of the highway [at a jct.] white concrete, 2m square & 2.5m tall shrine to V of Juquilla	8	150D/W	n
VZ481	Blue metal cross	8	150D/W	s
VZ480	Green metal cross with center name plate and flowers	9	150D/W	m
VZ479	Brick, round w/ domed metal roof nicho w/ a cross centered atop dome, 5m tall	11	150D/W	m
VZ478	2 silver-colored pipe-types crosses w/ center scrolls	12	150D/W	s
VZ477	Built into a road-cut; white concrete, gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/ tiled image of NSGuad, 4-whitewashed steps up to it from road.	13	150D/W	n

VZ476	White nicho with steps up to it, built into the rock of a road-cut	14	150D/W	n
VZ475	2 black metal cross with center plates	16	150D/W	s
VZ370	2 Silver-colored metal cross	21	150W	n
VZ369	Triple concrete, gable-roofed with identical sized nichos on either side of a smaller nicho; all attached to each other	21	150W	n
VZ368	Black metal cross	21	150W	n
VZ367	White metal cross	26	150W	n
VZ366	2 shrines built into the rock road-cut of a mountain road; one is white & blue the other is red, white & green; both are to the Virgin of Guadalupe.	30	150W	
VZ365	A rectangular concrete block with a cross cut-out and the edges of the cut-out painted black	32	150W	s
VZ364	Lost data	33	150W	
VZ363	Lost data	33	150W	
wVZ12	Cordoba	34	150W	
VZ362	Cross, lost data		150W	
VZ361	Cross, lost data		150W	
VZ360	2x2x3m shrine to Virgin of Guadalupe	43	150W	
VZ359	White granito nicho with a blue metal cross centered in the rear	44	150W	
VZ358	10 black metal crosses	44	150W	s
VZ357	Concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with a black cross centered in the rear	44	150W	n
VZ356	White concrete cross	45	150W	s
VZ355	2x2x2m lavender concrete shrine to Virgin Of Guadalupe	45	150W	s
VZ354	White metal cross	47	150W	n
VZ353	Cluster of 6 crosses that are tangled together (maybe got hit by a vehicle)	47	150W	n
VZ352	White concrete crucifix	50	150W	n
VZ351	Beige open-faced, gable-roofed shrine, 2m tall w/ Virgin of Guadalupe print inside	51	150W	
VZ350	6"x6"x8" open-faced, gable-roofed nicho	52	150W	n
VZ349	Small, white metal/glass shrine w/ .5m tall Virgin of Guadalupe statue inside	53	150W	s
VZ348	2 silver-colored metal crosses	54	150W	s
VZ347	Unpainted concrete nicho with a black cross atop		150W	s
VZ346	.25x .25x .25 open-faced, gable-roofed, blue concrete nicho w/ black cross in the rear	57	150W	s
VZ345	Black metal cross	57	150W	n
VZ344	Nicho built into 1.5' square & 3' tall pedestal for Greek cross mounted atop the flat roof	57	150W	n
VZ343	Box-type nicho with centered cross atop	57	150W	n
VZ342	Unpainted concrete, dome-roofed nicho	59	150W	
VZ341	1m tall gable-roofed, open-faced, white concrete nicho	60	150W	s
VZ340	Wooden spindle-type cross and 1 black metal cross	60	150W	
VZ339	Large concrete and tile cross on a 2m tall pedestal	60	150W	
VZ338	1m tall unpainted concrete nicho with a blue metal cross atop	61	150W	n

VZ337	Large pink & turquoise shrine	63	150W	n
VZ336	3 silver-colored pipe-type crosses with a white nicho	64	150W	n
VZ335	2 white tile .25x .25x .5 gable-roofed nichos, 1 has its roof torn off	67	150W	s
VZ334	Gray concrete gable-roofed nicho	67	150W	s
VZ333	.5x .5x .5 white and tan tile and concrete, gable-roofed nicho with wings, 3 black metal crosses atop with heart-shaped inscription plates, silver metal door.	68	150W	
VZ332	White concrete gable-roofed, open-faced .5 x1x1m nicho with a white cross atop and 5 crosses inside	69	150W	s
wVZ20	Tinaja	73	150W	
VZ331	Black metal cross with blue flowers on it	76	145N	e
VZ330	White nicho, empty	76	145N	w
VZ329	White granito cross on a pedestal w/ a Virgin Mary in a glass cabinet; black metal cross in front	76	145N	
VZ328	1m tall white concrete cross	77	145N	
VZ327	Small gable-roofed, open-faced nicho; built into a road-cut	77	145N	w
VZ326	Cross, 1x .5x1m flat-roofed nicho with 2 windows and a door, 2 urns, crown cross centered atop in front; next to it is a gray metal pipe cross.	77	145N	
VZ325	White concrete, gabled nicho w/silver cross atop rear	78	145N	e
VZ324	White concrete, flat-roofed nicho with black cross atop	78	145N	e
VZ323	Blue concrete nicho with flat roof and blue metal door	78	145N	w
VZ322	Black metal cross & 1 natural wood cross	79	145N	
VZ321	3 silver-colored metal crosses on a white concrete nicho with 2 urns	79	145N	
VZ320	With black metal cross and 2 urns	80	145N	w
VZ319	Brown wood cross & black metal cross	80	145N	e
VZ318	Brown concrete nicho, gable roof, open-faced .5 x .25 x .5	80	145N	w
VZ317	Blue metal cross on white concrete pedestal	81	145N	w
VZ316	Blue concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with a black metal cross atop	81	145N	e
VZ315	Turquoise concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with 2 black metal crosses atop	82	145N	e
VZ314	Silver-colored cross	82	145N	w
VZ313	2 white granito nichos with 3 crosses	82	145N	e
VZ312	Blue cross	82	145N	w
VZ311	.25 x .5 x .75 gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with a white metal cross centered in the rear and a statue of Virgin of Guadalupe in front on a small pedestal.	83	145N	
VZ310	Small gable-roofed, open-faced, turquoise concrete nicho with a white cross centered in the rear	83	145N	w
VZ309	White granito nicho with 2 crosses and a church-type spire	84	145N	
VZ308	2 silver metal crosses on a concrete pedestal	84	145N	e
VZ307	Large green tile A-frame shrine, 20m off the road	85	145N	e
VZ306	2 small metal nichos and 4 crosses	87	145N	w
VZ305	4 wooden spindle-type crosses on a concrete pedestal each has an open book inscription and 2 urns in front	87	145N	w
VZ304	Small gray arch-roofed, open-faced nicho with a gray metal	88	145N	w

	cross centered in the rear			
VZ303	Large blue concrete, flat-roofed nicho, 20m off the side of the road	88	145N	e
VZ302	Small blue concrete arch-roofed, open-faced nicho and black metal cross	88	145N	w
VZ301	Gray granito nicho, 2m tall with spires and a cross	89	145N	w
VZ300	2 white metal crosses	91	145N	e
VZ474	White concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with a 3m tall pole attached to a cross atop the roof, the pole has a plastic rooster on the top.	92	145N	
VZ473	Yellow concrete, double nicho with arched roofs and brown metal crosses atop with death inscriptions on them	92	145N	
VZ472	White granito nicho with church-type spires and a cross in the middle	93	145N	e
VZ471	White concrete nicho with a black metal cross	93	145N	
VZ470	White metal nicho with cross atop	93	145N	e
VZ469	Red metal cross, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with a white and a black metal cross behind it	94	145N	w
VZ468	Unpainted concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho with a white cross atop on the outskirts of Tierra Blanca	95	145N	w
VZ467	Large dark blue shrine, 50 m off the road	98	145N	e
VZ466	Small sloped white granito nicho with white metal cross atop	98	145N	w
VZ465	Unpainted concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ black cross atop	98	145N	e
VZ464	Small nicho w/ cross atop	99	145N	
VZ463	Small nicho with white cross atop	99	145N	w
VZ462	Cross, 2 urns in front, open book death inscription, cross atop sloped pedestal; red cross behind	99	145N	e
VZ461	Gray nicho with 2 urns in front and chips of glass embedded in the concrete, open-arched niche and 2 church-like spires, one with a bell.	99	145N	e
VZ460	Pink granito double nicho with 2 urns and atop a 3-stepped pedestal	100	145N	
VZ459	Open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with white metal cross atop	100	145N	w
VZ458	Tablet-type memorial made of white granito	100	145N	e
VZ457	White granito nicho with white metal cross behind	101	145N	w
VZ456	.5 x .5 x 1 white granito, gabled nicho with 2 urns, white metal cross behind, base has the death inscription, and the remnants of a paper floral cross in rear.	101	145N	e
VZ455	Black metal cross with death plate in center	102	145N	
VZ454	White granito nicho w/ white crown cross of same material atop, 2 urns in front and death inscription in front part of pedestal	102	145N	w
VZ453	White granito nicho with black metal/glass door and white concrete cross atop	103	145N	w
VZ452	2.5m tall white metal cross	103	145N	e
VZ451	Red pipe-type cross and white concrete cross	103	145N	e
VZ450	Unpainted concrete, gable-roofed nicho with cross atop	104	145N	w
VZ449	Unpainted concrete box-type nicho on a slump that is	104	145N	w

	several meters below the road level			
VZ448	White granito nicho with white clover cross atop and black metal/glass door, in front of a roadside diner	104	145N	w
VZ447	Unpainted concrete nicho with cross atop	105	145N	e
VZ446	Unpainted concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with centered concrete cross	106	145N	e
VZ445	Rusted metal cross .5m tall	108	145N	
VZ444	.25 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed, open-faced white granito nicho w/ cross of same material centered in the rear	109	145N	e
VZ443	.25 x .25 x .25, gable-roofed, open-faced white granito nicho w/ cross of same material centered in the rear	109	145N	w
VZ442	Large 5-pointed star with a nicho box center in the star with a black metal/glass door; the star is on a pedestal which sits above 2 urns; there are 2 Virgin of Guadalupe statues atop the horizontal arms of the star.	109	145N	w
VZ441	.25 x .25 x .25m unpainted concrete nicho with a white cross atop	113	145N	e
VZ440	White granito nicho, all was hidden in the vegetation except a cross and a semi-circular section	113	145N	w
VZ439	White granito nicho with 2 urns, cross, and vertical section with nicho box	114	145N	w
VZ438	Small niche opening in a granito base 1x1x .25 with (2) .5m tall urns atop in front and a large silver-color cross in rear with centered name plate.	114	145N	w
VZ437	Blue concrete nicho, was a cross atop, has a blue cross behind, open-faced, A-frame with ridge flattened.	115	145N	w
VZ436	Unpainted concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho with 2 white metal crosses behind	116	145N	
VZ435	.25 x .25 x .5 blue tile nicho on .25 x .25 base, blue tile cross atop, wooden spindle cross & silver metal cross behind, both inscribed to a person who was a professor.	116	145N	e
VZ434	.25 x .25 x 1m white granito, gabled nicho with cross of same material centered in the rear	117	145N	w
VZ433	White concrete box-type nicho with white metal cross atop	121	175N	e
VZ432	White concrete cross	139	147N	w
VZ431	Brown wooden spindle-type cross	146	147N	w
VZ430	.5 x .5 x 2m white concrete, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho on a pedestal with a small hand-made image of a Virgin Mary	152	147N	w
wB19	OX/VZ; end L2 Veracruz	152	147N	
wVZ01	Playa Azul; 20.41.78/97.11.56 (past Poza Rica & Cazores on a treacherous dirt road!); begin transect W5	0		
VZ08	Blue wood cross on a small wooden nicho	4	599	n
VZ09	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m concrete nicho	10	599	s
VZ10	White wood cross	11	599	s
VZ11	Broken white concrete cross	12	599	s
VZ12	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5 arched, white concrete nicho with glass door and 2 golden cherubs outside	13	599	n
VZ13	1 x 1 x 3m blue tile, arch roof, village shrine (at Papantla) to	14	599	n

	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Interior; 60 x 90cm tile of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.			
VZ14	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m white concrete nicho with white wood cross atop	15	599	n
VZ15	0.5 x 0.5 x 1.5m white granito nicho with wood cross inside	15	599	s
VZ16	0.25 x 0.25 x 0.5m white concrete nicho w/red metal & glass door, 2 urns and cross atop	19	599	s
VZ17	Wood cross on concrete pedestal	21	599	n
wVZ02	Poza Rica	29	180S	
VZ07	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.25m white concrete nicho with turquoise cross atop	31	132E	s
VZ06	1 x 1 x 1m white concrete nicho w/ centered cross & 4 urns facing parallel to the road	31	132E	s
VZ05	0.5 x 1 x 1m turquoise nicho with black metal cross atop	33	132E	s
VZ04	1 x 1 x 2m white concrete nicho with pillars	33	132E	s
VZ03	White concrete cross & 1 brown wood with 2 urns	34	132E	n
VZ02	Small white nicho with black metal cross atop	34	132E	n
VZ01	2 x 2 x 2m brick pillars with a 1m tall NSGuad statue beneath	34	132E	s
wB15	VZ/PB; end W5 Veracruz	35	132E	
wVZ30	Papantla; Begin W6	0	180	
VZ422	Shrine to Sacred Heart Jesus	71	129N	
VZ423	Shrine to NSGuad	74	129N	
VZ424	Shrine to NSGuad	88	131W	
VZ425	Shrine to NSGuad	88	131W	
VZ426	Shrine, blue & yellow with fake belfries and a cross in the middle. The interesting about this shrine is that the central figure is the Nino de Atocha. Above it is a St. Martin de Porres statue; there is small shrine beside the NdA shrine to NSGuad, a crucifix on the left wall and on the right wall a print of St Francis Xavier. In the town of San Martin something... just before Tezuitlan.	89	131W	n
VZ427	Another shrine to NSGuad	92	131W	
VZ428	1.5m sq. x 2m tall shrine to NSGuad	93	131W	
VZ429	1m sq. x 2m tall shrine to NSGuad	106	140N	
wVZ11	Jct.150N/150DW; this is the autopista to Puebla/MexCity or Orizaba/Cordoba at Cd. Mendoza	124		
VZ299	Tan-colored pipe-type cross w/ center scroll & wreath on it	129	150N	w
VZ298	Arch roofed, concrete, open-faced nicho w/ wood spindle-type & silver metal crosses centered on rear	130	150N	e
VZ297	White concrete nicho; gable roof; open-faced w/ white concrete cross center on rear of	130	150N	w
VZ296	Large blue & white concrete shrine to Mary, not Guad; 2m square, 2.5m tall, gable roof, interior tiled	131	150N	w
VZ295	White pipe-type cross	133	150N	w
VZ294	Wood cross & 1 metal cross	133	150N	w
VZ293	2 silver-colored pipe-type crosses w/ center scroll & filigrees	133	150N	w
VZ292	2silver-colored pipe-type crosses w/ center scroll & inter-	134	150N	w

	arm filigrees			
VZ291	Concrete dome-roofed nicho w/rusted metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees centered on the dome	134	150N	w
VZ290	White concrete gable roofed, open-faced nicho w/wood cross & metal cross centered on rear	134	150N	e
VZ289	Blue concrete, arch roofed nicho w/ rusted metal pipe cross centered on rear	134	150N	w
VZ288	Same sort of patio shrine, 1m tall x .5m square, gable roofed white concrete chapel to NSGuad	136	150N	e
VZ287	Large patio of a roadside home that has been turned into a shrine to NSGuad & V of Juquilla	136	150N	w
VZ286	At bus terminal; a little chapel to NSGuad	136	150N	e
VZ285	Square white concrete nicho w/ 4-tiers on top & small door opening	137	150N	w
VZ284	Silver-colored metal cross	137	150N	e
VZ283	Rusted fancy metal cross across from the hermitage (VZ274); the cross is so old that the end third of one of the cross arms is grown into the tree next to it!!	138	150N	w
VZ282	Rusted metal cross w/ sun-burst, filigrees & scroll: "Guiame en te verdad y esena me porque tu eres mi Dios mi Salvador y en ti espero todos las dias, Salma 24; yo crecencio Marcelino Hernandez Delgado naci el 19 abril 1961, mi existencia en esta fue hasta el 16 oct 1983 llegue a la presencia de Dios; recuerdo de mis padrinos Jose y Maria al tercero aneversario Santiago Miahuatlan, Puebla 1986"	138	150N	w
VZ281	Silver pipe-type cross w/ inter-arm filigrees & center scroll: "Sr.???edad 46"	138	150N	w
VZ280	Cross, in a 3rd nave; 4 crosses: "Joven Hugo ?? edad 17"	138	150N	e
VZ279	Cross, in another little nave under the stairs; 4 crosses; "Sra Felipa Hernandez Trino edad 53" "Nina Anastasia Caterino Sandoval edad 13".	138	150N	e
VZ278	2 wood spindle-crosses: Sra Ofelia Reyes Gomez fallaio el 5 dic 1993 a la edad de 19 anos, recuerdo de sus padrinos".	138	150N	e
VZ277	Silver pipe-cross: "Edgar Burgos Soto fallacio 12 dic 1971 a la edad de 12 anos, recuerdo de sus padrinos"	138	150N	e
VZ276	Silver pipe-cross: "Joven Rafeal Envidano Villalva fallacio el 15 agosto 1993 a la edad de 16 anos"	138	150N	e
VZ275	Small white concrete, gable roofed ,1m tall nicho, behind it is a 2m tall pipe cross w/ center scroll: "Raul Contreras Sanchez fallacio el dia 6 agost 1982, recuerdo de tu familia que nunca te olvidaron, DEP". VZ278: 2 wood spindle-type crosses: Sra Ofelia Reyes Gomez fallaio el 5 dic 1993 a la edad de 19 anos, recuerdo de sus padrinos".	138	150N	e
VZ274	3 pipe-crosses & 1 metal cross; 1st has a crucifix attached to the center part & is inscribed; "El Sr. Jose Luis Espinosa Marino fallacio el 30 de dec 1991 a la edad de 34, recuerdo de su amigo Alfredo Rodriguez" the next one: "Sr. Alfonso Viejas Daniel fallacio el dia 7 de oct 1998 a la edad de 52 anos, recuerdo de sus hijos" the next one: "Sra Maria Elenas Benites Mendosa fallacio 7 oct 1998 a la edad de 55 anos,	138	150N	e

	recuerdo de sus hijos" the next: "Joven Ceasar Mejia Benites fallacio el 7 oct 1998 a la edad de 24, recuerdo de sus hermanos"			
VZ273	Black metal cross w/ spear point tips & center scroll; tied to a tree: "Sr. Jamie Antonio Regenio C. fallacio el dia 5 dec 1993 a la edad de 36, recuerdo de su papa, esposa y hijos, eras la luz que alumbra la fuerza que sostiene la prend que asegura el premio de las glorias"	138	150N	w
VZ272	White metal cross, 1 w/ angel on it; behind a guard rail	138	150N	w
VZ271	Cross tied to a tree and 4 metal crosses	138	150N	w
VZ270	Large chapel to NSGuad, there's a plaque on the entrance that says "Homenaje de la Santissima Virgin de Guadalupe en su grandioso aniversario le renden los conductores de Express del Golfo y Venado Azul, Cordova, Veracruz; dic 12, 1972" below that is a metal plaque that says: "12 feb 1972-1980 la peregrinacion de San Miguel Zautepc, Puebla da gracias de la riena de los mexicanos la vigin de guadalupe por conceder llegar hasta este lugar hermita, un hijo tuyu da gracis a dios a la virgin en su gloria por conceder perigrinaciones a todos partes de mexico. reyes santos f. y familia" So this is a shelter for pilgrims, its quite large, its been trashed on one side-the side where my pickup truck is-looks like people have crashed into it at one point or another. But it is being repaired. The central altar piece is a NSGuad image in tile, there's a wood cross that is inscribed: "Viva Cristo Rey" there's a plaque to the right of the altar that features the virgin of guadalupe, it says; "Primera carrera guadalupana, recuerda de grupo musical questa blanca, puebla; 12 dic 1992" there's another plaque to the left of it that says; "como un carinoso recuerdo colocamos a tus plantas este obsiqueo madrecita guadalupina nos colmes de bendiciones, rio blanco, veracruz; 6/12/51, admon cine rio blanca" and then its signed by 2 people. There's another one just to the left of that "que triemos pequeno homeaje santissima vigin de guadalupe para darte gracias para las bendiciones y indulgencias que daramos a cada momento sobre nosotros operadores de rancho el calvario; dic, 1985" another plaque inside "40 aniversario de la perigrinacion de la hermita de oculzingo de los conductores de autobuses de oriente; 1946-1986" There's another altar and nave inside and another altar to the virgin of juquilla.	138	150N	e
VZ269	Wood cross and some metal crosses tied to a tree. Metal cross inscribed; "Joven Francisco Rodriguez Bustamante fallacio el dia 5 de dec 1993 a la edad de 18 anos, recuerdo de su madrina" the wood spindle-type is unreadable.	138	150N	w
VZ268	Wood spindle type cross	138	150N	e
VZ267	Wood spindle type cross	138	150N	e
VZ266	Wood spindle type cross	138	150N	e
VZ265	Black metal cross w/ center scroll & inter-arm filigrees	138	150N	e
VZ264	Black pipe-type cross w/ center scroll; pretty new	138	150N	w

VZ263	Atop a bank. White granito nicho w/ roman cross centered in rear; 1.5m tall	138	150N	e
VZ262	Small brick nicho, 2 white metal crosses and 2 black metal crosses; all with center scrolls & inter-arm filigrees	138	150N	w
VZ261	4 silver pipe-type crosses w/ center scrolls & inter-arm filigrees	139	150N	w
VZ260	Concrete, arch roofed nicho w/ concrete cross centered in rear; 1.5m tall; quite weathered	140	150N	w
VZ259	3m wide x 10m long 2.5m tall nicho with belfries and a copula. Has 3 different naves; the left has a 24"x36" print of NSGuad w/ a gold-leaf frame above a beautiful altar, fresh flowers. The middle nave is a tile NSGuad with some beautiful little handmade bamboo flower holders w/ fresh flowers in them, that's gorgeous! And then the left nave is the Virgincita of Juquilla and has the same sort of thing. While I was standing there, some guy stopped by at the left nave, crossed himself, said a little prayer, and snapped off one of the flowers to take with him. So people use this. Appears as if I'm about to go down a mountain with some rather dangerous curves. [Expletive]! Man I'm glad there was nobody coming; they have you change lanes on these curves! You literally go from driving on the right to driving on the left! [Expletive], I'd of been killed. [Expletive], this is insane. How the [expletive] do you cross over like that?	140	150N	e
VZ258	The center name plate is hand painted, quite nicely: "Sra Candida Esperanza Fuerta R., fallecio el 23 de abril 1999 a la edad de 49 anos DEP" its a spindle-type cross and is wired to a tree limb which is stuck in the ground with stakes and a bucket of water is hanging from it and it has fresh flowers in it.	141	150N	w
wB35	PB/VZ; end W6, Veracruz	142	150N	
wVZ18	Acayucan, Jct 185S/145E, 17.54.51/94.56.40; begin W7	0	185S	
VZ255	White concrete, open-faced nicho w/ dark blue metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees atop; 3ft tall	0	185S	w
VZ256	White granito nicho w/ cross atop center of gabled roof; 2ft wide x 3ft tall; next to it is a silver-colored metal w/ scroll & filigrees.	8	185S	e
VZ257	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ white metal cross w/ scroll atop rear	8	185S	w
VZ486	White concrete open-faced nicho w/ white metal cross atop gabled roof and a wood spindle-type cross in front on the nicho.	9	185S	w
VZ487	Very old shrine to NS de Carmen de Catamaco. White concrete on 3-step pedestal made of stone. Shrine has 4 pillars over a niche opening that support a domed roof w/ Maltese-type cross atop and a print of the virgin beneath. approx 0.5m square & 3m tall; one foto w/ burro	10	185S	w
VZ488	3 nichos: a) used to be tiled, still has a crucifix inside and a cross of tiles; "DEP Erica Sanchez, tu ausencia es nuestro calvario ofremimos felices por erimos felices cuando tu nos	10	185S	w

	reuna contigo, recuerdo de sus padres y hermanos” b) concrete; death date is 1981, birth 1953; “Sara Esmerelda Pina Fabria fbe 25, 1972- aug 29, 1980; recuerdo de su madre, hermano y familia” c)brick nicho hidden in the weeds			
VZ489	White wooden spindle-type cross w/ center scroll	11	185S	w
VZ490	Shrine to NSGuad, 30ft deep x 15ft wide x 15ft tall at gable peak	19	185S	e
VZ491	10 silver-colored rebar crosses w/ fresh wreaths & in the same concrete footing; none have any names or information	19	185S	w
VZ492	White concrete cross	20	185S	e
VZ493	Light blue concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear & 2 urns in front	23	185S	w
VZ494	2m tall white concrete cross	25	185S	w
VZ495	2 nichos up on a road cut 2m above road level.	31	185S	w
VZ496	White concrete gable-roofed open-faced nicho	31	185S	e
VZ497	White concrete gable-roofed open-faced nicho	31	185S	e
wB61	VZ/OX stateline; end W7, Veracruz	45	185S	

Table C10.6: Tabasco

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB16	Veracruz/Tabasco boundary, transect L1	0	180S	
TB01	Concrete home-made nicho with black metal cross atop	3	180S	w
TB02	2 white and 1 turquoise gable-roofed, granito nichos on platform with crosses atop; all of the same design	5	180S	e
TB03	White granito concrete nicho with gable roof	5	180S	e
TB04	White pipe cross	5	180S	e
TB05	2 white metal crosses	5	180S	e
TB06	White concrete granito nicho with cross atop	13	180S	w
TB07	1 black metal cross & 1 wood cross	13	180S	w
TB08	White granito, gable roof nicho, cross in back	22	180S	e
TB09	White concrete nicho with squared arch roof and cross atop	22	180S	e
TB10	White home-made concrete nicho with blue cross	22	180S	e
TB11	White concrete cross	23	180S	w
TB12	White concrete, open nicho with white metal cross atop and wood cross inside	24	180S	w
TB13	White granito nicho on 2-tiered pedestal with cross atop	27	180S	w
TB14	White granito nicho on a pedestal with crown-type cross atop, gold-colored door and flowers and crucifix inside.	27	180S	w
TB15	2x2x1m blue tile nicho with 6 black metal crosses inside	27	180S	w
TB16	Gray home-made concrete, gable-roofed nicho with white pipe cross atop	32	180S	w
TB17	Gray rusted pipe-cross	33	180S	w
TB18	Small home-made concrete nicho with concrete platform and deck and a large modernistic tile sculpture above	34	180S	w
TB19	Gray home-made concrete Nicho w/ dome roof & platform	35	180S	w
TB20	Gray concrete cross	37	180S	w
wTB03	Jct of 180/187 at Cardenas; L1a and L1b split, begin L1a	49	187S	
TB21	0.5 x 0.25 x 0.5m granito white & black tile nicho	52	187N	w
TB22	1 x 1 x 1m home-made white concrete nicho with 2 white and 1 gray metal crosses	54	187N	w
TB105	Blue concrete gable roofed nicho, 3x2x3ft	53	187S	w
TB104	White concrete cross	53	187S	e
TB103	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross atop w/ filigrees & scroll	58	187S	w
TB23	Small home-made, concrete A-frame nicho w/metal cross	59	187N	e
TB24	Concrete cross	60	187N	e
TB25	Gray pipe-cross	61	187N	w
TB26	1 x 1 x 1m home-made white concrete nicho	67	187N	e
TB27	White home-made concrete nicho with white wood cross	67	187N	e
TB102	White concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop gabled roof	66	187S	w
TB28	Small concrete A-frame nicho with white metal cross atop	68	187N	w
TB101	Concrete A-frame nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear	66	187S	e
TB100	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	66	187S	e
TB99	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ white metal cross, spear-point tips atop rear; white flowers, 2 votive candles inside.	67	187S	w
TB98	White granito, arch-roofed nicho w/black metal cross atop	69	187S	w

	rear & black WI/glass doors			
TB97	Purple, nicho w/ red tile roof & black cross atop rear; semi-circular in front and looked like a corner cabinet in back.	69	187S	e
TB96	Blue wood cross w/ horizontal arms 2ft long at an intersection	70	187S	w
TB95	White concrete cross w/ wedge pedestal in front	71	187S	e
TB94	Concrete open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees & white scroll atop rear of gabled roof	74	187S	e
TB93	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	75	187S	e
TB92	Rusted metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees on turquoise pedestal	75	187S	w
TB91	Black metal cross w/ scroll & filigrees	80	187S	e
TB90	Blue concrete nicho (in disrepair) inside of a larger un-roofed concrete box	80	187S	w
TB89	White concrete gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	83	187S	w
TB88	Small concrete box nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear & larger box-type w/ white metal w/ scroll & filigrees atop.		SR?W	n
TB87	White concrete box-nicho 1.5ft cubed, w/ white metal cross atop	87	SR?W	s
TB86	White concrete flat-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross w/ scroll atop rear; 1.5ft cubed	89	SR?W	n
TB85	White concrete open-faced nicho w/ white concrete cross atop rear of gabled roof	89	SR?W	n
TB84	Large shrine (6m square x 4m tall at the gable peak) gable-roofed, open-faced shrine to St. Teresa of Avila	93	SR?W	s
TB83	Turquoise concrete box nicho w/ cross broken off the top	94	SR?W	s
TB82	Concrete shrine to NSGuad; 4' square, 6' tall; w/ glass on 3 sides, central image 3x4ft print of NSGuad	100	SR?W	n
TB81	Shrine, 1 shrine to NSGuad	103	SR?W	s
wTB09	The junction where I turn towards Paraiso	115	SR?W	
TB80	Brown tile, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees & yellow scroll atop rear	116	180W	s
TB79	8" tall weathered wood, cross 1x2 lumber	116	180W	n
TB78	White concrete gable-roofed nicho and 2 white metal crosses w/ filigrees in front of the nicho	120	180W	
TB77	White concrete nicho w/ white cross atop rear of gabled roof; faced parallel to road	120	180W	n
TB76	Black metal cross w/ filigrees on concrete pedestal	121	180W	n
TB75	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop rear of gabled roof, faced parallel to road; 18" tall	124	180W	s
TB74	White metal cross w/ heart-shaped scroll, 1ft tall	124	180W	s
TB73	Brown tile nicho w/ white metal cross atop rear; "3-8-74, 14-4-99, Tomas Hernandez Lopez, los seres humanos por naturaleza mueren pero espiritualmente viven en el recuerdo, porque todo el que en Dios cree rinque este muerto debira, tus familiares" inside are 2 votive candles.	132	180W	n
TB72	2 granito clover-type crosses	141	180W	s
wB40	CM/TB boundary; end L1a	141	180W	
wTB02	17.59.93/93.22.43; Cardenas, begin L1b	141	180S	
TB40	Black metal cross	144	180S	m

TB41	White wood cross	147	180S	w
TB42	White concrete cross	147	180S	e
TB43	Mostly destroyed, home-made blue & white tile nicho with broken white concrete cross	148	180S	m
TB44	Wood home-made gable-roofed nicho with a white wood cross to one side	152	180S	e
TB45	1 x 0.5 x 1m, brown & white tile, home-made nicho with gable roof and a centered cross behind; empty	155	180S	w
TB46	White concrete nicho with blue trim, gable-roofed; empty	156	180S	e
TB47	Home-made, gray & white tile nicho gabled roof; empty	157	180S	w
TB48	Home-made, brown & white tile nicho; gable roof, cross in back wall; NSGuad statue and flowers inside	158	180S	m
TB49	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m gray concrete, flat roof nicho, black metal cross in back wall; large wreath and flowers inside.	159	180S	w
TB50	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m home-made nicho with cross atop	161	180S	w
TB51	0.5 x 0.25 x 0.5m home-made blue & pink tile nicho with yellow cross atop; empty	162	180S	w
TB52	Black metal cross	162	180S	m
TB53	2 white metal crosses	164	180S	m
TB54	White granito arch nicho w/ white metal cross to one side	165	180S	m
TB55	Concrete nicho, gable-roofed w/ wings; black metal cross to one side	165	180S	m
TB56	White metal cross	167	180S	m
wTB04	Villa Hermosa	167	180S	
TB57	White concrete cross	168	186S	w
TB58	White pipe cross	186	186S	w
TB59	Gray pipe cross	186	186S	e
TB60	Black metal cross	187	186S	w
TB61	Black metal cross	188	186S	w
TB62	White metal cross	189	186S	w
TB63	Home-made concrete arch nicho with black cross behind	189	186S	w
TB64	Small home-made concrete nicho with wood cross	190	186S	w
TB65	Small concrete arch-roofed nicho & white metal cross	190	186S	w
TB66	White, home-made concrete dome-roofed nicho with centered cross in back	190	186S	w
TB67	Gray home-made dome-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross	194	186S	e
TB68	2-storey home-made turquoise concrete nicho with a cross atop and another beside	196	186S	e
TB69	Very small home-made concrete nicho on a pole with a white metal cross atop	200	186S	e
TB70	Light blue metal cross	203	186S	w
TB71	0.5 x 0.5 x 0.5m home-made blue concrete gable-roofed nicho with white concrete cross to one side	206	186S	e
wB17	Leaving Tabasco, entering Chiapas	220	186S	
wB55	CP/TB boundary; transect P1	0	186N	
TB106	Shrine to NSGuad; near restaurants at state line toll booth	0	186N	w
TB107	Another shrine, to NSGuad; 0.1 mile farther north	1	186N	w
TB108	Red, open-faced, concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop the	1	186N	w

	rear of gabled roof; niche opening faced parallel to the road and opposite the flow of traffic; 3ft tall			
wB56	TB/CM boundary	6	186N	

Table C10.7: Campeche

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB56	TB/CM boundary; transect P1, south	0	186N	
CM01	Concrete box-nicho	2	186N	e
CM02	White granito cross on concrete pedestal	5	186N	e
CM03	White concrete A-frame, open-faced, nicho w/ cross atop	5	186N	e
CM04	Blue concrete, A-frame, open-faced, nicho w/ black metal cross w/ filigrees atop rear	5	186N	w
CM05	White concrete, gabled roof nicho, cross atop middle, a shiny star sticker on top; hand-carved wood cross & votive candle inside, cross has a semi-circular plaque which reads; "Adonosio Larga Gomez, 28 enero 1999, recuerdo de sus amigos".	24	186N	e
CM06	White metal cross w/ sun-burst, filigrees & angels; "TOP si una lagrima es una oracion estamos orando desde que tu te fuiste" El Jovan Eugenio ?, nacio 14 feb 1994, fallacio 28 enero 1999 recuerdo de sus amigos" and 1 black identical design cross inscribed; "si tu partida nos lleno de dolor nos consuela el que estas gozando de la gloria de dios" El Sr. Ignacio ? fallacio el 28 enero 1999 a la edad de 34 anos, descanso en paz, recuerdo de sus familiares y amigos" in between the crosses is a small sign inscribed; "amigo hasta la eternidad, recuerdo de sus ganzos".	24	186N	w
CM07	Good example of recuerdo expansion over time: concrete, gable roofed, open turquoise & white nicho supported by 4 posts. Inside are 4 wooden crosses & 4 blue metal (rebar) crosses. "Professor Juan Luis Lara Hernandez 6-3-77, 29-5-98, recuerdo de sus padres y hermanos DEP" "Professor Tomas Perez 1962-1998, recuerdo de su esposa y hijas DEP" "Umberto Virgin Contreras 1954-1998, recuerdo de sus esposa y hijos DEP" "Miguel Rodriguez Gomez 1970-1998, recuerdo de su esposa y hijas DEP": there are plastic & wilted flowers and votive candles.	30	186N	w
CM08	White metal cross w/ roofed center scroll	31	186N	e
CM09	White pipe- cross (2" diameter & 8ft tall)	36	186N	w
CM10	White concrete, 3-tiered nicho w/ white metal cross atop; niche opening was on the 2nd tier. 1m tall & next to a bridge.	40	186N	w
CM11	Silver-colored metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll on concrete pedestal w/ red wreath	44	186N	w
CM12	Unpainted wood 1x2 cross w/ center scroll & pointed tips	48	186N	e
CM13	Concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop rear of gabled roof, 2ft tall, open-faced & unpainted	62	186N	e
CM14	2 black metal crosses w/ center scrolls	62	186N	e
CM15	Concrete, open-faced, flat-roofed, nicho, 1x0.5x0.5m, w/ black metal cross atop rear	63	186N	e
CM16	White concrete nicho w/ 2 openings side-by-side and 2 black metal crosses centered atop the rear of its single gabled roof; 2ft cubed, interior-turquoise.	79	186E	w
CM17	Concrete cross, 2ft tall	80	186E	e

CM18	Concrete nicho w/ black metal cross atop front, arched roof	87	186E	e
CM19	Black metal cross	88	186E	w
CM20	Concrete box- nicho w/ concrete cross atop; 1.5m tall	100	186E	w
CM21	Unpainted 1x4 wood, cross, 6" tall	106	186E	e
CM22	2 nichos and 4 crosses and nice natural plantings behind. "Cesar Leandro Rivera, 1957-1997" "Gabriel Rivera, 1981-1997" "Enrique Rivera, 1961-1997" "Jose Menjames, 1955-1997" one nicho is inscribed "JCJM, ? feb 1997" and the other one has a white wooden cross atop.	109	186E	w
CM23	Concrete, gabled roof nicho, w/concrete cross in rear	112	186E	w
CM24	Turquoise, open-faced box nicho	116	186E	e
CM25	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop front of gabled roof, open-faced	124	186E	e
CM26	Wood, 1x2, cross 8" tall	131	186E	e
CM27	Black metal cross w/ red flowers	160	186E	e
CM28	Small shrine, out in front of a restaurant, to NSGuad	184	186E	
wB57	CM/QR boundary	201	186E	
wB59	YC/CM boundary; transect P1, north	0	180S	
CM29	White concrete, flat-roofed nicho, w/ concrete cross atop front; 2' cubed	4	180S	w
CM30	White metal nicho, w/ white metal cross w/ filigrees & sun-rays atop front of gabled roof; 2ft cubed	8	180S	w
CM31	White concrete, open-faced, gable roofed nicho, w/ interior painted turquoise	8	180S	w
CM32	2 white concrete gable roofed nichos, 8" tall w/ 3ft tall crosses atop rear; both on same footing & identical	9	180S	w
CM33	Granito nicho w/cross atop, other 2 were homemade	19	180S	w
CM34	Concrete box-nicho, 1m cubed, w/ niche opening much smaller than the face; 2 white concrete crosses atop	20	180S	e
CM35	White concrete, cross, 1.5m tall	21	180S	e
CM36	White granito nicho w/ cross atop rear of gabled roof	22	180S	w
CM37	Concrete nicho w/ white concrete/tile cross atop; 2ft tall covered by vegetation		180S	e
CM38	White concrete shrine w/ tri-color banners in front, to NSGuad, 2m square x 3m tall, gable roofed, open-faced w/ a walkway across a ditch to make it accessible from the road.	36	CM24S	e
CM39	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop front of gabled roof, 3x1.5x2ft and a small, light blue, gabled roof w/ cross atop front, 8" cubed.	37	CM24S	w
CM40	White concrete flat-roofed nicho w/ façade w/ 2 crosses atop; 1m square, 1.5m tall	45	CM24S	e
CM41	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop flat roof	47	CM24S	w
CM42	White concrete, gable-roofed, nicho, deeply in vegetation	56	180S	e
CM43	Black metal cross w/ filigrees & center scroll w/ a 1 liter Coke bottle on one of the arms	90	180S	w
wCM15	Champton	96	180W	
CM44	Blue & white concrete shrine to NSGuad, 2m tall, open on 3 sides, a gabled roof is supported by pillars in front and is well decorated for X-mas.	101	180W	s

CM45	White concrete nicho w/ white metal cross atop center of arched roof, 8"deep, 18" wide x 2ft tall	117	180W	s
CM46	Shrine to NSGuad. Pink concrete, flat roof, 4-step façade w/ concrete cross centered atop, tiled into the front reads; "1531-1981 Virgincita Bendicenos" The interior is tiled and features a tiled image of Guadalupe (which is really quite attractive), some interesting floral decorations inside of bamboo, a votive candle burning, tri-color plastic bunting, a nice arch woven of palm leaves. Its less than 20m from the road on one side, the Bay of Campeche on the other and next to a little restaurant.	136	180W	n
CM47	Silver-colored metal cross w/ filigrees & spear-point tips	140	180W	n
CM48	White concrete A-frame nicho w/ red metal cross atop rear, cross has filigrees & is 2ft tall, the nicho is made of 3 pieces of concrete paving stone.	143	180W	n
CM49	White concrete, cross, flared at the tips. There may have been a nicho beneath the heavy vegetation	171	180W	n
CM50	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop rear of gabled roof; cross 18" tall, nicho 9" tall	172	180W	n
CM51	3 white pipe-crosses w/ center scrolls, 1m tall and a blue metal box nicho, 2' square	175	180W	n
CM52	Fancy white metal cross w/ spear-point tips; "Sra. Marcella Garcia de Padilla, te recordamos con mucho carino, 4 jul 1999".	176	180W	n
CM53	White concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed, nicho, 2m tall w/ pedestal in front	178	180W	n
CM54	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ front pedestal and a white spindle-type wood cross w/ heart-shaped scroll w/ rays extending out from it.	178	180W	s
CM55	White granito, open-faced nicho, 2m cubed; divided into 3 small niches, it appears that there were crosses at one time.	180	180W	s
wCM16	The bridge at Cd. Del Carmen	188	180W	
CM56	Blue concrete, flat roofed nicho w/ 2-tiered front façade w/ black metal cross atop; 1ft cubed	209	180W	s
CM57	Blue wood cross, 1x2, w/ pointed tips, bevel from both sides		180W	s
CM58	Concrete gable-roofed, nicho, open on 3 sides; under construction	228	180W	n
CM59	Blue concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop	228	180W	s
CM60	Blue concrete nicho, flat-roofed, 3ft square, w/ blue concrete cross atop rear	230	180W	s
wB60	CM/TB boundary; end transect P1	231	180W	

Table C10.8: Quintana Roo

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wQR03	Jct. border road/186N; begin transect B1	0	QR?S	
QR05	White concrete, arch-roofed nicho w/ sun-burst metal cross atop; padlocked door, 2 votive candles, finished wood cross & a fresh heart-shaped wreath w/ a cross	4	QR?S	e
QR06	White concrete; home-made cross	27	QR?S	w
wQR03	La Union; end transect B1	54	QR?S	
wB57	CM/QR boundary; transect P1	0	186E	
QR01	2 identical tiled nichos w/ winged gable roofs on tiled pedestals w/ granito vases in front; & rear & white outline-type crosses w/ fleur-d-lis tips & heart-shaped scrolls; "Estafla Lopez ?, 12 nov 1946- ?mayo 1994 DEP" and "Andreas Lizana ?, 2 mayo 1994- 30 mayo 1994 DEP"; first one has an aluminum & glass door w/NSGuad etching, the 2nd one has Nino de Atocha etching. Both have votive candles, 2nd one has statues of Jesus & an angel.	21	186E	n
QR02	Natural wood, 4 ft tall cross	24	186E	s
QR03	White granito nicho w/ gabled roof, 2 urns, cross atop w/ square scroll; 1.5m tall	24	186E	n
QR04	White concrete open-faced nicho w/ white concrete cross atop rear of gabled roof and red metal cross w/ DODO behind the nicho.	39	186E	n
QR07	Concrete open-faced, gabled roof nicho w/ black metal cross inside; nicho is wider than it is deep & gable runs parallel to the road.	47	307N	w
QR08	White concrete, arch-roofed, open-faced nicho w/ white metal roofed cross w/ center scroll.	49	307N	w
QR09	Double concrete, turquoise nicho w/ 2 wooden spindle-type crosses atop the double gabled roof	57	307N	w
QR10	Small shrine to NSGuad	57	307N	
QR11	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho, 3/4 buried in roadside vegetation	62	307N	e
QR12	Concrete, gable roof nicho [parallel to road], 2m tall, cross atop, looks old; "desde que te hacentastes tu recuerdo siempre esta con nosotros que Dios te tenga en su santa gloria"	62	307N	e
QR13	3 black metal crosses w/ center scrolls; buried up to the horizontal arms in the vegetation	68	307N	w
QR14	Concrete flat-roofed nicho w/ black metal cross, filigrees atop rear; had WI door	68	307N	e
QR15	White concrete cross	78	307N	w
QR16	Concrete, open-faced, gable-roofed nicho	81	307N	e
QR17	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop rear	95	307N	w
QR18	White concrete, flat-roofed nicho	95	307N	w
QR19	Lumber wood, 1x2 cross, 2' tall	96	307N	e
QR20	Lumber wood, 2x2 cross, 2' tall	98	307N	w
QR21	White wood spindle-type cross w/ center scroll	103	307N	w
QR22	Small metal, gable-roofed nicho w/ white metal cross atop	104	307N	e

	rear; cross about 2ft tall, nicho 6-8" tall			
QR23	White granito, flat-roofed nicho w/ cross atop; next to the nicho is a white concrete cross	113	307N	w
QR24	White concrete, A-frame nicho, 2ft tall w/ black metal cross atop	114	307N	e
QR25	Nicho	116	307N	w
QR26	White concrete, gable-roofed nicho	122	307N	w
QR27	White concrete, gable-roofed, open-faced nicho	123	307N	w
QR28	White concrete gable-roofed nicho w/ cross atop front & red metal door	124	307N	e
QR29	White concrete nicho w/outline-type cross atop gabled roof; "Descanso en Paz Amigo Pedro"	128	307N	e
QR30	Unpainted concrete nicho w/ 3 white crosses atop a triple gabled roof and 1 white concrete w/ cross atop gabled roof	131	307N	w
QR31	Blue concrete nicho w/ white metal cross atop	134	307N	w
QR32	2m tall monument w/ small pink, gable roofed 1.5ft square nicho; "En este lugar fallacio un gran amigo y companero, descanso en paz, Dr. Francisco Arrena Tum, tus amigo y companeros, a la memoria de Dr. Francisco Arrena Tum DEP, marzo de 1996" has a 1m tall cross; built into the surrounding whitewashed rocks, w/ concrete pedestal.	137	307N	w
QR33	White concrete & tile cross mounted in concrete & rocks	138	307N	e
QR34	Small [8" cubed] gable-roofed nicho	139	307N	w
QR35	5 nichos; a) 1st is blue, gable-roofed, ~ 1m cubed; "Jesus Franco Ceyacun, fallacio el 26 jun 1998" and "Franciso Javier Teresa Borges, 26 jun 1998" b) 2nd is double gable-roofed w/ cross atop & crosses, flowers & votive candles inside both halves. c) 3rd is gable roofed w/ cross atop. d) 4th one is gable roofed w/ a cross inside & black WI cross w/ filigrees & spear-point tips atop, 1m tall x 0.5m square	141	307N	w
QR36	Blue concrete nicho w/ red tiled shed roof, 1.5ft cubed, w/ blue concrete cross next to it.	143	307N	e
QR37	Concrete, 8" tall cross	151	307N	w
QR38	Tri-colored sheet metal shrine, main figure is a 24x36" gilt framed print of NSGuad; above is a Santo Nino (NOT Atocha) print. There are 4 bouquets of artificial flowers, 1 of wilted flowers & 2 votive candles burning. Near Muyil.	172	307N	e
QR39	White concrete 1m square & 1m tall.nicho w/ wood lumber cross atop gabled roof. Inside: bottle of water, wilted flowers and it is inscribed; "Mezael Garcia Momtejo".	180	307N	w
QR40	White concrete nicho w/ white concrete cross atop front of gabled roof; 3x1.5x2ft	199	307N	w
QR41	White concrete, flat-roofed nicho w/ turquoise cross atop; 1ft cubed on pedestal 2ft square	205	307N	e
QR42	Tan concrete nicho, 1x1 x 1.5m tall, white tiled base w/ red tiled gabled roof, cross atop rear; faces parallel to road.	234	307N	w
QR43	White concrete nicho w/ light blue gabled roof; 1m cubed	255	307N	e
wQR06	Jct 307N/180W at Cancun	266	180W	
wB58	QR/YC boundary	321	180W	

Table C10.9: Yucatán

Site #	Description	Mile	RteDir	Asp
wB58	QR/YC boundary	0	180W	
YC01	Large concrete, homemade shrine to NSGuad; 5x3x4m tall. Flat-roofed, open patio front (2x3m) 3/4 enclosed).	22.2	180W	n
YC02	Shrine to NSGuad, 3x2x2m, flat roofed w/ patio	25.9	180W	n
YC03	Concrete, flat-roofed, open-faced, nicho, 1.5ft cubed w/ cross & flowers inside	50.9	180W	n
YC04	White concrete flat-roofed nicho	64.8	180W	n
YC05	1ft cubed concrete box nicho	71.9	180W	s
YC06	Concrete, gable roofed nicho	73.7	180W	n
YC07	Concrete flat-roofed nicho w / cross atop front	74	180W	n
YC08	White concrete 1.5ft cubed box-nicho w/ wood cross atop center, & white concrete split nicho w/ gabled roof, 2x3ft, steeply pitched gable roof w/ middle support wall	88.9	180W	n
YC09	2 white concrete, gabled, nichos, 1ft cubed, w/ concrete crosses atop; on either side of a tree	95.1	180W	s
YC10	Concrete nicho w/ 2 niche openings, 2ft tall & 3ft deep x 5ft wide, flat roofed & 2-stepped front façade	103.4	180W	s
YC11	White metal outline-cross, 6ft tall, pedestal, filigrees	105.7	180W	n
YC12	White concrete nicho w/ cross atop front of gabled-roof w/ wings; "Sr. Francisco Sierra Lopez, 14 avril 1999" 2 glass side windows, scalloped fascia & black WI & glass door.	115.3	180W	s
YC13	Soccer player nicho: turquoise concrete; "Jose Luis Alvarez Herrera, 18 feb 1975- 18 mar 1997, recuerdo de su esposa, hija, padres y hermanos"; hand-painted cross on both sides of gabled roof & soccer field design painted on front pedestal. Inside is statue of Christ child & imitation rose.	118.9	180W	n
YC14	White granito nicho w/ urn and a small aluminum nicho	134.3	180W	n
YC15	Pink concrete cross on 3-tiered pedestal	134.9	180W	s
YC16	Blue concrete nicho w/ red tiled gable roof w/ white concrete cross atop rear; 8" square x 18" tall	135.3	180W	n
YC17	Newly made concrete nicho, flat-roofed; 2m tall	136.7	180W	n
YC18	Nicho	136.9	180W	n
YC19	Small white gable roof concrete nicho, concrete cross, flowers	137	180W	n
YC20	White concrete, flat roofed nicho w/façade, belfries, crosses	138.9	180S	w
YC21	Flat-roofed, tiled nicho; 1m cubed, w/ cross atop rear.	141.1	180S	w
YC22	Flat-roofed concrete nicho	143.8	180S	m
YC23	Cross	143.9	180S	w
YC24	Shrine to NSGuad; 15x15x25ft; faced road, open front door	170.5	180S	
YC25	Box-type nicho w/ cross atop	178.5	180S	w
YC26	Light blue concrete 2ft tall nicho, flat-roof & trefoil façade;	178.9	180S	e
YC27	Dark blue concrete nicho w/ cross atop arched roof; 3ft tall	179.8	180S	e
YC28	"Teresa ? ?, 1931-1970" a broken pillar monument	180.7	180S	e
YC29	Small concrete, gable roofed, nicho, used to be blue	181.7	180S	e
YC30	Blue & turquoise tile 2-tiered & flat roofed nicho, w/ concrete cross atop; 18" square x 5ft tall w/ cross.	187.7	180S	w
wB59	YC/CM boundary	190	180S	

VITA

Daniel R. Weir, a native Ohioan, is an experienced world traveler who considers Mexico his second home. In the 1980s Mr. Weir lived in a rural hamlet in Nayarit where he was ‘adopted’ by a family with a temporary shortage of sons to do the heavy labor of farming; and in Mexico City, where he taught English as a second language. In the 1990s he lived in a tent throughout a summer in the Sonoran Desert while he did research in an indigenous (Tohono O’odham) village, which culminated at a centuries-old ceremony where a shaman blessed him.

Educated as a geographer at San Diego State University (B.A. 1995, M.A. 1997), Weir brought this combination of experiential and academic learning to Louisiana State University and studied with the anthropologist/geographer Miles Richardson. Under Richardson’s tutelage he honed his ethnographic skills, learned to apply them to place as well as people, and developed a multi-disciplinary approach that opened up to the social sciences, humanities, and fine arts.

Mr. Weir’s current project utilizes the breadth and depth of his learning within the sub-disciplines of cultural geography and geography and religion. In addition to culture and religion, his continuing interests are the human dimension of environmental changes, indigenous peoples, arid lands and water resources.